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## Thinking Beyond Boundaries: Researching Ethnoheterogenesis in Contexts of Diversities and Social Change

**Guest Editors: NINA CLARA TIESLER, MATHIAS BÖS and DEBORAH SIELERT (Leibniz University of Hannover)**


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# Editorial to the Special Issue "Thinking Beyond Boundaries: Researching Ethnoheterogenesis in Contexts of Diversities and Social Change"

by Nina Clara Tiesler, Mathias Bös and Deborah Sielert
(Leibniz University of Hannover)

## 1. Introduction

The study of societal change and ethnic relations has been a core pursuit in Sociology and Social Anthropology and often occurs in historical contexts marked by heightened migration (Haas et al. 2020, Massey 2008). This special issue aims to refine the theoretical understanding of social and cultural processes regarding the formation of ethnicities and ethnic diversity (Yancey et al 1976, Bös 2010). The collection explores the context of migrants and migrant descendants, wherein conceptual debates on self-perceptions, modes of belonging, group formation, and collective subjectivities continue to be at the core of theoretical considerations (Cohen 1974, Glazer and Moynihan 1975, Banton 2008). In so doing, the special issue also goes beyond this context: it analyses the genesis and continuously shifting social forms of ethnicities, which is heuristically important in that it can help us clarify processes of social, cultural, and political change in society at large (Bell 1975, Bös 2011, Banton 2011). By conceptualising ethnoheterogeneous affiliation as one of many membership roles, this special issue contributes to the development of a Sociology of Membership.

Social sciences and the humanities have a long tradition of researching the emergence of ethnicities, respectively ethnization and de-ethnization processes. Tackling the question of why ethnicity matters to different degrees, in different ways, and in differing social and historical contexts became a mission for constructivist perspectives, at least since the publication of the landmark volume *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, edited by Frederic Barth in 1969. In contrast to constructivist perspectives, essentialist, substantialist, and most groupism approaches to ethnicity cannot specify the genesis of ethnic framings employing necessary analytical criteria, for example the emergence of ethnicity through institutional frameworks, meaning making, social classifications, power relations, etc. As a normative political category, during the US social movements in the 1960s, "ethnicity" also became the most prominent form of identity politics (Hobsbawm 1996). The challenge of distinguishing between political and analytical discourse is certainly one of the reasons why "ethnicity" has remained a quite unsettled and often ill-defined field of inquiry up to the present day among scholars concerned with categories of collective subjectivities. Namely, it is held that neither "ethnicity" nor "collective identities" are analytical categories, but are the results of a sociogenesis; they are therefore *objects* of analytical inquiry (Brubaker and Cooper 2000).

Social realities, such as the options and constraints of concerned individuals and groupings who are subject to ethnic framings, are utterly complex. Generally speaking, ethnicity is suitable for re-defining rational processes of societisation *(Vergesellschaftung*) into processes of communitisation (*Vergemeinschaftung*, Weber 1968). Societisation refers to patterns of social relationships that are based primarily on rational motivations for action (e.g., an organization),


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while communitisation refers more strongly to emotions and traditions as the basis for social relationships (e.g., a family). Ethnization often takes place when administrative divisions and structural classifications (clearly, processes of societisation) are interpreted (or re-defined) as processes of communitisation. As a result, when individuals and groupings engage in emancipatory struggles to escape structural constraints, more often than not, they also counter feelings of reification and alienation. These feelings occur when ethnization as an externally ascribed classification to a community or group of some kind does not match their self-perception. In relation to these highly dynamic social situations, many concepts and frameworks in this broad field still appear too limited to grasp the complex and multi-dimensional formative processes that produce ethnicities (or rather: the swing of the pendulum between ethnization, de-ethnization, re-ethnization) and societal change through ethnic diversification. The ways in which concepts such as assimilation, identity, integration, diversity, inclusion, multi-ethnic societies, etc. have historically developed and are employed often represent highly political and normative self-descriptions by civil society, which puts them into danger to become useless as analytical categories of heuristic value (e.g., Schinkel 2018).

This is why this special issue suggests developing a new process category, ethnoheterogenesis (EHG), coined by Tiesler (2017, 2018). It builds on theoretical achievements, such as ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969) and boundary making (Wimmer 2004, Alba 2005), multiethnicity (Pieterse 2007), superdiversity (Vertovec 2007), inter alia, as well as its most direct ancestor – ethnogenesis.

Ethnogenesis originally described constitutive processes of ethnic groups, their possible fissions, de-ethnization, expansion, or new formations over time and space (Singer 1962, Voss 2008). From the mid-1970s onward, in American Sociology, the term ethnogenesis was also employed to convey societal assimilation, integration, and change caused by ethnic diversification (Greeley 1974), such as describing socio-cultural change among both minority and majority groupings and in society at large. Therefore, the concept of EHG is proposed as a starting point to discuss multidimensional models of specific forms of societisation, which involve ethnic framing and affiliations of individuals, groupings, and macro groups (Tiesler 2017a). Rather than reducing such formative processes to linear models, EHG explicitly addresses the dialectic of homogenization and heterogenization in the genesis of ethnicities, as well as the normality of de-ethnization and multiple options (Waters 1990) regarding ethnic affiliation (Tiesler 2018).

In this approach, ethnoheterogenesis (EHG) aligns with many theories of ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969) and ethnic boundary making (Wimmer 2008), especially regarding the dynamic nature and situativity. However, it goes beyond these theories by employing a transnational perspective and by highlighting two simultaneously existing processes of diversification. Firstly, the diversity of such boundaries, and secondly, the heterogenizing power impacting inter- and intra- group dynamics within formative processes that are often solely interpreted as homogeneous (Tiesler 2017a).

The aim of the special issue is to further develop EHG as an analytical category for examining processes of socio-cultural change in complex settings of transnationally constituted societies that can be considered “super-diverse” (Vertovec 2007) and/or “ethnoheterogeneous” (Claussen 2013). In this sense, the concept can be considered part of the analytical toolbox of a broader Sociology of Membership. This special issue tackles the question of how ethnicities emerge and analyses what processes are at work. In so doing, the authors relate their observations, empirical data and analyses, in one way or another, to the concept of EHG.

The empirical material presented by the authors who address EHG in this volume is diverse in terms of both geographical scope and groups of actors. It includes postcolonial immigrant communities in France, both Franco-

Maghrebi youth (native born minorities) and recent immigrants from North Africa (new arrivals) (Schiff 2021); Russian speakers in Estonia in the borderland city of Narva (Schäfer 2021); the sanctuary city politics of San Francisco in regard to undocumented migrants (Peeck-Ho 2021), and individuals in Germany who are classified as having a "migration background"* (Canan and Hänig 2021).

The empirical findings of these contributions are in line with manifold studies of migrants and migrant descendants, highlighting that conceptual debates on self-perceptions, modes of belonging, group formations and collective subjectivities continue to be at the core of theoretical considerations aiming to reveal complex settings. While engaging EHG as a new or additional lens, the authors in this volume refer to a number of theoretical works, among them the established-outsider configuration, symbolic boundary making by Lamont and by Wimmer (Schiff 2021), the (politics of) belonging by Yuval Davis (Peeck-Ho 2021, Schäfer 2021), a space-sensitive theorisation of belonging (inter alia) by Youkhana (Schäfer 2021), and hybridity by Bhaba (Canan and Hänig 2021).

These articles underline that, more often than not, ethnic self-perceptions and membership roles among people who have migrated and those who are labelled as minorities are changing over time in a kaleidoscopic manner. These changes are seen across generations and in diverse migration trajectories . The authors' theoretical analysis of complex settings enrich our own work on the above cited theoretical goals: EHG emphasizes the genesis and changes of ethnic framing and multiplicity of ethnic memberships by focusing on the dialectic of hetero- and homogenization processes. The papers gathered in this special issue speak to the further development of EHG as an analytical category, however some questions still remain open. In what follows, we will briefly introduce these important aspects.

## 2. The Dialectics of Hetero- and Homogenization

It is generally acknowledged that homogenizing forces shape the formative processes of ethnogenesis and ethnic change, as former socially and/or culturally diverse entities are becoming framed or start perceiving themselves as an allegedly homogeneous collective (Brass 1991). The essence and exploratory analysis of the sum of papers of this special issue suggest that this view is one-dimensional and too linear. The strength of the ethnogenesis concept, as developed to date (see Tiesler 2021, in this volume, for an overview of the conceptual history), is its constructivist (and partly instrumentalist) approach, which highlights the fact that ethnicities are socially constructed and historically contingent. The weakness of the ethnogenesis concept lies in the fact that it cannot grasp the entanglement, the interdependency and simultaneousness, of hetero- and homogenizing forces. At the national level, the logic of the latter becomes particularly visible when cross-border migration is involved. Observed by Max Weber amongst "German-Americans" as early as in the beginning of the 20th century at the occasion of his visit to the USA, it requires the act of emigration to develop a notion of belonging and self-perception in national categories: before migrating to the USA, these Germans understood themselves in regional bonds, rather than as "German nationals". Only through migration, with the experience of arrival in the USA in the midst of other European immigrants, they were categorized and started perceiving themselves as Germans (Banton 2011).

Now, this homogenizing force of "nationalization" holds true for other cross-border migrants as well. At being perceived as a national minority and trying to develop a common voice in political action or common cultural traditions, internal divisions and diversity need to fade. At the very

* The term „migration background" is a neologism in German discourses and describes a statistical category invented around twenty years ago. While it tries to include a bigger group of people than the otherwise measured „Ausländer/foreigners", it is still criticized for referring to inherited citizenship and ancestry, rather than migration experience.

same time, heterogenization takes place. Firstly, because the act of migration from one country to another usually brings together co-nationals from different regions of the country of departure. The experience of arrival most often is an experience of internal cultural, social, even ethnic diversity amongst a group of nationals, e.g. when people from the South of Germany or Turkey or Portugal etc. meet co-nationals from the North of the same country. In the homogenizing process of "becoming" German, Turkish or Portuguese in the new environment, the concrete societal experience of the new surrounding sets a frame. This is to say, secondly, the specific diasporic context (structural conditions, other minorities and majorities, common and distinct cultural elements, etc.) leads to a heterogenization process at another level that one can observe when considering a transnational perspective: as soon as cross-border migrants communicate with, connect to, or visit the people and places that they had left behind, the country of arrival sets a new category of belonging. While becoming Germans, these migrants in the USA became German-Americans; while becoming Portuguese by migrating to Germany, these became "Luso-Germans" (Portuguese-Germans). When Luso-Germans arrive back in Portugal for holidays, the local population welcome them saying, "here come the Germans" as those who had emigrated e.g. to France are greeted as "the French are coming" (Tiesler 2018). The dialectic of homo- and heterogenization is an ongoing process in the "genesis of ethnicities" that always includes ethnization, de-ethnization, re-ethnization.

### 3. Multiple Memberships

The articles in this special issue take actors' perspectives and employ anthropological as well as sociological methods in the field. While acknowledging the importance of the emancipatory struggle of ethnically defined minorities, EHG, however, does not perpetuate the political language of identity politics. The problem of the commonly loose talk of identities is that it neither explains the socio-cultural heterogeneous premises for the homogenizing genesis of ethnicities nor its heterogeneous outcomes. In so doing, it enhances the structuring of allegedly homogenous macro groups along ethnic boundaries – in terms of "cultural", "national", "hybrid", "multiple", "pan-", "hyphenated" and so forth "identities". Instead, and as with a growing number of recent theoretical works (Banton 2011) in the "post-identity era" (Hank, Enrique and Laraña 1994), the literature on identities refers back to sociological and anthropological craft and concepts that were in use before the 1960s, a time when the words "identity" and "ethnicity" took off together for a vast career of semantic broadening in academic discourse. An analytical framework suggests rediscovering and recuperating self-perception, membership, affiliations, ascriptions, ethnic framing, representations, mobilisation, social entities, reflexive ethnization and de-ethnization, collective subjectivity, collective identification, identity-thinking and politics, from the unrecognisable condition into which they melt within the "verbal container" (Claussen 2013) of "identities". Here, they melt from subjective belief and needs for collective action, with the objective consequence of structuring macro groups in society and re-enforcing social inequalities along ethnically defined boundaries.

As an alternative to the reifying identity-jargon, the EHG concept suggests perceiving individuals and their subjective experiences, preferences and unique webs of group affiliations (Simmel 1992 [1908]) as non-identical with others despite possible common ethnic affiliation and ascriptions to macro groups. Above all, as an analytical framework, EHG considers ethnic membership as one among many membership roles. Who belongs here, and who does not? A Sociology of Membership observes and analyses the developmental contexts, impact and consequences of this question. The answer to the question targets different aspects, frames, modes and conditions of membership and is constantly negotiated by diverse social formations, such as national states, political parties, firms, sport clubs, families, or

ethnic groupings. Such negotiations are defined by – and are shaping – power relations. While ethnic claims and identity politics are found among both societal majorities and minorities, the term ethnic group (as well as national group) is commonly used to describe a societal minority. It is not exclusive but indeed essential that a Sociology of Membership acknowledges that minorities in any society, however defined, are not homogenous units. Individuals and group(-ing)s within a minority may differ in their reaction to subordination, type of leadership, ideology, degree of allegiance to their group, to other members or to the larger society, the ultimate goals of the group, etc. Consequently, a minority (and by inference the contextual majority/ies as well) will generally not be a wholly united group – groups and individuals will favour various modes of action in response to majority constraints.

## 4. The Shifting Salience of Ethnicity

In his Theory of Social Categories, Michael Banton (2011) is on a par with Steve Fenton (2003) and Rogers Brubaker (2006) in his critique of "groupism". As a starting point, Banton confirms that it has been conventional to conceive of ethnogenesis as a process by which a set of individuals come to think of themselves as a people. For the development of EHG as an analytical framework his following point is of major importance: instead of understanding ethnogenesis as a formative process of "a people […] it would be more accurate to speak of ethnoacclivity and ethnodeclivity as processes by which the significance attributed to ethnic identification rises and declines. From a sociological standpoint it is as important to account for the absence of ethnic identification as for its presence" (Banton 2011, 193). Every person can acknowledge one or more ethnic or national origins. As Steve Fenton (2003, 68) has observed, "the problem … is not the word 'ethnic' but the word 'group' ". Brubaker (2006, 8) has similarly criticised "groupism", by which he means "the tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts and fundamental units of social analysis". Banton concludes:

> The conceptual problem is even greater when the recognition of ethnic origin is generalized by reference to ethnicity as if this were an independent factor that influences the behaviour of humans in many regions of the world. Some of these difficulties may be eased if the focus is moved from the concept of a group to that of a category (Banton 2011, 194).

This confirms what we have already learnt from Singer's work, the first sociological paper on ethnogenesis, namely to speak of ethnically defined groupings as social entities instead of social categories. The latter does not imply that people are involved in a relationship among themselves, while this is the case for ethnicities understood as social entities, wherein people share i.e. values or a sense of self-recognition (Singer 1962, 420). In other words, "there is only an ethnic group for itself and nothing like an ethnic group in itself" (Bös 2015, 138).

Additional to these insights, there is a different line of sociological inquiry regarding ethnogenesis which can add to the development of our framework. Andrew Greeley (1974), an American sociologist and Roman Catholic priest developed a model that grasps the simultaneousness and interdependency of ethnocultural changes among both migrant populations and the society they are part. His US-based empirical study can be said to develop a two-dimensional model of ethnogenesis. By conceptualising socio-cultural change in society at large as ethnogenesis, Greeley's model went beyond the analysis of group affiliations but remained under-theorised despite its heuristic potential. As with other models of socio-cultural change, and concepts regarding ethnicities, Greeley's model does not explicitly address the dialectic of homogenization and heterogenization in the process of ethnogenesis. It is for future research to verify if Ethnoheterogenesis can also be employed as a framework to analyse socio-cultural change in society at large. The notion of "ethnoheterogeneous societies" as coined by Detlev Claussen (2013) points to this potential.

## 5. The Dynamics of Ethnic Group Configurations

Although the term genesis carries the connotation of "birth" or "creation", ethnogenesis tended to be used to describe what was later called "ethnic change" or "ethnic osmosis" (Barth 1969). In introducing the ethnogenesis of African-Americans as starting ab initio (unlike all other inquiries up until that date in which ethnogenesis was used to conceptualize the transformation of some ethnic groups into other ethnic groups), Singer's contribution added decisively to the works of his time because traditional perspectives had nearly exclusively focused on the survival and transformation of European-derived "ethnic cultures" in the USA. It was later argued – e.g. by Fredrik Barth (1969) and Anthony Greeley (1974) – that the process whereby ethnic groups come into being had been largely ignored. Similarly, as criticized by Pierre van den Berge (1967) as well as William Yancey et al. (1976), the emphasis on culture as an explanatory variable had tended to obscure the contribution of structural conditions to the emergence and persistence of ethnicity. During the same period, several scholars (e.g., Cohen 1969, Doornbos 1972, Hechter 1974, and slightly later Taylor 1979) suggested that while ethnicity may involve cultural referents, its development and persistence would depend on certain structural conditions. This is to say, the expectation that class or functional cleavages should become predominant over ascriptive solidarities in modern society seemed to be unjustified in view of the persistence of these structural factors (Mayhew 1968, Bell 1975).

Here, the awareness and need to differentiate between social category and social entity, as stressed by Singer, is at the core. Still, Singer's expanded sequence appears too linear to grasp the formative process of either hyphenated or pan-ethnic conceptions of ethnic membership. This supports the argument that differing processes described as ethnogenesis can be conceptualized as Ethnoheterogenesis (EHG) as our concept highlights the dialectic of hetero- and homogenization at work. However, the selected relevant sociological works introduced here underline, again, that in order to elucidate the formative process of ethnically defined social entities we need to consider the interplay between sociocultural characteristics and social structure, as well as intergroup relations in specific settings of power. Especially, in regards to questions of power and domination the papers gathered in this issue add important empirical insights for an analysis under the category of EHG.

Furthermore, there are a few relevant alternative concepts applicable to or enhancing ethnogenesis and ethnic change, namely ethnic osmosis (Barth 1969), ethno(re)genesis, ethnocultural drift and ethnic strategizing (Thomson 2011). The question is whether or not EHG might serve as an umbrella category for these concepts. This question remains open and should be on the agenda of future work in developing EHG as an analytical category.

## 6. The Futile Search for Stability

The conceptual history of the term ethnogenesis provides an essential part of the theoretical framework for the endeavour to further develop EHG as an analytical category. As mentioned above, it is no coincidence that our conceptual considerations and theorizing is oriented by "traditional", critical, sociological and anthropological craft. "Traditional" in this context means before the identity-jargon became established.

There is indeed a complement to the instrumentalist, constructivist and other perspectives on ethnicity. Matching our purpose, a significant parallel line of argument addresses the nature of ethnic situations rather than the nature of "ethnic identity". Essential to all of these perspectives is the insight that ethnicity, as a phenomenon, is fundamentally an attribute of pluralistic situations, especially "the asymmetric incorporation of structurally dissimilar groupings into a single political economy" (Comaroff 1987:307, cp. also Thomson 2011). As the subtitle of Barth's 1969 landmark volume states, we are considering "the social organization of cultural differences."

While the linear and one-dimensional nature of most models of ethnogenesis is one source of motivation to conceptualise EHG as an alternative, another source is the analytical shortcomings and reification of subjective experience when group formations and affiliations are tautologically explained by the use of the cover-all and obliterating "identity"-category. It is essential that the preparatory work toward a new analytical framework in this special issue, and that EHG should open up ways to resist what Eric Hobsbawm (1996) and others have called "identity-jargon". The insights of the papers presented in this special issue underline the hypothesis that ethnicity can neither be seen as a form of collective subjectivity nor as an unchangeable part of one's self but rather as one of many membership roles that individuals take up and are ascribed within specific situations and broader membership constellations.

As we have argued so far, the main potential of the concept of EHG for the study of ethnic and social change is that it takes into account the dialectical dynamics of diversification from a transnational perspective; there is no homogenization without heterogenization and vice versa, as they entail each other. This also holds true for inter- and intra-group settings where no one necessarily crossed borders, but where borders wandered across populations, as Jašina Schäfer showcases in her study on Russian speakers in Estonia: —a former majority, and still majority in numbers in the town, but now a national minority in Estonia (in the borderland city of Narva). Schäfer's space-sensitive approach (Youkhana 2015) allows for overcoming many difficulties associated with groupism or static attitudes towards people's self-perception, in her case Russian-minority, Russian, Estonian, Post-Soviet, European. It allows her to describe a highly dynamic and complex setting of numerous interconnections. The homogenizing force in the ethnoheterogeneous city of Narva are the politics of the Estonian nation state and its de-Sovietization campaign, but also the Estonian majority society, that constructs the Russian speakers as seemingly homogeneous „freaks" and excludes them (Schäfer 2021: 10). But, as the author demonstrates, "with each separation" (homogenizing force), "comes also a new connection, leading to heterogeneous ways…" (Schäfer 2021:11). "Being Russian" becomes highly ethnoheterogeneous: attached and detached from Russia, attached and detached from memories of the Soviet past, etc. By moving between multiple ethnoheterogeneous memberships, Russian speakers expose the limits of the homogenizing national state politics that feeds their otherness. Moving across multiple and ethnoheterogenerous memberships is also the (subversive) strategy of resistance against ethnic or racialized categorizations in combination with homogenization amongst those Germans "with a migration background" studied by Coskun Canan and Albrecht Hänig (2021, in this volume). Exemplified by the analysis of a rap song (in which the lyrics incorporate German, English, French, Italien, Turkish, Kurdish, Zaza, and Arab language), Canan and Hänig develop the concept of "hybrid-ethnic-cultural-stylizations". It stands for the act of switching between different social-cultural contexts, in which individuals with a migration background deal with attributed and socially constructed ethnic membership roles. The example of the rapper shows how self-heterogenization and the use of multiple ethnically labelled memberships serve as a subversion against homogenizing ascriptions. Collectivization and individualization take place in the processes of both homo- and heterogenization.

The paper by Catharina Peeck-Ho presents an analysis of a poster series that reflects on the status of San Francisco as a sanctuary city for undocumented migrants, campaigned by the Arts Commission. These posters show a common fate of the diverse migrants portrayed in the current political and social situation, namely the negotiation of Americanness as a manifestation of political projects of belonging, a form of belonging that navigates the "ideal of homogenization" is hard to overlook. Still, in the construction of otherness, internal differentiation is visible as well. On the one side, the posters are tending to

homogenize the portrayed people (as subjects of a politics of the sanctuary city). On the other, the individual narratives bring heterogeneity to the forefront (Peeck-Ho 2021, in this volume).

Claire Schiff sheds light on the relevance of the simultaneousness and interplay between hetero- and homogenization. She employs a transnational perspective in her study on post-colonial immigrant communities in France. In her analysis of debates between Franco-Maghrebi youth (who were born in France) and recent immigrants from North Africa in online discussion forums, the established-outsider-configuration by Elias and Scotson (alongside symbolic boundary making) provides theoretical orientation. Schiff underlines the internal heterogeneity of both groupings and thus the limitation of the established-outsider-configuration that considers each grouping as rather homogenous, as an analytical tool.

**7. Conclusion**

The established concepts with regard to the formative processes of ethnicities do not explicitly address the dialectic of homogenization and heterogenization inherent in ethnogenesis and ethnic change. We have proposed the concept of Ethnoheterogenesis (EHG) as an alternative model with which to analyse ethnic framing and affiliations of individuals, groupings and macro groups, and the authors of this special issue have taken up the challenge to relate their own research to this model. The conceptual history of ethnogenesis, identity- and groupism-critique and Sociology of Membership define the theoretical basis of our work, which suggests that EHG has the potential to become a useful framework for future investigations. Potentially, EHG can further develop a) as an umbrella category for ongoing formative processes of ethnogenesis and ethnic change, including ethnocultural drifts and ethnic strategizing, and b) to grasp the process of socio-cultural change in societies marked by migration which we describe as ethnoheterogeneous. This special issue assembles an intriguing range of papers that show the heuristic value of the concept of Ethnoheterogenesis and we trust that reading these papers will be as enlightening for the reader as it was for us.

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# Intra-Group Boundary-Making in Online Discussions Between Newcomers and Descendants of North African Immigrants in France

by CLAIRE SCHIFF (Bordeaux University)

**Abstract**

This paper addresses the issue of intra-group differences and relations among long standing post-colonial immigrant communities. Through an analysis of sub-ethnic categories used by North Africans in France for naming newcomers, this article contributes to the emerging literature on 'ethnoheterogenesis' and diversification within immigrant minority groups by adopting the framework of symbolic boundary-making and Norbert Elias's established-outsider configuration. Using material gathered from online discussion forums serving the Maghrebi community, the author analyses how stigmatization and counter-stigmatization processes between new arrivals (*les Blédards)* and native-born minorities (*les Beurs)* are influenced by the colonial heritage, changes in the profiles of migrants entering France and evolving transnational ties. The study reveals how intra-group boundary making processes are structured around moral discourses and debates about three different but closely articulated themes: cultural and personal (in)authenticity, social (il)legitimacy and individual merit and the instrumentalization of gender relations in the transnational marriage market.

**Keywords:** intergroup relations; transnational immigrant communities; North-African minority in France; symbolic boundary-making; established/outsider configuration; ethnoheterogenesis; online ethnography, ethnic labelling, immigrant replenishment

## Introduction

Immigrant or ethnic 'replenishment' refers to the continuous flow over long periods of time of migrants from countries such as Mexico to the United States, Pakistan to England, or Algeria to France. This process questions assumptions about the homogeneity and collective identities of minority groups who are presently made up of a mix of new arrivals, long-term settled migrants, children of migrants, and later generations (Jimenez 2008). The internal diversification of immigrant minorities through replenishment can be seen as a particular form of 'super-diversity', one which calls for moving beyond traditional ethnic distinctions in order to grasp the more complex generational and social lines of differentiation within immigrant communities today (Vertovec 2019). In addition to becoming more internally segmented, these groups have also become more externally connected. This is largely due to the widespread use of internet communication technologies, which have contributed to the consolidation of transnational communities, further complicating 'the construction, negotiation and reproduction of social identities' (Vertovec 2001:578).

This paper addresses the effects of immigrant replenishment, internal diversification and transnational ties on intra-group boundaries among North Africans of various immigrant generations living in France. The empirical basis for the study is an online ethnography of internet forum discussions that serve the Maghrebi

diaspora; the study focuses particularly on the issue of relations between the descendants of North African migrants, commonly referred to in France as *Beurs,* and their contemporaries who have recently migrated or are seeking to migrate, called *Blédards* by their second and third generation peers. These relations will be examined using the theoretical framework of symbolic boundary-making, developed by Michele Lamont (Lamont and Molnar 2002) and proposed by Andreas Wimmer as an approach to ethnicity in immigrant societies which does not take ethnic groups as self-evident but rather as products of particular institutional configurations, socio-economic inequalities or other non-ethnic determinants (Wimmer 2009). How is newcomer/ old-timer status perceived when the distinction concerns co-ethnics, and what are the historical and present-day realities which contribute to making such a distinctions significant? By exploring the significance of intra-ethnic labeling and categorizations of new arrivals and native-born minorities by ethnic group members themselves, we seek to contribute to the emerging literature on the concept of 'ethnoheterogenesis' and processes of diversification within immigrant minority groups (Tiesler 2018).

Intra-group distinctions, according to migrant generation or duration of residency, have tended to be overshadowed by racial and ethnic factors in the literature on assimilation and multiculturalism. Despite some unexpected findings about the importance of newcomer status as a factor of stigmatization by more established groups (Elias and Scotson 1994 ; Wimmer 2004) these distinctions have seldom been explored as such in the literature on transnational communities or on boundary-making in ethnically diverse contexts. Our study of online discourses of stigmatization and counter-stigmatization between Franco-Maghrebi youth (*Beurs)* and recent migrants from North Africa (*Blédards)* aims to contribute to the understudied reality of boundary-making processes within immigrant communities.

The case examined can be viewed as a particular form of the established-outsider configuration made famous by Elias and Scotson's classical study of the working class community of Winston Parva in northern England. According to an advocate of the application of this framework to the study of new migrants, this theory "needs actualization and adaptation to the globalized realities, with often blurry community boundaries where people retain multiple identities in various situations and might be considered established in one situation and outsider in another" (Petintseva 2015). Indeed, while in relation to newcomers the native born descendants of migrants are 'established', re the majority group, or from the perspective of the 'homeland', they may be viewed as 'outsiders'. Taking these multiple frames of reference into consideration, we shall attempt to understand how the processes of mutual categorization between the two parties are affected by representations and social realities stemming from the sending society, on the one hand, and by the fact that they belong to a historically stigmatized group within French society on the other. Are the axes of differentiation between newcomers and the descendants of migrants constructed mainly in reference to the norms and hierarchies of the host society or are they also affected by a backlash (*choc en retour)*[1] of perspectives from the society of emigration?

**Stigmatization Between Newcomers and Their Settled Co-Ethnics: A Universal and Context-Dependent Phenomenon**

The few studies which have examined the symbolic and social distance separating new arrivals from their more assimilated co-ethnics reveal the existence of derogatory stereotypes and ambivalent sentiments on the part of each party towards the other, which suggest that the phenomenon is both a universal feature of the process of immigrant incorporation and one which is influenced by the particular context within

[1] To paraphrase Abdelmalek Sayad's study of the ways in which the first generations of Algerian emigrants were perceived by those who remained in the homeland (Sayad 1999 (1984)). See chapter 5: "Le choc en retour sur la société d'origine".

which it takes place. The most developed body of work addressing how intra-group relations are configured in reference to migrant generation concerns the Mexican origin population living in the United States (Hurtado, Gurin and Peng 1994 ; Gutiérrez 1995; Ochoa 2000 ; Telles and Ortiz 2008 ; Jimenez 2008). These studies reveal that blocked opportunity, institutional racism and discrimination all have a role to play in defining the social identity of the various sub-categories of Chicanos, Mexicans, Mexican-Americans. Continued migration tends to perpetrate these racial and cultural enforces between majority and minority groups and enforce stigmatization, since whenever migration is a highly publicized and controversial issue even those belonging to the third generation may be viewed as 'aliens' by the majority group (Jimenez 2008). Yet it is also interesting to note that, within the multicultural framework of North American society, later generations of Mexican-Americans feel pressure from more recent arrivals to conform to expectations of cultural authenticity (Jimenez 2008). This makes for an uneasy contradiction of pulls for Mexican-Americans to, on the one hand, resist their negative identification by the majority group with the stigmatized group of 'illegal' Mexican migrants while, on the other hand, answering to social pressure for cultural and linguistic conformity to Mexican ethnicity coming from more recent arrivals. These contradictory pressures are felt all the more strongly in a context of increasing segregation and blocked upward mobility (Telles and Ortiz 2008).

In a study of the relationship between new Polish immigrants and Polish-Americans in Chicago, a group which has been characterized by renewed rather than continuous migration and which, contrary to Mexicans, is not racialized in the United-States, the author notes that: "While the immigrant tries to learn the culture of the host society, the ethnic works to maintain an attachment to the ancestral culture" (Erdmans 1995: 178). Relations between recent migrants and their native-born peers are here again marked by tensions between attraction and repulsion as each face pressures in favor of assimilation and ethnic retention, yet these appear much less intense and contradictory than in the Mexican case.

In a study of the stereotypes that second-generation Asian-Americans develop regarding recent immigrants (called 'FOBs' or Fresh Off the Boat) and those who appear too assimilated ('Whitewashed'), the phenomenon of 'co-ethnic othering' is interpreted essentially as a result of internalized racism (Pyke and Dang 2003). This analysis focused mainly on the racialization of immigrant minorities in the host country ignores the manner in which broader transnational relations between immigrants and their home societies might also impact how new arrivals and later generations regard each other. The issue of the effects of transnational ties on perceptions of newly arrived migrants by their second and third generation peers is addressed in a study of the figure of the 'Freshie' or 'Fresh Off the Boat' migrant as it appears in internet comedy videos on newly arrived immigrants from the Indian subcontinent in England (Charsley and Bolognani 2016). Derogatory stereotypes of the 'Freshie' depicting new immigrants as sexually unappealing and physically repulsive are linked here to the prevalence of transnational marriages across migrant generations among Pakistanis.

Hence, it appears that while intra-group stigmatization between newcomers and more established minorities are common, the form and content of these negative representations are dependent upon the historical and structural determinants of the immigrant minority's position within the receiving society as well as on the nature of transnational ties within the community.

**Internal Differentiation and Transnational Ties Among North Africans in France**

France is one of the oldest countries of immigration in Europe and, although it has not experienced the sudden peaks in the influx of migrants and refugees which its neighbours such as Germany or Spain have witnessed over the last decades, steady migration has resulted in close

to a quarter of France's present population being constituted in equal parts of first generation migrants and of their children (Héran 2017). Approximately one third of the second generation is composed of the children of migrants from the North African countries of Algeria, Morocco, and to a lesser extent Tunisia (Insee 2017). The Maghrebi minority living in France is the product of almost a century of continuous migration, making it by far the largest and oldest population of Muslims living in Europe today. Since the mid-1990s the initial flow of labour migration, followed by permanent family migration, has been surpassed by new streams composed mainly of the spouses of the sons and daughters of earlier waves of migrants and of young people coming to pursue higher education in France. Marriage to a French citizen has become the primary motive for applying for permanent residency, especially among migrants coming from North Africa. Algerians and Moroccans are the two most represented nationalities among those entering France to pursue higher education. The cohorts of Maghrebians who have settled in France over the past twenty years have much higher levels of education than their predecessors (Ichou 2014). Yet these new immigrants face more severe regulations concerning access to long-term residency as well as higher risks of unemployment than earlier cohorts of migrants (Landaro 2013).

Over the past thirty years, the North African minority in France has thus been reconfigured profoundly by rapid acculturation of the second generation, substantial changes in the profiles of successive waves of newcomers, as well as by diverging processes of upward and downward socio-economic mobility. One can hardly speak therefore of a homogeneous and integrated community. The growing middle-class of qualified professionals has not prevented a significant proportion of second and third generation youth from experiencing unemployment and social exclusion. Yet despite these internal differences, North Africans in France share certain features of a common identity, such as religious affiliation to Islam, an attachment to the home country, shared memories of colonization, as well as a self-consciousness born of their collective experience as the most stigmatized of France's immigrant minorities. This uneasy combination of internal segmentation and collective self-consciousness in a group which is one of the major post-colonial minorities in Europe makes it an interesting case through which to examine manifestations of intra-group tensions in a context marked by continued migration and heightened anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment.

A substantial body of work has been written on Maghrebi migrants and their descendants in France, some of which has addressed issues of relations within the community between immigrant parents and their children, between men and women, or between migrants and those remaining in their home countries. Yet few studies have taken a serious interest in relations between the French-born and newcomers, except to acknowledge in passing the derogatory use of the term *Blédard* by minority youth to designate home country residents (Bidet 2017), or those who display characteristics of the immigrant (Mardon and Zeroulou 2015). In one study of the variety of labels and categories used by young people of Malian origin born in France as a way of signifying their place in the internal diversity of their 'community', intra-group categorizations and labeling are analyzed as boundary-making processes, but the figure of the newcomer is only one among the many discussed (Belkacem 2010).

**Intra-Ethnic Labeling as Boundary-Making Process**

Labels used in everyday life as elements of discursive categorization are of particular importance for analyzing boundary-making processes since they often represent the first step in the consolidation of distinct groups and reveal spontaneous and judgment laden representations of self and other (Wimmer 2004). This is particularly the case in established-outsider configurations where terms stigmatizing the other group become particularly meaningful for understand-

ing what is at stake in the relation (Elias and Scotson, 1994). Before addressing the nature of the internal debate about relations between newcomers and French born Maghrebians, it is, therefore, necessary to briefly explain the origins and the significance of the lay terms *Beur* and *Blédard* which represent the starting point of our study.

The term *Beur* (and its feminine equivalent *Beurette)* is a truncated inversion of the word 'Arab', typical of the vernacular slang called *verlan* developed by lower class urban youth living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It was invented during the 1980s by members of the second generation, the sons and daughters of the first wave of mostly uneducated rural immigrants, as they were coming of age. Over the past twenty years, the term has become a common feature of ordinary discussions about North Africans living in France and is used readily both by majority and minority group members, albeit more recently in another inverted form *Rebeu*. The term was popularized by the short-lived social movement known as *la marche des Beurs,* which stood against racism and equal rights of immigrants. This movement was initiated during the early 1980s by children of the first wave of migrant workers from North Africa living in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods.

The *Beurs* are regarded as distinct from both their parents and from their peers of majority origin, to the extent that they are culturally integrated within French society, while often being socially and economically marginalized. Regardless of the variety of individual trajectories which actually exist among the second generation, the ambivalent social figure of the *Beur* (or *Rebeu*) is one with which many young people of Maghrebi origin living in France must contend at some point or other in their dealings with members of the dominant group; but also, in a more ambiguous manner, it applies to their dealings with members of their own community living in France or in their country of origin. Indeed, their contemporaries living in the countries of origin overwhelmingly view them as French. Home country residents often use derogatory labels such as *zmagri* (an arabic variant of *immigré)* to designate acculturated migrants and their children stressing their questionable membership in the cultural and national community, and that are often felt to carry negative judgments about respectability and moral values.

The term *bled*, borrowed from Arabic during the colonial period, can be loosely translated as 'village of origin' and evokes a remote place where nothing ever happens. The addition of the suffix *ard* means 'he who comes from' or 'is of the type', thus conveying the idea that the person's entire nature and mentality is determined by the fact that he or she comes from 'over there' and not from 'here'. In contrast to the widely used term *Beur* the term *Blédard* is clearly an insider terminology. It is mainly French-born minority youth who use it in reference to individuals who have spent most of their lives in their country of origin, as well as in reference to those who still live there.

### Approaching the *Beur/Blédard* Dichotomy Through Online Discussion Forums

Our previous research on the schooling of newly arrived migrant youth residing in low-income ethnically diverse urban areas led us to observe the complex and contradictory nature of relations between recent immigrants and settled ethnic minorities (Schiff 2015). We noticed during our fieldwork that the derogatory use of the term *Blédard* in reference to new arrivals was particularly widespread among urban youth of North African origin. The issue of intra-group tensions is, however, not easily broached in face-to-face interviews with young people who feel more comfortable speaking about racism and discrimination aimed at them from the majority group than about their own prejudices towards newcomers. For this reason we decided to carry out further research on this theme by examining media on the internet.

Our study is based on material gathered over several years (2005-2009) from a wide range of sites that specifically cater to the Maghrebi

community and whose users are predominantly young adults of both sexes. In order to access sites which are exclusively written by migrants, Scopsi notes that the identification of the linguistic markers of migration are very useful since in each community there exist specific terms by which migrants name the various sub-groups of the diaspora (Scopsi 2009:91). By means of a simple keyword Google search using the terms *Beur* and *Blédard,* we easily accessed close to thirty lengthy discussion threads whose topics concern the differences and relations between these two categories[2]. Although these terms and the themes associated with them come up in many discussions addressing other topics, we have chosen to focus on those which explicitly address the question of relations between later generations and newcomers or residents of the country of origin in their headings. These discussions gathered a number of participants ranging from a dozen to close to eighty individuals, and solicited responses ranging from a few dozen to several hundred. Below are excerpts from several different topics which initiated the exchanges:

> There is like a complex which French people of algerian origin have developed re their cousins from the *bled*. They regard them as assholes, careerists, and *bougnouls*[3], where as the latter, once in France, have much more success professionally. The *zmagra*[4] spend their vacations in Algeria, think their cousins want to steal from them, to take their money and their euros, while they are housed, fed and transported, without having to spend any money (…)[5]
>
> ***
>
> A particular type of racism, a racism larger than all other racisms. A racism between muslims, between arabs, even between members of the same country. Yes, a racism that I have experienced which has hurt me, whose origins I don't understand. Yes it is the racism of the *Rebeu*[6] against the *Blédards* (…)
>
> ***
>
> I don't understand why guys from the *bled* take the liberty to criticize girls who were born in France. This doesn't stop them from trying to pick them up, telling them lies about wanting to marry them. I wonder if they want to marry for love or for the papers. Because of this, I can't trust them anymore, even my own cousins.

In order to carry out fruitful online ethnographic fieldwork, Kozinets recommends in his manual on *Netnography* that the research focus on community sites that are active, interactive, substantial in terms of the public they address, heterogeneous in terms of the profiles of participants, and data-rich (Kozinets 2010:89). This is the case of those we examined, at least during the period of our study.[7] Sites aimed at transnational immigrant communities offer a venue into a public/private space of which discussion forums represent the most private "places of debate and identity-centered introspection" (Scopsi 2009: 93) where participants can discuss issues which might be considered taboo in face-to-face interactions. In line with approaches that consider the texts posted on such forums as 'observable interactions' which are in many ways less mediated than those gathered through direct participant observation (Robinson and Shulz 2009: 691), the exchanges around the issue of *Beur/Bledard*

[2] For details see the list of sites and discussion threads. Only those which are still accessible online have been included (nine out of a total of twenty-seven discussion threads from different sites).

[3] Racial slur referring to Arabs.

[4] This term and its many forms (*zmagria*, *zmigri*) is an Arabic version of the French term '*immigré*', which home country residents use to designate those who live in France.

[5] The author has tried to be faithful to the original style in her translations of the posts, many of which present errors and approximations in grammar, punctuation, spelling and capitalisation.

[6] *Rebeu* is yet another, more recent inversion of the term *Beur*, designating the latest generation of French born Maghrebians.

[7] Some of the sites have since been discontinued as online forum discussions are progressively being replaced by social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram.

relations reveal concerns with in-group tensions which are not easily addressed in interactions with members of the majority group. Online, not only do participants feel that they are communicating with members of the same 'community' in an arena protected from judgements by the dominant majority, but the fact that they are expressing themselves anonymously makes it easier to be forthright about their feelings and opinions.

The online discussion forums undeniably constitute a stage that encourages a form of dramatization, an acting-out of latent social imaginaries and a venting of resentments, as well as the use of irony and provocation. Yet the content of discussions and the opinions expressed by participants are informed by real-life experiences and existing social processes. Because what is known about the participants is limited to what they choose to say in their posts and to a few basic items of information, such as their country and/or city of residence, their gender and age, we make no claims of interpreting the material by relating it to the individual's personal experience or to his or her social characteristics. The social figures of the *Beur* and the *Blédard* and what is said, or rather written, about them, in the form of recurring themes, stereotypical oppositions and moral judgements are the object of our analysis. Many participants deplore the existence of such demeaning stereotypes as that of the *Beur* and the *Blédard,* and criticize others for generalizing about these categories. Yet most identify with one or the other, often stating in essence that: " I am a *Beur* (or a *Blédard)* and proud of it. But I am not what you (the Other) think I am". The discussions clearly testify to the existence of intra-group divisions according to immigrant generation, while at the same time revealing the lack of consensus about the causes, the consequences and the nature of the distinctions between the two categories. As we shall see, the debate is by and large a moral one in that that it refers to issues such as fidelity to and betrayal of one's community, cultural authenticity, and the dignity or indignity of North African immigrants and minorities living in France.

**The Ties that Divide or Coming to Terms with the Intimate Other**

The first impression one gets from reading the exchanges is that the *Beur/Blédard* issue is a sensitive and divisive one. Many of the discussions reveal a complex web of resentment, condescension, jealousy and suspicion between the two groups, at the same time as a sincere desire to understand why their relations are so difficult. Throughout the discussions we find some of the universal regularities of the established-outsider figuration in the ways the French-born express contempt for the *Blédards* often resorting to 'blame-fantasies' concerning their intentions of taking advantage of more established group members in order to make a place for themselves in France (Elias and Scotson 1994). However, what appears to be specific to our case are the close family ties which often unite members of each group called "enemy brothers" by one participant whose post asked participants to share their opinions about why their relations are so contentious. Following is one of the answers he received:

> By definition a *zmagri* is often the son or daughter of a *blédard* so by insulting *blédard* they are insulting their own parents. A *blédard* will end up having *zmigri* children if we don't change things in our f…. *bled* which is so rotted by corruption and carelessness. We've come to differentiate between ourselves: there's a *blédard*, there's a *zmigri*, but do you think that those hypocritical french people worry about such distinctions? (…) It's true that *blédards* like me arrive in Europe with a certain number of financial and administrative constraints, anxieties and problems, but they have the advantage of the dual culture. The *zmigri* however, have worse problem I believe, because it touches on their identity. They don't know where they belong between the two worlds. Their skin isn't white, nor is it burnt by the sun, they celebrate Christmas and the Aid lakbir, they live in France but outside of the comfort of France. I don't want to go on because

> it enervates me, those people are my cousins, my family, my friends…

Here we can identify three distinctive features of the *Beur(zmagri)/Blédard* configuration which may contribute to the complexity of their relations: first, the importance of family ties between members of each category; second, their shared minority status re the French majority; and, last but not least, the dual framework created by the transnational space of migration. The processes of positioning and counter-positioning between the two groups reveal that the balance of power between the French-born and newcomers are not always in favour of the more established; this is a situation which leads to symbolic factors and issues of status playing a significant part in boundary-making processes (Petintseva 2015).

Indeed, debates about the differences, the relations, the merits and the shortcomings of each group revolve around three major issues which resemble the 'moral schemes', as observed by Wimmer in his study of boundary-making processes aimed at newcomers in three Swiss immigrant neighbourhoods (Wimmer 2004). The first one relates to the cultural and religious authenticity, or lack thereof, of members of each category. This theme is part of a larger, more implicit debate about the evolution of the homeland societies and about the nature of the acculturation process experienced by the descendants of immigrants in France. The second issue pertains to social mobility, to the educational and professional qualifications of individuals and to their administrative status. It poses the question of the social legitimacy of members of each category in their country of origin and abroad and of their individual merits. The third theme, certainly the most controversial and most frequently discussed on the forums, relates to marriages and sexual relations as seen through the lens of "mixed" unions between *Beur(ette)s* and *Blédard(e)s.* This theme raises a host of issues about changing gender roles, about the tensions between sincere love, individual strategies and the demands of religion and community. Here the trans-national marriage market appears as an arena fraught with illusions and misunderstandings.

**The Paradox of Authenticity: From Collective De-Culturation to Individual Hypocrisy**

At first glance, the *Beurs/Blédards* debate seems to oppose in a rather classical manner the values of modernity and those of tradition. One's first impression is that the *Beur,* and especially their female counterpart the *Beurette,* embody the negative aspects of the western way of life in the eyes of many new migrants and residents of the home countries. They are associated with unbridled consumerism, sexual promiscuity, the absence of moral principles, and a general attitude of disrespect. In other words, they are viewed as the victims as well as the perpetrators of a process of acculturation regarded first and foremost as a process of deculturation by those who have grown up in the home country. The *Blédard*, on the other hand, tends to be cast by the French-born as the narrow minded country bumpkin, who is intolerant of difference, and who is too macho if he is a man and too submissive if she is a woman. Many reproach the *Blédards* for their moralizing tendencies and their feelings of cultural superiority, yet suspect them of harbouring plans to take advantage of their French-born brethren. For example, one participant describes his discovery of the '*blédard* mentality' through his cousin whom he made the 'mistake' of welcoming in his home and whom he describes as "vicious and mean spirited, paranoid, bad-mouthing anybody who wasn't like him, suspicious of me given my friends and my acquaintances who don't really fit the islamic-maghrebian frame of reference of the right kind of people" to conclude that: "In fact the problem is that the *blédards* are close-minded, full of prejudice and easy associations and that their laid back side is only hypocritical!!!"

Throughout the debates, the participants often try to 'prove' the superiority of the category to which they belong, either by adopting

a traditionalist stance that encourages respect for one's culture and origins, or by making a case for modern western lifestyle and the value of individual emancipation and tolerance. These simplistic oppositions are, however, misleading, since in fact both the figure of the *Beur* and that of the *Blédard* combine aspects of modernity and of tradition. It is precisely this uneasy combination that appears so problematic. Indeed, the worst failings of which participants accuse each other are actually not that of being too westernized or too traditional. It is rather of trying to be what one is not, in other words of being a hypocrite or a 'fake', or of deluding oneself about the value of their culture. In answer to a young French born woman's criticism of the *Blédards'* cultural 'backwardness' one migrant returns the affront by undermining French culture and education: "You received a french education. The result: narcissism, arrogance, egocentrism, chauvinism, self-importance." He then depicts a reality in which the descendants of migrants are revealed as 'losers' on multiple fronts: "Let it be known that french culture is losing out, that the french economy is losing out (you are eating the money of blacks and arabs. In other words the biggest benefits of the french companies is made abroad and it won't last because the people want more transparency) that french society is losing out (you have to hide your name in order to find work, it's crazy). You despise the *blédards*, you despise the continuity of your grand-parents' society."

Ultimately, the *Beur* or the *Beurette* appears as the one who has become 'too' French and who is therefore no longer a 'true' Algerian, Moroccan, etc. At the same time, he or she is occasionally blamed for trying to maintain the most backward aspects of his or her parents' culture (for example for speaking a local Arab dialect instead of standard Arabic). Similarly, the *Blédards* are also accused of being two-faced by the French-born who portray them at one and the same time as backward and close-minded and as individualistic and ambitious types who are ready to take advantage of their own cousins.

The moral scheme of authenticity is not simply articulated here in terms of cultural conformity to norms and values defined collectively by each society. Rather, authenticity is understood here as the measure of a person's ability to resist a form of 'duplicity' which Abdelmalek Sayad has shown in his writings on Algerian emigrants to be at the heart of the 'paradox of alterity' according to which they as well as their descendants are always viewed as somehow illegitimate by one or the other of the participants in the migration complex (the host society, home country residents, previous generations of migrants) (Sayad 2006).

**Social Mobility and (Il)legitimacy in the Host Country: A Transnational Perspective**

The second major theme relates to the issue of social mobility and the legitimacy or illegitimacy of processes of self-advancement in French society. Exchanges revolve here around the general question of whom of the *Beur* or the *Blédard* is more successful in France, and subsequently which of the two has a more legitimate claim for remaining or being in France. All sorts of stereotypes and counter-stereotypes are invoked here such as that of the delinquent drug dealer from the 'ghetto' (*banlieue)*, of the illegal immigrant who is a drain on the welfare system, or of the spoiled sons and daughters of the ruling elites from the Maghreb. Many newcomers blame second and third generation youth for wasting away the opportunities their birth in France should have provided for them. For instance, one participant writes about the French-born: "Its enough just to compare your shitty low income housing projects with the three story houses that a simple government employee can get in the *bled*. (…) The problem is really that you are jealous. At least we the *blédards* come to France and start from scratch and become something. You have everything and nothing at once." In response to these accusations the French-born portray new immigrants as arrogant and overly ambitious, intent only on taking advantage of the resources made available to them in France. "If a *blédard*

succeeds better socially in France, this is only thanks to his survival instinct, for them France is a jungle, they don't know anything so they have to call upon posturing and vice, two qualities which any true *blédard* masters perfectly. They are capable of eating there own family unscrupulously just to serve their own interests."

Many of the arguments advanced here appear strikingly similar to those which Sayad observed two generations ago in his analysis of the perception which home country residents held of emigrants as individuals who practice a form of 'social ruse' or 'cheating'. He stressed at the time that: "the (relative) social promotion made possible by emigration, or rather the illusion of such a promotion, annoys all the more because it is suspicious since it is carried out in another social, economic political, linguistic order, in short another cultural order, and with the means provided by this foreign order" (Sayad 1999:171).[8]

What is played out through these discussions about the social successes and failures of the two figures is informed both by the past and the present. The ambivalent sentiments which the children of immigrants have regarding their parents' inferior social status as immigrants are mingled with the resentment provoked by the realization that the newcomers' more instrumental and indifferent relationship to French society may actually be an advantage in order to succeed in the host country. The contradictory image of the *Blédard* as both the uncivilized poverty stricken cousin from the country and the arrogant upwardly mobile university student combines two distinct immigrant profiles into one ambiguous social figure. The first image relates to the period of economic growth during which most of the participants' parents or grand-parents arrived in France as manual labourers. The second one refers to the present day migration of socially displaced university educated youth who fail to find work in their own country despite their rising levels of qualifications (Ichou 2014).

In their respective countries of birth, both groups encounter obstacles in their quest for economic self-sufficiency and upward social mobility. The desire for social advancement lead members of each group to project themselves onto the 'other' country. By means of temporary or permanent emigration for the *Blédard*, or during holidays spent in the homeland for the *Beur*, each aspires to a form of social metamorphosis which might turn them into the 'rich cousin'. In order to do this, however, they must distance themselves from the stigmatized images of the immigrant that threaten their own identity and fragile social status. For the second generation of North Africans it is the figure of the backward peasant and the exploited immigrant that they seek to keep at bay. Indeed most French born youth of North African origin dread the perspective of occupying positions similar to those their fathers held when they arrived in France. For the newcomers the counter social model is embodied by the potentially delinquent urban youth from which they seek to differentiate themselves.

The reciprocal put-downs and accusations between the two groups concerning the attitudes the other adopts in France are in many ways a reflection of the conflicts that take place in the country of origin when members of the second generation return for holidays (Bidet 2017). Local residents often regard French-born youth as disrespectful and accuse them of trying to pass for what they are not by exhibiting their wealth and making believe that they live the good life in France. Second and third generation youth, on the other hand, feel resentful of the fact that they are regarded as foreigners or immigrants (*zmagria*) when they 'return' to what they feel on a subjective level to be their 'true' country. Many feel a strong sense of illegitimacy in their country of origin where they are not regarded as 'natural' members of the society and are looked upon with a mixture of envy and distrust. When

[8] Author's translation from chapter 5 « Le choc en retour sur la société d'origine » originally published as an article in 1985. *« La promotion sociale (relative) que l'émigration assure (ou plus exactement dont elle donne l'illusion) agace d'autant plus qu'elle est foncièrement suspecte : elle est réalisée dans un ordre social, économique, politique, linguistique, bref culturel, avec les moyens que donne cet ordre allogène. »*

they, in turn, accuse new immigrants of being in France illegally and of taking advantage of the system, they are in effect simply getting back at them for the rejection they have experienced during holidays spent in the home country (Bidet 2017).

**Debating the Advantages and Pitfalls of the Transnational Marriage Market**

For immigrants and their descendants, marriage is a key issue in the debate for or against assimilation, or cultural reproduction. Marriage is the institution symbolizing assimilation, ethnic continuity, disintegration or integration, depending on whether the point of view is that of the ethnic community or of the host society. Marriage is also a pathway to social mobility and a means for potential migrants to gain access to the resources of western society at a time when other forms of migration have become severely restricted. For these reasons the transnational marriage market is an arena in which many different types of resources, such as legal status, wealth, reputation and cultural capital, are bartered and exchanged. It is therefore not surprising that one of the most frequently and most heatedly debated topics is the issue of gender relations as seen through the perspective of transnational marriages between *Beur* (or *Beurette*) and *Blédard* (or *Blédard*). Many discussions aim to assess the advantages and disadvantages of such 'mixed' marriages, or to understand the motives of individuals who seek their future spouse on the other side of the Mediterranean.

The issue of access to legal status complicates relations between young men and women of North African origin as each suspects the other of judging them primarily in relation to this factor. This is particularly the case for migrant men who express bitterness about this issue. Relating his own unsuccessful relationship with a North African girl born in France, one participant recounts that: "After a while together and during a dispute, in anger she said or made me understand that I should be happy just because she agreed to go out with me because girls like her don't go out with *blédards*. (…) a man with his pride can understand what it feels like when he loves with the heart and at a certain moment he is asked the damned question: it's to get your papers?" To which a compatriot on another forum might answer: "(…) don't get married to a girl from here, you will never be respected, you will never be appreciated for what you are worth, they are in a mindset of primary racism: I was born in France, you're a *blédard*, so I'm better than you." The masculinity of migrant men is clearly challenged in a situation in which they may be dependent on their wives for their administrative and sometimes also their financial security.

More generally, unions between immigrants and the French-born descendants of migrants raise the issue of male-female relations in a context in which the migration process has reconfigured traditional gender roles. The couple made up of a *Blédard* and a *Beurette* appears to be the most at odds with the traditional model. Indeed, the femininity of second-generation women is already undermined by the process of acculturation perceived as a source of potentially deviant sexual behaviour. In discussions online, second generation women voice their fears about being abandoned by their fellow co-ethnics for French women or for a girl from 'back home' since they conform neither to the ideal of the liberated western women nor to that of the proper Muslim wife.[9] One of them asks, for instance, of her fellow co-ethnics men: "why do you feel obligated to make your life either with a french girl or with a girl from the *bled*? What is left for us maghrebian girls from France who have a part of both? Maybe it is this part of both that scares you?" To which another young woman responds: "If the french girl divorces she doesn't care and the girls from the *bled* accepts things that we

[9] According to the survey *Trajectoires et Origines* the children of North African migrants are significantly more likely to marry either a migrant of the same origin as them or someone of the majority origin than they are of marrying a fellow co-ethnic of the second generation. North African youth also have higher rates of celibacy and marry at a later age than youth of other ethnic origins.

wouldn't. We therefore end up on the side of the undecided."

The match between second-generation men and migrant women, on the other hand, is seldom a subject of debate online. While this is perhaps due to the more limited number of migrant women who take part in these forums, the fact that this type of match does not undermine traditional gender roles makes it a much less controversial issue. In marked contrast to the *Beurette* (f) */ Blédard* (m) couple, the union between *Beurs* (m) and *Blédardes* (f) appears almost as a caricature of the parental model, since in this case it is the man who is responsible for bringing his wife to France. He is the westernized one and she is the traditional one, or assumed to be so. It is quite possible that in fact these kinds of marriages suffer from the same cultural incompatibilities and administrative hassles as the others, yet they appear to conform more readily to traditional norms.

Due in part to the social pressure which still exists, particularly for women, against marriage with a non-Muslim partner, second generation women appear to be losing out in the game of musical chairs which defines the transnational marriage market. The following exchange between a migrant man and a French-born North African woman testifies to the resentments such a situation provokes:

- A simple question: since you don't like *blédards* and since they are all rotten, and since you are way more civilized, then why do your girls continue to marry us? Is it because your guys are too busy burning the neighbours' cars, or simply because you don't have the choice (…) So go ahead and please yourself and insult us and make us out to be what you like. This is one of the only places where you can do this, you're life is miserable, the life of the *blédard* too you'll say, but at least some of us manage to make it thanks to you, thank you from all the *blédards* who were nothing and who are better than you are today thanks to you.

- I'm sure your fingers have gone beyond your thoughts! in your last paragraph you thank all the victims of your pre-conceived stupid plans, so you see I was right! And even if there are a few good examples here and there, you aren't part of them since you admit it yourself! Doesn't the evil eye prevent you from sleeping tight? I hope all those women and children will find the strength to forgive you! As for your analysis on the men from France I'll help you, since apparently you're short of arguments! To start with there are already more women than men in the 20/40 age group here, then out of 100 men you've got 15 who are hooked up with french women. Next you have 10 who are dead either from HIV in the 80's and 90's or from an overdose. Next you've got about 20 who are permanent residents in prison. Next you have those who are freaked-out, about 10/100, for whom women are too complicated and who want a cut and paste version of their mother and who therefore go and get one in the *bled* thinking wrongly that she will be more manageable. That leaves 45, do you follow? Out of these 45 we can suppose that 25 of them are between 30 and 40 years old. Do you think that they are going to be interested in women aged 30 to 35 who aren't married yet for various reasons (studies, family responsibilities, limited beauty, bad luck…) well no!!! They are going to make eyes at the 20/25 year olds!!! So if some of my sisters were asked in marriage by a guy from the *bled*, why not? If most of you had behaved correctly we wouldn't be having this conversation… and you know it!

In his "Theoretical Essay on Established and Outsider Relations" Norbert Elias highlights the potential for each group to become trapped in a double-bind when the outsider is somehow needed by the established and when the balance of power between the two groups is unstable (Elias and Scotson 1994: introduction). The previous exchange illustrates such a situation and helps to better understand why the moral

scheme here is largely articulated around accusations of instrumentalization, (in)decency and (in)sincerity in a configuration of inter-dependency which poses the question of who is using whom.

## Conclusion

The labels spontaneously produced by minorities to name sub-groups of their own community are useful means through which to apprehend collective dilemmas and social imaginaries which dominant group members often miss or miss-represent. These categories and the boundary-making processes they entail question ethnic solidarity, cultural homogeneity and shared identities, and are therefore the cause of internal disputes among those who make use of them. By using the tools offered by internet communication which make it possible to access a public/private space of deliberation we have explored these 'hidden' dimensions of intra-ethnic relations between the descendants of immigrants and their peers from the home country. We have shown that such relations are influenced by a variety of dynamics linked to the status of the ethnic group in the receiving society, to evolving migration patterns as well as to long standing transnational ties. While derogatory stereotypes of the newcomer are common among many settled minorities, especially when migration is an ongoing phenomenon, in the case of the North African immigrant minority living in France, intra-group relations appear particularly contentious and acrimonious. This is due to a combination of factors, such as the historical legacy of the colonial heritage, which explains both the entrenched stigmatization of North Africans in France and the highly ambivalent perceptions of emigrants by those remaining in the country of origin. More recent phenomenon are also at play, such as the substantial changes in the profiles of North African immigrants entering France over the past decades, and their limited access to legal status and permanent residency, which make them increasingly dependent upon their more settled co-ethnics.

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*Tunisian sites :*

« Relation : Beurette, Bledar : est très Grave !!!!! », July 23rd, 2007, **https://forum.marhba.com/forum/discussions-generales/17581-relation-beurette-bledar-est-tr**

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[10] Only those which are still available online are included here. Following are some examples of topics from other sites used:
*« Mariage avec une femme du bled OUI ou NON et pourquoi ? » ; « Supériorité du rebeu par rapport au blédard » ; « Il était une fois… la beurette et le blédard ! » ; « Je ne veux pas d'un blédard » ; « Le stéréotype blédard chez les jeunes d'origine arabe » ; « L'amour entre une beurette et un blédard » ; « Bledart vs. Beur »…*

## Note on the Author

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# Of Homogenous 'Freaks' and Heterogenous Members: Cultural Minoritites and their Belonging in the Estonian Borderland

by Alina Jašina-Schäfer (BKGE, Oldenburg, Germany)

**Abstract**

This paper interrogates the complex manifestations of belonging among minority groups while focusing on the narratives and spatial experiences of Russian speakers in Estonia. Engaging critically with previous studies on belonging and drawing on the ethnographic examples from the borderland city of Narva, this research reconstructs belonging as a complex relational process constituted through both the official spatial arrangements and individual social actions, meanings, and perceptions. It demonstrates how official state narratives and the reconfiguration of space in and around Narva alienate many of its Russian-speaking dwellers as outsiders and strangers but also, counterintuitively, lead to the emergence of numerous alternative heterogenous representations of the self, anchored in daily interactions in and with concrete material spaces.

**Keywords:** belonging, borderland, space, Russian speakers, Estonia

## Introduction

This paper extends the dialogue on ethno-heterogenesis through a critical interrogation of the notion of belonging, which in the recent years has become increasingly central to discussions of ethnicity, minority integration, and socio-cultural change. It does so by examining the everyday practices of 'Russian speakers'[1] who found themselves "beached" in Estonia when the Soviet borders suddenly receded (Laitin 1998: 29). Once a privileged national group in the Soviet Union, the Russophone populations experienced "a form of stationary or figurative displacement" as the political borders demarcating their homelands "moved over them" (Flynn 2007: 267). This geo-political reconfiguration implied the obliteration of established orders, the redefinition of community memberships, and the transformation of Russian speakers from being considered the rightful residents in the commonly non-Russian regions to being perceived as new minorities. To this day, especially following Russia's contested annexation of Crimea and the war in Eastern Ukraine in 2014, their loyalties, attachments, and belonging complicate the process of post-Soviet reconfiguration of political, cultural, and social landscapes.

Engaging with the peculiar case of the politically displaced Russian-speaking minorities in the Estonian borderland city of Narva, this paper explores the complex manifestations of belonging. In recent years, there has been sustained interdisciplinary academic scrutiny of the

[1] The broad term 'Russian speakers' encompasses Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Polish and other nationalities, who had migrated to the non-Russian regions and became heavily Russified both during the tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. However, without wishing to essentialize certain historical, linguistic, and cultural commonalities between Russian speakers, I consider the Russophone community as a complex phenomenon, engendering a broad variety of narrative and performative practices articulated within a specific spatio-temporal setting.

processes, practices, and theories of belonging (Antonsich 2010; Anthias 2006; Halse 2018; Miller 2003; Pfaff-Czarnezka 2011; Wright 2015; Yuval-Davis 2006, 2011). Heightened transnational interconnectedness, but also resurgent nationalism and conservatism have contributed profoundly to questions about what belonging could mean, how belonging is experienced in different ways, and how it might be structured by socio-political processes. This paper addresses such questions by bringing previous critical studies together with my own ethnographic data about tangible ways in which Russian speakers experience, materialize, and narrate their belonging.

In addition to attending to broader political discourses or the so-called "politics of belonging" (Yuval-Davis 2006) which define space and society, I also incorporate a micro-level analysis of the mundane activities and narratives of Russian-speaking individuals, and inquire particularly into their societal positionings, their perceptions of places they live in and the desires for alternative belonging. I build on and conduct a space-sensitive research (Fuller & Löw 2017; Savage et al. 2003; Youkhana 2015) that looks not only at different emotional articulations of belonging in a specific socio-political and cultural location but also at the capacity of concrete material spaces to facilitate the movement of people between different memberships. As such, this detailed analysis contributes to existing theoretical discourses on belonging, describing it as interrelated yet with "alterable attachments" (Youkhana 2015: 16) that come into being through simultaneous spatial practices of bordering and re-bordering.

Approaching belonging as a more fluid and less fixed conception, as a movement between 'inside' and 'outside' as well as between different cultural fields, allows us to better understand how the processes of 'othering', processes of distancing, as well as changes of ethnic framing and collective memberships occur. The empirical sections provide, therefore, vivid insights for the current special issue on ethnoheterogenous societies by demonstrating how belonging and affiliation of Russian speakers are shaped by the simultaneous entanglement of homo- and heterogenizing forces. That is how they move from being framed and perceiving themselves as 'freaks', as put by one of my interlocutors, or non-Estonian strangers, to Estonian 'rightful members', Estonianized Russians, and/or as essential parts of Europe.

Narva represents a telling site in the study of local belonging and social change. Following Estonia's independence in 1991, the new borderland city has been geographically marginalized and discursively alienated from the rest of Estonia. It came to connote peripherality and internal otherness, Orientalized due to its demographics, location, and cultural connections with Russia and the so-called 'Russian World'. To date, the city is populated predominantly by Russian-speaking inhabitants (comprising over 90% of the local population), most of whom arrived in Narva during the reconstruction years following the end of World War II. The large flow of newcomers from Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union considerably shifted the ethnic composition of its population, turning the city into a "Russian-speaking working-class environment" (Pfoser 2017: 392), where ethnic Estonians represent a minority. Today this demographic situation stimulates much discussion into the status of Narva – whether, for example, Narva should be considered a 'Russian enclave', "detached from Estonian political and cultural mainstream" and capable of secession (Makarychev 2018: 9).

Although the borderland city is approached predominantly through the frameworks of securitization and marginalization, Makarychev (Ibid.) notes how Narva should be studied as a "connecting point", "bridge", and a "hybrid space" that integrates "a fusion of cultures and languages" (Makarychev & Yatsyk 2016: 101). As an "epistemological frontline" between different spatial and temporal scales of the global, national, and local, Soviet, and post-Soviet (Kaiser & Nikiforova 2008: 545), Narva enables a closer look into the relationship between geographic borders and potential boundaries of belonging. Studying

the variegated practices through which Russian-speaking Narvans position themselves in relation to internal and external spaces makes visible how the dividing lines between and the saturation of different cultural codes and lifestyles occur, opening thereby new perspectives into the broader research on borders, belonging, and space.

The first part of this article situates the research in the literature on belonging, developing a space-sensitive definition of the concept. In the second part, I provide a schematic account of individual meanings and practices of belonging while drawing on the ethnographic examples gathered in the Estonian borderland city of Narva between February and April, 2017. In this analysis, I focus, on the one hand, on the major reconfigurations of space that occurred in the borderland city following the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as the official state narratives that often exclude Russian speakers from the Estonian community on both formal and informal levels. On the other, I trace different ways in which societal positionings and alternative modalities of belonging emerge and are negotiated in the so-called spatial narratives of Russian speakers constructed in reference to specific places.

**Belonging Through Spatial Lens**

Although belonging has been less rigorously theorized than many other foundational terms (Wright 2015: 391), there are several noteworthy studies that seek to make sense of ubiquity and the contradictory nature of the concept by elaborating its different facets. Nira Yuval-Davis (2006), for example, suggests that belonging is a dynamic process constructed through different dimensions: individuals' social locations that relate to a particular age-group, kinship group or a certain profession; individuals' identifications and emotional attachment to various collectives and groups; and discursive processes or 'politics of belonging' that make belonging possible. At the center of her argument lies the perspective that belonging is always influenced by different historical trajectories and social realities and is negotiated 'intersectionally', that is, alongside multiple power axes. Floya Anthias (2006) follows a similar argument and situates belonging at the interface between the local and the global, between different locations and contexts from which it is imagined and narrated. To understand belonging, then, is to understand a "translocational positionality": that is, how individual positionalities are "complexly tied to situation, meaning and the interplay of our social locations" (Anthias 2006: 29). This interpretation breaks with the essentialized categorizations of social difference and bridges the gap between structure and agency, between different localities and scales.

To fruitfully deepen understandings of belonging, Sarah Wright (2015) suggests a "weak theory", which neither attempts to categorize nor model the lives of people. Instead, a weak theory ponders belonging as constituted "by and through emotional attachments" as well as "the practices of a wide range of human and more-than-human agents, including animals, places, emotions, things and flows" (Wright 2015: 392). It is, thus, a "circuit of action and reaction" (Ibid.: 393) that emphasizes the agency of place and its co-constitution with people. Mike Savage et al. (2003) and Marco Antonsich (2010) also stress the spatial reference of belonging, which is often related to particular localities and territorialities. According to Antonsich (2010: 645), who builds on research by Yuval-Davis, belonging may range between two major analytical dimensions – one that connotes a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' (place-belongingness) and the other that refers to "a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion" (politics of belonging). As such, belonging develops gradually through daily spatial performances and feelings of safety while being situated within and affected by more public-oriented formal structures.

There is now a growing acknowledgement that belonging should be anchored in socio-material circumstances, spatialities surrounding people, and their everyday practices (Anthias 2013;

Bennet 2012; Youkhana 2015). Eva Youkhana (2015: 11), for example, notes how, in order to reflect upon the changing everyday belongingness, socio-spatial production processes must be better integrated into our conceptual thinking. Belonging, in her words, could be then defined as “a socio-material resource that arises my means of multiple and situated appropriation processes” and describes “alterable attachments that can be social, imagined, and sensual-material in nature” (Youkhana 2015: 16). These attachments come into being “between people and things, and between people and people, through material conditions”. To stress the intersectional entanglement of belonging with the politics of boundary-making, Youkhana proposes to use space as a useful analytical category that reflects complex relations between people, circulating objects, artefacts, and changing social, political and cultural landscapes (Ibid.: 10). In other words, this analytical approach gives the researcher an opportunity to trace not only the complex relations of individuals with other people but also the importance of concrete places or things for the constitution of the social relations (Halse 2018).

This article considers a space-sensitive theorization of belonging.[2] Building on previous research, it looks at belonging as an ongoing spatial process, defined by power relations which shape and are shaped by practices of bordering and de-bordering. The spatial approach to belonging, which is by its very nature relational and dynamic, allows one to overcome many difficulties associated with problematic ideas of groupism or static attitudes towards people’s self-positioning. Instead, this approach views membership roles as inherently situative within specific power relations (Tiesler 2018) and draws our attention to social, political, economic, ideological, and technological processes that define space and society. These processes are usually tied with the so-called ‘politics of belonging’ through which both political institutions and the society at large create structures and draw boundaries, shaping and encoding the built environment with meanings that affect the individual experiences in place. At the same time, it also considers the mundane, habitual activities and tactics (e.g. social exchanges, memories, images, and daily interaction in and with material settings) that people use to negotiate their way through or around social structures. As an analytical tool, space, thus, does not overemphasize individual agency nor prioritizes ‘politics of belonging’, but sees them as products of inherent interrelation responsive to the movements and specifications of time.

Adopting a relational space-based approach, this paper concentrates on artefacts in public space of Narva – buildings, streets, monuments – and their role in the processes through which Russian speakers negotiate belonging within the Estonian collective, transgress dominant ideologies, political practices, and the politics of social boundary-making. Central to the analysis are individuals’ narratives of social relationships and belonging, emerging out of their daily routines and dwelling. Instead of asking the direct questions of where and whether one belongs or feels at home, I employed naturally occurring data that arose in the conversations about the aspects of everyday life, friendships, leisure, and favorite places. Therefore, apart from conducting scheduled interviews, I also turned to the ethnographic practice of ‘deep hanging out’ (Geertz 1998; Ingold 2004), that is, sharing experiences in a variety of places by strolling through the city with my interlocutors, visiting their homes, and having numerous conversations about life outside the formal interview structures in cafes or bars.

[2] Following Low (2017: 32), I understand ‘space’ in a broader sense, as a social construct, “produced by bodies and groups of people, as well as historical and political forces”. ‘Place’, on the other hand, is a spatial location inhabited and appropriated by individuals through ascription of personal meanings and feelings (Cresswell 2015: 15). It is by filling spaces with social, cultural, and affective attributes that space becomes place – a “particular space on which senses of belonging, property rights, and authority can be projected” (Blommaert 2005: 222).

The data used in the sections below stems from Russian-speaking interlocutors whom I met through a technique of a snowballing (with a maximum of one subsequent referral per respondent): I encountered some people on the streets, while I met others through personal contacts or through the language café, the informal meetings organized by the Integration and Migration Foundation (MISA) with the purpose to help people improve their Estonian language skills.[3] My analysis builds on extensive ethnographic observations, visual materials, or photographs of favorite places that my interlocutors shared with me, as well as twenty-seven semi-structured interviews that took place in the Russian language with the city-dwellers between eighteen and sixty-six years old. These individuals represented a range of professional backgrounds with different levels of education and varying degrees of engagement in civic activities: some were university students, while others were teachers, engineers, lawyers, shop assistants, housewives, unemployed workers, or pensioners.

My ethnographic findings of everyday belonging equally combine immersion with estrangement, my own interiority as a Russian speaker from Estonia, and my exteriority as a person from Tallinn who entered into the urban environment of Narva for the first time. Establishing contacts with the local dwellers was not a difficult task, as many responded positively to my own heritage, taking me as one of their own, as someone who not only understands the language, but is situated in the same socio-political context. At the same time, I had to compensate for my 'spectral distance' with a lot of explorative strolls to sense the intensities of everyday affective cityscapes, to discover the *Geist* of Narva. This inside/outside positionality turned out to be useful for paying careful attention to different materialities and registering the distinctive public feelings they generate, or to the complex entanglement of cultural styles which overlap, mutate, and condition each other (Ferguson 1999). Most importantly, it helped uncover diverse, complex, and contested practices of social membership that Russian speakers were forming in the context of day-to-day social and spatial interactions.

**Spatial Reconfiguration of Narva: Producing a Community of 'Freaks'**

Wider socio-spatial contexts serve as a backdrop against which to interpret individual and group encounters as well as their feelings of belonging. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the process of nationalization in Estonia has become pervasive, with the state conducting wide-ranging campaigns to reassert national identity and sovereignty. The agenda of nation-building aimed in particular at an impetuous departure from the Soviet past, at revising and reifying national narratives, at reasserting the language, demographic position, economic flourishing and political hegemony of the nominally state-bearing nation (Diener & Hagen 2013). The efforts to create specific cultural and political narratives were reflected in two specific ways: First, with the creation of a citizenship policy, which excluded as non-citizens everyone who moved to Estonia after 1940 (initially comprising 39% of the total population). Second, through language and education laws, which sought to prioritize the Estonian language and version of history. At the same time, the national revival crystallized spatially in the urban landscapes through the replacement of the street names, the creation of historical landmarks that commemorate specific national narratives while forgetting or trivializing the narratives of local minorities as those of the undesirable past.

This nationalization was acutely felt in Narva, where the Russian-speaking inhabitants were forced to deal with a new physical border while observing how many of their previous practices

[3] The several meetings that I observed were attended by a very broad spectrum of Russian-speaking people: pensioners (who sought a company of others rather than necessarily learning the language itself), mothers on maternity leave and unemployed people (who wanted to use their time effectively and improve their Estonian), as well as several current employees (who were required by their employers to pass the language qualification test).

came abruptly to a halt. A large-scale de-Sovietization campaign was launched to exteriorize Russia and Russianness from the time-space of Narva, replacing it with Estonian and European narratives instead. During this process, not only several Soviet-era monuments were eliminated, but also the street names, names of buildings, schools, or cultural landscapes of the city. The first monuments to be demolished were those of Lenin. The main statue, which is the last of its kind in Estonia, was relocated from the city square to the yard of the Narva Fortress, built during Denmark's rule in the thirteenth century. Stripped of its former powerful position today it serves rather as a "kitschy local tourist attraction metaphorically captured and subordinated to Europe" (Kaiser & Nikiforova 2008: 549).

This radical transformation affected the city in other ways, as well. The disappearance of familiar cultural geographies through creation of new symbols and narratives coupled with the corrosive political project, which left old factories, culture houses, and parks to decompose. The Krenholm area, which was once the liveliest part of the city with own library, house of culture, hospital, schools, kindergartens, and housing for the factory workers, "the centerpiece of proletarian internationalism" (Kaiser & Nikiforova 2008: 549), has undergone the most devastating decline. Once the largest textile factory of the Russian Empire and a space for employment during Soviet times, Krenholm could be now regarded as an artefact of hardships that the city has endured since the early 1990s. What is left of it are ruins which mark growing state disengagement while transmitting a sense of marginality for its population. In my conversation with Sveta, a thirty-four-year-old housewife, she remarked how the 1990s have dramatically affected the city and the lives of the people. Born in the Krenholm area, where she also spent most of her childhood, Sveta is upset by the negligence of favorite places, which today represent a rupture between a good life of Soviet prosperity and a present decline, economic insecurities and unemployment:

> The Gerasimov Culture House, I cannot look at it without tears in my eyes. It is a wreck; even the windows are all knocked out. Nothing is left of this place. Once, this culture house used to be surrounded by a beautiful park with fountains, full of kids. All parades and celebrations in the city used to take place there, on the ninth of May, the first of May. Numerous cultural events, gymnastics and music classes all used to happen at Gerasimov. There was life and there was real movement. What we see now is a few shabby columns and slowly, quietly corroding swings of the demolished amusement park.

Attempts to integrate Narva into Estonia and to introduce the Estonian language and culture through the education system or cultural events and festivals thus border uncomfortably with the visible distortion or even erosion of the public spaces.[4] This distortion comes alongside counterproductive narratives that reconstruct the city as a separate kind, as "not quite Estonian" (Pfoser 2017: 397). For example, Katri Raik, the former director of Narva College and a current member of the Estonian parliament, wrote a book tenderly named *Minu Narva* (My Narva) in which she attempts to overcome the negative images often attached to the city. In a thrilling manner, Raik describes her positive impressions of the everyday life in Narva but slips almost simultaneously to reproduce the stereotypes and ostracize the city as "neither Estonian nor Russian" but rather Soviet (2014: 28), as a place with its own way of governing (*politika na narvskii maner*), as a place where the people think of Russia as their homeland (Ibid.: 26).

This book was mentioned to me by several of my interlocutors, who were convinced that it does not do justice neither to the city nor to them. Rather, it strengthens the perception of Narva as an adjacent element that consists of foreign people:

[4] Note that Ida-Viry County, of which Narva is a part, has the highest registered unemployment rates (9.2% in 2020) in the country. See, for example: https://news.err.ee/1025237/more-job-seekers-in-ida-viru-county-are-finding-work-away-from-home.

> Very little attention is paid to us. Neither politicians nor people know much about us. This is not to say that we are a separate world. No. We pay taxes and everything that happens in Estonia affects us in the same way. Narvans want to be accepted. It's like every family has a freak and we are this freak (*v semye ne bez urodov i etim urodom okazalis' my*). This is upsetting. And when Estonians say like we are not Estonia . . . How come? At least geographically. Yes, we are Estonians, Estonia … not Estonians, but Estonia. And a lot of Narva dwellers, simple workers, working in factories or in shops, they value Estonia and love living here. (Yulia, twenty-four years old, student)

For Russian speakers like Yulia, the de-construction and temporal ruptures that the city experiences are not seen as their own failures to adapt to the new realities in the country – as it is commonly framed by political and medial discourses (Malloy 2009). Instead, it is depicted as a deliberate attempt of the state to abandon the city and position Russian speakers as 'other'. This feeds largely into the feelings of alienation, often self-induced, as a seemingly homogenous Russian-speaking community of 'freaks' (*urody*) who are estranged from the larger Estonian collective. Another interlocutor, Natalya, a museum worker in her fifties, also talked to me at length about the internal 'otherness' of Narva and its dwellers. In our conversation, she reconstructs the painful decline of Narva from a hardworking city into the 'city of beggars' where everyone, including herself, must change jobs on a regular basis and then wait for their employers to eventually pay them. They become a kind of problem child for Estonian politicians: 'But we didn't come up with this life. And now Estonia can't stand Ida-Virumaa. It is like an ulcer on the Estonian body (*yazva na tele Estonii*)'. As a stateless person, Natalya feels particularly affected by these changes. Despite being born here and paying her taxes, she confessed later, Estonian official citizenship and integration policies only exacerbate her alienation and impede a sense of belonging to the Estonian nation-state.[5]

The interaction with fellow ethnic Estonians who often demonstrate unwillingness to accept Russian speakers as 'own people' complicates the situation further. In a conversation, Vera, a forty-year-old social worker, expressed her unease with not being considered a legitimate part of Estonian community, which was related strongly to her lack of knowledge of the Estonian language. Vera was born in Soviet Estonia and welcomed its independence in 1991; she considers the country her only homeland. She learned the Estonian language, attends different events in Estonian across Narva, but the feeling of being a foreigner never subsides. Such boundaries that demarcate Estonia's 'own people' from Russian-speaking non-belongers feed further into the homogenous images of Narva as a "mentally imagined place, a small fatherland" separated from the rest of Estonia (Zabrodskaya & Ehala 2010). But with every separation, as I demonstrate below, comes also a new connection. In other words, as much as boundaries separate, they simultaneously enable space for transgression and a reconfiguration of one's own representations in multiple heterogenous ways.

## Heterogenous Belonging: Re-Assembling Narva as a Plural World

### *The Tank – A Place of Russian Alterity*

The widespread campaign of nationalization and naturalization of Estonian national narratives eliminated numerous Soviet commemorative sites across Narva. Although the memorials to the victory of the Red Army in World War II, such as the 'Tank T-34' (Fig. 1), were not physi-

[5] Based on the idea of legal continuity of the Estonian Republic of 1918-1940 and illegal occupation by the Soviet Union, the citizenship law, adopted in 1992, helped to disenfranchise large groups of the population by denying Soviet era settlers and their descendants citizenship rights and forcing them to undergo strict naturalization process. Note, however, that the number of stateless people has dropped from over 30% in 1992 to approximately 6.1% in 2016. This is primarily because stateless people have decided to undertake 'naturalization' or have, instead, acquired Russian citizenship. For more on the relationship between citizenship and belonging in the context of Estonia see Jašina-Schäfer & Cheskin (2020) or Nimmerfeldt (2011).

Figure 1: Tank T-34. Photograph by Alina Jašina-Schäfer, July 2020.

cally removed, numerous state efforts have been made to redefine their meanings from a symbol of liberation from fascism to monuments marking victimhood and suffering of the Estonian people at the hands of the Soviet aggressor. Despite the efforts to dispose of the undesired historical narratives, many of my interlocutors highlighted the importance that the Tank has retained as a place of remembrance, representing a durable form of the past that bears its mark on people's lives.

Located on the outskirts of the city, the tank has been the gathering point during the celebrations of the Victory Day on the ninth of May when people come to lay flowers and honor the memory of the fallen soldiers. The act of remembering occurs also on a more mundane basis when people retell the monument's history or directly demonstrate it to the city visitors like myself. Artur, a thirty-nine-year-old IT-specialist is, for example, convinced that the tank bears a very symbolic meaning in Narva, representing to him personally a reservoir of his childhood memories and his Russianness:

> If I ever leave, I will miss my tank. The tank is the best thing that we have here. When I was a child, we would often go by bus with the kindergarten group to Ust' Narva and drive past the memorial. Lucky were the ones who were sitting next to the window and could see the tank. So really this goes back to my childhood. And if you sat at the wrong side of the bus, you would be considered a loser for the rest of the day. Well, in general, I think every Narvan associates their life with this tank. People even come here for weddings, it is a must, a tradition. […] The tank symbolizes history, different battles that took place here. Narva suffered a lot during the war, it was almost completely destroyed. Everyone here knows this tank. I think it contains some kind of Russianness; I mean, I haven't seen Estonians coming here. It is rather the monument that symbolizes the Russian nation, especially for those who fought in the war and those who lived in the Soviet Union. But I might be mistaken.

As such, for people like Artur, the tank highlights the gap between socialist and post-socialist visual

representations of the city. It serves as cultural heritage that projects the heroic involvement of Russian people in World War II as opposed to the official state narratives of repression and occupation. But it is also a material historical witness that helps cementing the spatio-temporal continuity of Russian speakers embedded in the Soviet past as opposed to ruptures and discontinuity promoted by the agenda of nation-building. The continuity emerges not only through the celebration of the ninth of May, but especially through the repetitive performance of the wedding routes in the city – a custom that has its roots in Soviet times. As a traditional wedding location, Artur recalls later, the tank still attracts newlyweds to pose for pictures and tie ribbons around the cannon as a symbol of a family as strong as the armor.

For Artur, the tank is an eloquent memorial, a symbol of communal Russianness grounded in historical narratives of continuity. For others, however, it can be an overlooked location that remains invisible in everyday life. Especially those born in independent Estonia seem to rely less and less on the Soviet World War II memories as a marker of Russianness, redefining thereby the meanings of it altogether. Yulia noted to me, for example, that she has many friends who do not associate themselves with anything Soviet and even less so with Russia: 'There is no place for them in Russia, they don't have *their* Russian culture [as in culture of Russia]. Many don't celebrate Russian holidays. Don't talk about the victory day, what it is. Don't lay flowers next to the tank. This is a different generation'. Indeed, I went with the younger interlocutors to the nearby city of Narva-Jõesuu on several occasions, and we simply drove past the monument without even making a stop or uttering a word about it. The tank solitarily stood on the roadside as we rushed towards the abundant cafés, spas, and parks in Narva-Jõesuu.

The departure from the Soviet/Russian of which Yulia speaks does not necessarily strip Russian speakers of their 'Russianness', nor should this example suggest the insignificance of the Soviet past for their present experiences. Rather, it is to complicate our understanding of the socialization environment within which individuals move and interact. Already in 2003, opinion polls indicated that Russian speakers started to increasingly value globalizing popular and consumer culture which opens possibilities for new cultural styles to emerge (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2009). In the process of dwelling rooted in Estonia and Europe comes a change in their social and political ideas, activities and behaviors, whereby we witness how 'being Russian' becomes highly heterogenous – attached to and detached from Russia, attached to and detached from the memories of the Soviet past.

*The College as Architect(ure) of New Sociability*

The ability to perform heterogenous 'Russian culture' around spaces like the tank does not necessarily help Russian speakers overcome the perception of Narva as a space mentally divorced from the rest of Estonia and Estonians. This much desired transgression of alterity, as many of my interlocutors noted, occurs rather in a different space, a space imagined as inclusive for all dwellers of the city and beyond. It is a future-oriented space that does not attempt to mend the past narratives, which in the context of Estonia are still painfully disjointed, nor rejects or trivializes the narratives of Russian-speaking minorities. Instead, it is determined to create unity based on progressive thinking and common interests.

A newer building of Narva College (Fig. 2), which opened in 2012, is in many ways the object of such a hopeful outlook. It is situated at the heart of Narva's no-longer-existing old town and, through its peculiar design and location, entangles different temporalities and spatialities: the façade is filled with the elements that pay homage to the demolished stock exchange building of the baroque Narva, representing city's long and unique history within Estonia; it has both a café called *Muna* (egg) and egg-shaped furniture, which are elements that symbolize the beginning of a new life in Narva. The building also celebrates its borderland location, whereby

Figure 2: Narva College. Photograph by Alina Jašina-Schäfer, July 2020.

two separate wings stand for the cities of Narva and Russia's Ivangorod, and the gutter represents the river Narova that today separates the two cities.

The college is not only open for students, but hosts numerous public events, jazz nights, book clubs, memory games, in both Estonian and Russian languages. These events are equally accessible to locals and outside visitors. For example, the memory games, in which I too actively participated, take place at the café with a relaxing atmosphere, which encourages mingling and socializing between different people, such as Estonian and Russian speakers, and older and younger generations alike. Drinks are sold at the counter, the questions are asked in two languages, and the tables are located close enough for communication to extend beyond one's own group. When, by the end of the evening, a man with an Estonian accent eagerly proclaimed– *my pobedim* ('we will win' in Russian), you could clearly sense the erasure of boundaries between the Russian- and Estonian-speaking worlds. Whereby the building and people inside of it turned, even if for one night, into an 'open society', a spatial counterpart to forms of social exchange on the outside.

My interlocutors, of varying ages and professions, often come to hang out at the college. For example, a sixty-six-year-old pensioner named Raisa thought Café Muna would be an excellent start for our explorative stroll around the city. Many others would agree, as they understood the café, and the college in general, to be a place where the feeling of being a foreigner disappears As put by forty-year-old Vera:

> When the new college was opened, I realized immediately that I wanted to study here even despite my age, which is not so good for education (laughs). So, I fulfilled my dream and came here to study. [...] Narva College is the only place here in the city where I hear the Estonian language, and I am very happy about it. It is like an immersion with Estonian for me.

It is a place that offers an abundance of opportunities to generate new friendships, as noted by Vova, a student in his twenties:

> There is a lot happening in the college. A jazz club takes place twice a month, and the locals come for the jazz. Various meetings with politicians, ministers and significant people in the city are being held here too. The idea behind it is to meet, to think and to work together. The last event I remember was organized by the Narva Youth Centre regarding the student self-governance in schools. Back then a lot of student representatives from the whole Estonia came here. Even Töötukassa (state unemployment insurance fund) holds events in here. Sometimes I come to study and can't even enter the place because of some event taking place.

As such, the structure and internal operation of the college make room for those whose opinions remain marginal to the Estonian mainstream. They seem to enable equal participation, break down the ethno-hierarchy still prevalent outside of the building, and help Russian speakers to overcome the tacit exclusions sedimented through the project of nation-building. The college and the people interrupt the 'normal' order of space and become the architects of new sociability in which both Russian and Estonian speakers are essential to the Estonian community. Such sociability does not only exist within the walls of the college but spreads slowly across the city with different smaller and bigger local initiatives taking place. Be it through building collectively the "Bench of Reconciliation" or participating together in the campaigns to make the borderland city the next capital of culture, locals continue reconfiguring Narva from a foreign space into a space 'suturing' different histories and cultural styles.

*The Multilocal River Promenade*

Another important location where I often went with my Russian-speaking interlocutors was the River Promenade. Recently revamped with the help of the money from the European Union (EU), it is now one of the local population's favorite places, where they take their children to the playground, do outdoor sports, take a stroll, or attend open-air concerts and other events (Fig. 3). The promenade is a long pedestrian street along the river embankment and as such represents "the basic unit of public life in the city" (Tonkiss 2005: 68). While it might seem to be less about direct sociability and encounter between people, it too is subject to different uses and meanings.

Figure 3: The River Promenade. Photograph by Alina Jašina-Schäfer, July 2020.

Located in the immediate vicinity of the border to the Russian Federation, the Promenade represents the fusion of distinctive "cultural styles" (Ferguson 1999): Estonian, European, Russian, and 'local'. Each of these styles has been naturalized through everyday use, and each intersects and reconfigures the other. On the one hand, the medieval ensemble of the Narva tower signifies to Russian speakers the long history of Narva in Estonia, whereby having personal childhood memories of it and interacting with it helps to strengthen one's own sense of belonging to a larger Estonian collective:

> I will tell you now one of my school memories. We travelled a lot with my class. We went to Moscow, to St. Petersburg. I liked it everywhere. But there is this turn to Narva, when our castle becomes vis-

> ible. When the bus would turn, and you would see the Hermann Tower. I would immediately tear up – this is *rodnoe* (native space), this is my home. And I would say: I am finally home. (Nadezhda, forty-five years old, kindergarten teacher)

On the other hand, the promenade represents the symbol of European power – it is a place where the European Union (EU) starts. Walking along the 'European' alley, illuminated by twenty-eight lamps each symbolizing a member of the EU, Dmitrii, a local businessman in his forties, pointed to the other side of the river, to the small and, in comparison to Narva, rather unspectacular promenade of Russia's Ivangorod and its semi-ruined castle. The striking difference between two cities that were separated by the river helped Dmitrii to demonstrate cultural superiority of Narva over Russia and its clear belonging to a geocultural space of 'Europe':

> Life in Russia is savage […]. You stand out there and see Russian river promenade and think – oh, hell with it. Ours is much better, and this plays an important role. […] Why should I go there? Should I look at their architecture that was built by their grandads? Well, the grandads were fine fellows and not the new generation of Russians that is uncultured.

The non-belonging of Russian speakers to Russia based on their Europeanness was noted also by Yulia:

> When I went to visit my relatives in Bryansk [a city in Russia], I understood how different we are. They are so…The guys there are like Russian fairy-tale figure of Ivan the Fool. They don't buckle up, don't wear light reflectors, don't look around before crossing the roads. I think it is my Europeanness that speaks now. Careless, this word describes Russians well. It permeates everything – the driving, their attitude to life, their relationship to family. In Europe we began to appreciate that parents spend time with children and pay attention to teenagers. In Russia, they are far from there. Schools are different. We went to a university in Pskov for a lecture, told them how old we were, and they treated us like little unreasonable children. It infuriated us, but it suits their students. You come back to Narva and think, Lord, where was I … in some wilderness or something?

Invoking this array of spatial narratives, Russian speakers clearly expose the limits of the 'nationalizing state' that feeds off their otherness. Instead, they move between multiple heterogenous memberships and reconstruct themselves, often against the geographical and cultural space of Russia, as different but quintessentially Estonian and European.

**Conclusion**

In a context of a highly transnational, fluid, and fragmented world, belonging remains a fundamental resource that defines the quality of everyday life. Drawing on the narratives and spatial experiences of Russian speakers in the Estonian borderland city of Narva, the aim here was to disentangle or, at least, to begin to better understand the meanings that belonging connotes to minorities situated within specific power relations and socio-political contexts. The case of Narva adds, as such, further empirical insights into the conceptualization of belonging as a complex ethnoheterogenous process constituted relationally through official spatial arrangements, on the one hand, and individual social action, meanings, and perceptions, on the other.

Being once a prosperous Soviet industrial city, in this paper I vividly showed how Narva has suffered dramatic re-scaling into a foreign space that occurred under the influence of state nationalization policies. This re-scaling, in turn, led to the emergence of seemingly bounded notion of belonging that relies on imposed conceptions of collective identities reproduced to homogenize Narvan Russian speakers as outsiders who have seemingly no place in the new Estonian social order. However, the destabilization of social codes and previous daily experiences, I contend, also meant the emergence of numerous alternative heterogenous representations of the self and the meanings of one's own belonging. As such, the world of Narva was and continues to be built anew as a space that bridges different histories and cultural styles, and moves between different versions of Estonianness, Russianness, and Europeanness. What understandings Narvan Russian

speakers develop of their cultural location, and how they constitute socio-cultural, political, and geographical distinctions depend in many ways on their intersecting, though this is not reducible to each other's social positioning. Thus, in order to be able to extend our understanding of everyday bordering practices and belonging, future research should be more cognizant of these broader social hierarchies and their effects upon ideas and behaviors among Russian speakers in particular and minorities in general across space and time.

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# Hybrid Stylization in Ethnoheterogeneous Societies: Resistance Against Ethnic Categorizations in a German Rap Song

by Coşkun Canan (Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research, Humboldt University of Berlin) and Albrecht Hänig

**Abstract**

Social categorization is an essential component of human activity. However, migrants and their descendants can be disadvantageously categorized based on their ethnicity. How can affected individuals deal with such structural conditions in society and resist ethnic categorizations? To answer this question, we first address available strategies in social identity research and find that those strategies are insufficient to resist ethnic categorizations. As an alternative explanatory model, we have developed the concept of hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization, which represents a process of ethnoheterogenesis. By considering a culture of ethnic hybridity, this concept offers innovative strategies to resist disadvantageous ethnic categorizations. We then analyse a German rap song to empirically exemplify a hybrid ethnic-cultural style. Finally, we discuss theoretical implications and make suggestions for further research.

**Keywords:** migration and integration, hybrid styles, ethnic-cultural empowerment, rap music, anti-racism

## Introduction

Apprehending the social world through categories is a fundamental human ability. It helps to structure information and determines intergroup behavior (e.g., Allport 1954; Macrae and Bodenhausen 2000). At the same time, the categorization of individuals gives rise to in- and out-group distinctions and intergroup bias. Every individual can become an object of categorization. Depending on one's group membership, a person experiences advantageous or disadvantageous evaluations (Tajfel and Turner 1986).

In ethnoheterogeneous societies, a person with a migration background[1] can be subjected to negative evaluations by majority group members due to attributed ethnic differences (e.g., Tiesler

[1] As we focus primarily on the German context, we use the term 'individuals with a migration background' to refer to migrants and their descendants. This label has been established as one of the most salient categories in Germany to describe an individual's migratory origin. Whereas official surveys do not gather a person's ethnicity, the German population and government agencies use migration background widely to categorize people. However, its exact definition varies. According to the Federal Statistical Office, a 'person has a migration background, if s/he herself/himself *or* at least one parent was not born with German citizenship' (Federal Statistical Office 2018) – 26.0 percent of German population currently have a migration background (Federal Statistical Office 2020). In this context, individuals without a migration background represent the majority group, whereas individuals with a migration background are the minority group. We use these terms interchangeably. Distinctions that categorize one's migration background are somewhat rough and may suggest homogeneity within these groups, but this is not the case as we are aware that some individuals or groups with migration background can become part of the (white) majority (more) quickly while others cannot. As this article's subject is the exclusion of individuals with a migration background (based on attributed ethnic differences), we will consider this distinction.

2018; Schneider and Lang 2014; Rumbaut 2008). Although these individuals can learn and acquire categories directly linked to the majority's perceptions of their ethnicity during the integration process (e.g., language), there are ethnic categories that cannot be attained, such as racial ones, or that are hard to achieve, such as religious ones. These categories represent ethnic boundaries that exclude others by definition (Canan and Simon 2018). If they become salient, individuals with a migration background that differs from the dominant ethnic norm might be excluded from the majority and its privileges – even if they successfully integrate regarding other achievable ethnic-cultural dimensions. This exclusion especially targets groups affected by discursive processes of othering because the conditions facilitating the creation of out-groups are particularly prevalent here (e.g., assumptions of homogeneity or the existence of stereotypes regarding the out-group) (Said 1979). Against this backdrop, the question arises to what extent individuals with a migration background can escape such disadvantageous categorizations and overcome ethnic boundaries.

In order to answer this question, one has to 'consider the interplay between sociocultural characteristics and social structure, as well as intergroup relations in specific settings of power' (Tiesler 2018: 210). We will address available strategies in social identity research on how to avoid categorical processes' negative results for minority group members. Owing to the majority society's dominance within the reciprocal process of categorization, these offered strategies are not sufficient for ethnic out-groups to escape from their disadvantageous position. For this reason, we will present the concept of hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization, which offers an alternative and innovative ethnoheterogeneous approach on how individuals can resist categorical processes' adverse consequences. We will then exemplify hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization through an analysis of a German rap song. In the final section, the concept's potentials and possible pitfalls will be discussed.

## Seeking the Right Strategy

### *Social Identity Re-evaluation*

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), an individual's self-concept is connected to the evaluative connotations of those social categories or groups with which they[2] affiliate themselves (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Therefore, individuals strive for positive social identities and group memberships in order to assert a positive self-concept. A consequence of this effort to attain a positive social identity is intergroup bias: Even simple social categorizations lead to decisions and modes of behavior that favor one's own group in comparison to a relevant out-group (Billig and Tajfel 1973; Brewer 1999; Tajfel et al. 1971). SIT names three strategies for achieving a re-evaluation of social identities with regard to status hierarchies (Tajfel 1981: 316-43; Tajfel and Turner 1986). The first is individual mobility: People can achieve (more) positive categories through upward social mobility. The second is by means of social creativity: Members of a group can re-evaluate social categories by inventing new dimensions of group comparison, establishing favorable value assignments to one's own group, or by changing the comparison group. Third, through social competition: Subordinate groups can alter their position within a system of statuses and values by challenging the majority society's stratification system.

Utilizing these three strategies with regard to 'ethnicity' – beyond the fact that both ethnicity and status can be intertwined with each other (Tully 2000) –, it becomes apparent that the first and third strategy may not be sufficient for removing ethnic categories' negative evaluations. If ethnicity is understood – in Max Weber's classical sense – as the belief in a shared ancestry based on culture and physical features (Weber [1922] 2002: 237), then non-achievable or hard-to-achieve categories such as racial or religious

[2] To achieve a more gender-neutral language in this paper, we use the plural form whenever the gender of a single person is unimportant, e.g., we use 'they' instead of 'he/she' and 'their' instead of 'her/his' in these cases.

ones can determine perceptions of ethnicity within society (Wimmer 2008; Bös 2015).

In order for the first strategy to work, it would require the possibility of changing from one ethnicity to another. However, non-changeable or hard-to-change attributes make it virtually impossible to switch between ethnicities. Although these features' significance might empirically decline in certain segments of the population at specific points in time (Canan and Simon 2018), this does not mean that they vanish entirely. On the contrary, some of them might gain in importance (again) or are simply replaced by others (Appiah 2015; Canan and Foroutan 2016a: 35-37).

Direct competition (the third strategy), in turn, can be an option to achieve parity and equal recognition, but it is a long process with several stages that does not guarantee success (Tully 2000).[3] Therefore, social competition does not immediately result in re-evaluation or complete recognition of the excluded group and one's own social identity – if anything, this would only be possible in the long run.

Ultimately, the only viable strategy appears to be the second one. At first glance, this approach allows for a re-evaluation of a negatively connoted social identity. Nevertheless, scrutinizing this strategy as well as Tajfel's remarks (1981: 285-287) about it reveal obstacles. The efficacy regarding the re-evaluation of one's social identity via new dimensions of comparison is dependent on the majority group members' acceptance (Tajfel 1981: 287). If they negate the new dimension's legitimacy, the re-evaluation will not work. Likewise, the attribution of positive value judgments in order to achieve a re-evaluation of one's social identity has the same limitation. Again, it depends on the majority group, which can reframe a positive attribution in a different way than minority group members intended, or adopt an opposite standpoint, thereby undermining the minority group's efforts (Boxill 1992: 12). Lastly, the compensatory comparison with another group that is even lower within the hierarchy is only an evasion action. It does not alter the overall system of prevalent group positions and connotations.

To sum up, SIT's strategies to escape unfavorable categorizations do not work for individuals who experience exclusion on the basis of their ascribed ethnic affiliation, as the existing power imbalance between a dominant majority and subordinate minority group(s) impedes any attempt to do so.

*Multiple Social Categorization*

The initial question remains: How can a positive social identity be attained – an identity that could play a vital role in the long struggle for recognition and, moreover, be persistent enough to endure this process?

Surprisingly, research about social identity has not pursued this question. The idea of Multiple Social Categorization presents a promising approach that allows for various group identities to become salient at the same time, mixing up in- and out-group memberships and thus reducing negative evaluations of the (former) out-group members in many cases (Crisp and Hewstone 2006). However, negative evaluations are usually not dissolved entirely (Crisp and Hewstone 1999). It is even possible that one out-group category (e.g., religious affiliation) can be more salient and dominate other categories (e.g., educational achievement), undermining the potential positive effects of multiple categorizations

[3] According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), the success of minority groups' collective actions depends mainly on two factors: the groups' perceived illegitimacy and the instability of rigid stratification systems. For example, in the wake of the civil rights movement in the U.S., the black population's access into many areas was opened. This development was, on the one hand, due to civil rights organizations' insistence on pointing out the illegitimacy of black people's exclusion, and, on the other hand, due to the fact that this exclusion did not conform to modern constitutional democracy's values (Franklin and Moss 1988). Nonetheless, achieved successes do not necessarily result in an overall and comprehensive recognition of excluded groups. Instead, systematic differences between groups in different domains of society can still exist as a result of discrimination, which is not always visible at first glance (Nagel 1994; Reeves 2017).

(Canan and Foroutan 2016b). Therefore, ethnic boundaries continue to be prevalent even under conditions of multiple social categorization.

*Ethnocentrism*

Which other options exist in order to dissolve the binary structure of ethnic in- and out-group(s)? As indicated before, relevant strategies' success is linked to the majority group's dominant position – do the majority group members accept new dimensions of comparison and attribution of values, or do they not? A possible solution must consider that majority group members' responses always have the potential to be negative, and that formerly positive reactions can always be withdrawn. One solution would be to avoid exposure to the majority group members' categorizations altogether. A strategy of segregation combined with or based on ethnocentrism would, as a political tool, be able to accomplish this: Minority group members could stick with their own kind, avoiding any exposure to the majority group's social categorization and forging a positive social identity based on their ethnocentrism.

Upon a closer look, this strategy turns out to be only superficially beneficial in the context of migration and integration. It might even be disadvantageous for individuals with a migration background. Besides segregation's socio-economical downsides for minority groups (Wiley 1967), ethnic boundaries would actually be reinforced, thereby amplifying the logic of social categorization, which ultimately leads to the reciprocal preference for one's own ethnicity and discrimination against the respective out-group(s). In the end, due to its more powerful position, the dominant majority group would come out on top in this contest of categorizations.

As all strategies presented so far do not adequately tackle the issue at hand, we will present an alternative approach called hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization in the following section.

**Hybrid Ethnic-Cultural Stylization**

*Hybridity and the 'Third Space'*

One way to dissolve the binary structure of ethnic categorization is the concept of hybridity and the idea of the so-called 'Third Space'. This postcolonial approach by Bhabha (1994) rejects the existence of fixed binaries on the ground of ethnicity or other identitarian categories. Every cultural encounter needs to pass the 'Third Space' – an in-between space of cultural enunciation – where meaning is negotiated and translated constantly. According to Bhabha, the process of hybridity relies on the idea that cultural difference is a social construction, since culture itself is a symbolic activity that is always subject to ambivalence. More concretely, 'the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew' (Bhabha 1994: 37). The 'Third Space' understood in this way is a source of subversive power: The translation of the dominant symbols and representations by the marginalized produces reinterpretation, impurification, and hybridization of the hegemonic signs and meanings (Ha 2015: 68). It undermines natio-ethno-cultural homogeneity (Mecheril 2003). The idea of hybridity illustrates that ethnic categories and boundaries are merely constructions subjected to alterity and ongoing reinterpretation. Nevertheless, individuals with a migration background – especially those with racialized markers – can be confronted with persistent ethnic categorizations in their daily lives because social interactions rather take place in social contexts than in an ideal 'Third Space' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Friedman 1997). Given these constraints, hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization represents a feasible concretization or expansion of hybridity, a practice that considers the embeddedness of individuals in social contexts more thoroughly and offers a practical strategy.

*The Emergence of Styles*

The concept of hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization refines the idea of social creativity. It unfolds the

conditions under which ethnic out-group categories' re-evaluation could work – even if processes of disadvantageous categorization continue to exist in society. In contrast to social creativity as proposed by SIT, hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization enables social identity's re-evaluation with minority groups' own innovative categories independent of majority group members' stance.

The term stylization makes recourse to White's concept of style and designates the formation of collective sensibilities, i.e., shared ways of perceiving and acting in the social world (White 2008: 113-114). In White's network-theoretical approach, a style is 'a dynamic and self-reproducing amalgam of profiles of switchings among distinct network-domains' (White et al. 2007: 197) that 'ties together disparate identities at other levels' and predetermines the 'interpretive tone' in given social situations (Corona and Godart 2009; White et al. 2007). It emerges and is deployed over time through ongoing switchings across social-cultural contexts, thereby encapsulating a set of values (White 1994) and expressing itself through implicit or explicit codes (Godart and White 2010). Style is a scale-invariant social-cultural formation that can occur on different levels (micro-meso-macro) (White 2008: 113). It is a dynamic and stochastic approach induced by the process of ongoing switchings. In this sense, it is a source of change and innovation, even if it itself may not be changed easily (White 2008: 114). For example, a group of painters assembling various painting techniques and subjects can switch among them and create a new style that later receives its own name (e.g., impressionism) (White and White 1993: 114-117).

*Ethnoheterogenesis of Hybrid Ethnic-Cultural Styles*

Ethno-cultural changes and the emergence of new ethnic-cultural formations are characteristic of ethnoheterogeneous societies (Tiesler 2017; Claussen 2013). Ethnoheterogenesis (EHG) is an analytical framework that deals with these new diversities as well as the multiplicity of ethnic memberships by highlighting both the interdependency and simultaneousness of hetero- and homogenizing forces in the emergence and change of ethnicities (Tiesler 2018: 200, 212). The idea of stylization in the context of migration and integration can be incorporated into the framework of EHG. It stands for switchings between different social-cultural contexts, in which individuals with a migration background learn and get to know their attributed and socially constructed ethnic identities. These ethnic identities are ascribed to them, or they choose them based on perceived differences in practices or physical appearance. They are constructed under conditions of ethnoheterogenesis, where processes of ethno-homogenization (ethnic stereotyping) and ethno-heterogenization (hybrid ethnicity) take place, thereby shifting ethnic boundaries. Hybrid ethnic-cultural styles then encapsulate these processes driven by the individuals' cross-over switchings among different ethnic-cultural contexts (e.g., speaking German at school and Turkish at home, see Canan 2015; Schneider and Lang 2014). In other words, a hybrid ethnic-cultural style emerges out of these switchings. The most intriguing expression of this style is probably the usage of different languages in the same conversation employing and generating new translanguaging identities (Li and Zhu 2013). Not only does this process challenge homogeneous constructed identities (Bhabha 1994), but it also creates new creolized forms of ethnic identities (Hannerz 1992).

We use the term hybrid ethnic-cultural style to refer to the social temporal manifestation of this type of hybridization. Under certain social formations and over time, individuals acquire their own sensibility for their ethnic identity. This process can lead to the emergence of new concepts of ethnicity (Canan 2015). In concrete terms, individuals with a migration background – who consider themselves as members of the majority, but differ from autochthonous individuals in terms of perceived phenotypical characteristics – can develop distinct sensibilities for ethnic categorizations resulting in new concepts of ethnicity (e.g., being both German and Turkish at the

same time) (Canan 2015; Schneider and Lang 2014; Schubert 2006).

The question then arises: How can hybrid ethnic-cultural styles contribute positively to one's self-concept when majority group members do not necessarily accept new concepts of ethnicity? The solution lies in the fact that hybrid ethnic-cultural styles come with a set of codes and values (Godart and White 2010; White 1994) and enable individuals to speak out in their own words from their position of in-betweenness (i.e., being settled between multiple ethnic identities; see Hall 1990). Moreover, they promote the formation of a trans-ethnic community where ethnic features used for disadvantage categorization can be positively re-evaluated (see White 2008: 157-60; also Weber [1922] 2002: 235-41).

When the re-evaluation of out-group categories is hybrid in style, it can positively contribute to one's self-concept in two different ways. Firstly, the re-evaluation can be carried out in an autarchic fashion, which is based on the minority group members' own values and codes. The majority group members cannot decode it because of its hybridity – or, to put it differently: They cannot take a definite stance on it. Majority group members may learn hybrid ethnic-cultural codes, but they cannot reproduce the style authentically as they are neither exposed to the same patterns of switchings across social-cultural contexts nor do they experience the same disadvantageous categorizations. However, they can become supporters that identify themselves with that style's values and expressions. It is important to note that this form of re-evaluation is directed at individuals with a migration background who are disadvantageously categorized in the first place. Majority members do not have to decode and consider this re-evaluation in order to exclude those individuals. The hybrid re-evaluation is, thus, an effective strategy to resist disadvantageous categorizations by contributing to one's conception of self even in cases where individuals with a migration background are still experiencing exclusion in certain situations. However, this style of re-evaluation may affect those situations as well – e.g., excluded individuals who may feel empowered to respond to disadvantageous categorization can resist and confront individuals or norms that uphold ethnic out-grouping (Lamont et al. 2016: 86).

Secondly, hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization can be the ground for social, competitive strategies to challenge ancestry-based concepts of ethnicity since it ties individuals with similar patterns of switchings together and promotes the building of a community with its own codes and values. For example, ancestry-based concepts of ethnicity may already be challenged when individuals publicly report their experiences of being in-between, thereby representing a new form of ethnicity (e.g., Bota 2012). A hybrid ethnic-cultural style can also tie majority and minority group members together due to its position of in-betweeness (e.g., Brettell and Nibbs 2009). This style is characterized by openness rather than by segregation because of its struggles for parity and equal recognition within the majority group context.

*Intersectionality*

Although our focus is on the emergence of hybrid ethnic-cultural styles, questions of class and gender also play a vital part in society and, subsequently, in the ethnic-cultural stylization of individuals (see Winker and Degele 2009). Certain migrant groups and their descendants are more likely to have unequal access to education and job opportunities because of disadvantageous conditions (e.g., low socio-economic resources) or ethnic discrimination (Geißler and Weber-Menges 2008). In addition to the resulting increased likelihood for those groups to end up in the lower and more precarious segments of society (Tucci 2018), ethnic stereotyping promotes ethnic-homogenization. As a consequence, ethnicity and class blend into each other. In the so-called 'Sarrazin-Debate' (named after its main instigator) in Germany, for example, Muslims with a migration background were stereotyped as 'stupid' and as 'having no motivation to inte-

grate themselves into the mainstream' (Haller 2012). Individuals with a migration background may also experience working-class-typical patterns of switchings between different contexts (e.g., between deprived neighborhoods as well as low-level education and one's place of work).

In a similar way, gender can be intertwined with ethnicity (e.g., 'dangerous Muslim men') (Dietze 2017; Spies 2010). According to Connell (2005), gender relations are determined by masculinities: 'It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable' (Connell 2005: 76). This hegemonic position of masculinity is characterized by the subordination of women (Meuser 2012) and the marginalization of masculinities that do not belong to the dominant group (e.g., marginalized working-class, queer, and/or non-white masculinities; Connell 2005: 80).

Even in modern societies, where patterns of gender relations have changed and hegemonic masculinity is contested, the subordination of women is still existent in various forms (e.g., the gender pay gap; Meuser 2012). Ethnically out-grouped men cannot reach hegemonic masculinity because of their marginalized position. However, they are frequently stereotyped as 'patriarchal'– interweaving ethnicity and gender (Huxel 2014). The marginalized position and ethnic stereotypes therefore determine the masculinity and switchings of those men (e.g., peers and male family members with marginalized masculinities). Confronted with a lack of life chances and external perception about the 'hyper-masculine Other', they may also choose to incorporate the ascribed ethnic stereotypes and embrace patriarchal positions (see Huxel 2014: 260-261). Consequently, women with a migration background can become targets of hegemonic and marginalized masculinities – a situation which imposes role switchings in family-related contexts (e.g., housekeeping and child-raising) (see El-Mafaalani and Toprak 2011) and reinforces respective ethnic stereotypes in the majority society.

All three dimensions (ethnicity, gender, and class) often interact and intertwine with each other (Huxel 2014). Hybrid ethnic-cultural styles, therefore, come with many cross-over layers and references to these categories.

With this in mind, we will illustrate a hybrid ethnic-cultural style utilizing a German rap song called *Chabos wissen wer der Babo ist* ('*Chabos* know who the *Babo* is', own translation)[4] by Aykut Anhan in the next section.[5]

**The Hybrid Ethnic-Cultural Stylization of Rapper Aykut Anhan**

*Rap Music*

Rap music originally evolved in the USA in the 1970s during the formation of hip-hop, which was developed by African-American and Afro-Caribbean youth, and consists of graffiti, break-dancing, and rapping (Garofalo 1993: 242; Rose 1994: 2). Hip-hop attempts to negotiate the experiences of marginalization, brutally truncated opportunity, and oppression within the cultural imperatives of African-American and Afro-Caribbean history, identity, and community (Rose 1994: 21). From its onset, rap music has therefore been political and controversial. It reflects a complex relationship in US-American society, but also maintains ambivalent characteristics of the black experience as a whole (Perry 2004: 27). It represents a form of oppositional culture in the face of racial formation and institutional discrimination (Martinez 1997). Violent and misogynist

[4] If not otherwise specified, italics in quotations (marking translations) are a hybrid or foreign language that cannot be translated into English easily.

[5] The track falls into a category of rap that is often described as gangsta rap as it features violent and graphic content. While we do not want to condone or embrace the glorification of violence, we would like to point out three important aspects why we have still chosen this particular track. (1) We do believe social science should study all domains of society even if they do not adhere to all standards of public morality. (2) Anhan's statements should be, at least partly, read as a reflection of his life in a society that does feature violence, injustices, and inequality. (3) Rap is an art form in which hyperbole and indignities are often used to 'battle' other rappers lyrically. These statements, thus, should not always be taken literally.

lyrics can be a facet of rap, especially of so-called gangsta rap (Armstrong 2001). The music industry also cultivates this problematic way of expressing the ambivalence of the black experience (Weitzer and Kubrin 2009; Dyson 2004).

When hip-hop came to Germany in the 1980s, it had a strong appeal among the marginalized migrant youth (Verlan and Loh 2015). However, the migrant experience played a subordinate role when German rap music became popular in Germany. Instead, inoffensive rap that dealt with middle-class issues dominated the genre in the 1990s (Lütten and Seeliger 2017: 91). This changed in the 2000s: German rap addressing urban marginality successfully moved into the mainstream. In the second phase of this development, in the 2010s, rapper Aykut Anhan (*Haftbefehl*)[6] started explicitly addressing migrant hybrid identities in his songs (Hujer 2013). Other rap artists such as Erol Huseinćehaj and Abderrahim El Ommali (*Celo and Abdi*), Reyhan Şahin (*Lady Bitch Ray*), or Vladislav Balovatsky (*Capital Bra*) also have made use of hybrid ethnic-cultural styles**.**

Besides, rap must be understood in terms of intersectionality, where ethnicity, gender, and class categories interact with each other (Seeliger 2012). However, we are mainly interested in hybrid *ethnic-cultural* styles, which is why we will focus on *how* the lyrics are presented linguistically rather than on *what* is told.

*Azzlack Hybrid Style*

We have chosen the track '*Chabos* know who the *Babo* is' because of its cultural significance as it introduced the word *babo* to a broader audience and became Germany's youth 'word of the year' in 2013.[7]

Anhan was born in Germany in 1985 as the son of a Zaza-Kurdish father and a Turkish mother, and he grew up in socio-economically precarious conditions. After experiencing a family tragedy, he quit school and started to sell drugs (Anhan 2014a, b, c). His ethnoheterogeneous background is indicating an upbringing with a potential for a hybrid ethnic-cultural style – a characteristic that is reflected in his diction. He is also imitating other ethnic-cultural identities in his songs by using the corresponding codes (e.g., French language). In addition, we interpret the practice of calling himself an *Azzlack* as a designation of his own ethnic-cultural hybridity. The term *Azzlack* that appears frequently in his songs is also the name of his first record ('*Azzlack Stereotyp')*, and eventually became his label's name. *Azzlack* is composed of the two words '*asozial*' and '*Kanak*'. Both expressions have negative connotations in Germany. The first one is used to label socially marginalized groups (Zifonun 2010), while the second one is a derogatory term for foreign groups, especially those with a Turkish background that came as migrant laborers to Germany in the context of labor force recruitment in the 1960s and 1970s (Niebling 2017).

Anhan points out in an interview that *Azzlack* is the opposite of *dazlak*. According to him, *dazlak* is Turkish and means 'Nazi'. He states that 'an *Azzlack* is a *Kanak* who is against the Nazis' (Anhan 2014b). He re-evaluates two negatively connoted expressions (*asozial* and *Kanak*) by creating a positively connoted new term (*Azzlack*) that stands for resistance against right-wing extremism. This approach is similar to the strategy used by the writer Feridun Zaimoglu, who redefined the word *Kanak* in the 1990s by calling it a 'prideful defiance' (1995: 9; own translation). In his book, Zaimoglu created twenty-four portrayals of individuals with Turkish background by asking them 'How is living in Germany as *Kanak*?'. The interviews reveal a sort of hybrid usage of the German language that he coins '*Kanak Sprak*'[8].

[6] Stage names in brackets.

[7] The youth word of the year is a prize 'in which the public and then a jury choose the word that best sums up current youth culture. It is an initiative of the dictionary publisher Langenscheidt in cooperation with a youth forum and two youth-focused magazines' (Early 2013).

[8] This term means '*Kanak* language', but is purposefully spelled and pronounced in an incorrect way. The correct German spelling would be *Kanakensprache*.

### *'Chabos Know Who the Babo Is' as an Example for a Hybrid Ethnic-Cultural Style*

In his track, Anhan uses several different linguistic, historic, and pop-cultural references, which altogether constitute a mixture of ethnic-cultural codes. These references can only be understood in their entirety, thereby forming a context of meaning. In other words, only if one is able to decipher the different ethnic-cultural semiotic systems and put them into relation to each other, the text's unity (i.e., meaning) emerges – a unity that is more than the sum of its particular parts. We have coined such a social formation a hybrid ethnic-cultural style. The artist's polyglot way of speaking incorporates the languages of German, English, French, Italian, Turkish, Kurdish, Zaza[9], and Arab. At the same time, he uses symbols of pop culture, like popular combat styles, which have their origins or, at least, a point of reference mainly in East Asia, but are practiced globally nowadays.

The title '*Chabos* know who the *Babo* is' already establishes a connection between individual languages: Whereas *Chabos* stems from the medieval sociolect *Rotwelsch* and translates to 'lads' in colloquial speech[10], *babo*[11] means 'boss' or, more generally, a respected person in Zaza language (Biermann 2013; Maciej 2015).[12] A couple of German words complete the title, linking both described terms syntactically. Hence, all three different languages contribute to the title's semantic meaning. These three symbolic systems form an ethnoheterogeneous unity that transcends the boundary of each single linguistic community. In doing so, the meaning becomes apparent: The 'lads' or 'brothers', here are understood as underlings, and know who is the 'superior' or 'boss'. This presented method of juggling different ethnic-cultural symbol systems is replicated throughout the whole track.

In the second line (see Appendix), the artist places the Turkish word *abi* directly behind the abbreviation *Hafti* (short for his stage name *Haftbefehl*, which is German for 'warrant'), thereby juxtaposing himself (represented by his German stage name) and the Turkish language, as both cultures (among others) have influenced his identity. *Abi* refers to either an older gentleman that connotes respect, or an older brother. It is also common to hear young men in Turkey address each other with this expression (Biermann 2013). The rest of the line is, again, composed of German parts, which together with the Turkish word *abi* jointly form the content.

In the track's hook, and similarly to the track's title, Anhan makes use of even more comprehensive ethnic-cultural cross-over switchings. He links three instead of just two ethnic-cultural codes (i.e., distinct languages) in line five. He blends them into a collective whole that is only comprehensible in its entirety and, for the purpose of intelligibility, cannot be reduced to one of its three parts. In order to understand this passage, it is necessary to draw on all three ethnic-cultural semiotic systems: *Attention* is pronounced French, signifying 'caution' or 'danger', while the Turkish *harakets* stands for 'movement' or, colloquially, for 'Do not move!'. In conjunction with the remaining German words and the following line, a demand is voiced towards the imagined counterpart to avoid any movement. Otherwise, the imagined opponent will face harsh consequences. However, as the imagined counterpart will only understand this threat of violence if they are able to connect the

[9] Zaza language is the 'language of an ethnic group in the eastern part of Turkey in Eastern Anatolia' (Maciej 2015, own translation). Whether Zaza is a Kurdish dialect or represents its own individual language is part of an ongoing political debate. However, academic researchers of Iranology tend to classify it as its own language, setting it apart from Kurdish (Arslan 2016: 2-7).

[10] In one news article, *Chabo* is also translated to a 'pawn on the chessboard of life' (Rapp 2013, own translation).

[11] A slightly different explanation reads as follows: '*Babo* is a local form of *baba*, the standard Turkish word for "father". It [i.e., *babo*] is mainly used in East-Anatolia, where it has already become a slang term for "boss, ruler" among boys and young men […]. And *baba* means "father" not only in Turkish but also in Arab' (Heine 2013, own translation).

[12] As Turkish people speak Zaza, the word *babo* is sometimes claimed (e.g., by Anhan himself) to be Turkish.

dots, they need to link all three ethnic-cultural codes.

Additionally, Anhan uses references to pop culture throughout the text. These symbols usually point to specific ethnic-cultural traditions that are combined lyrically with each other. One example is *Ong-Bak*, the title of a Thai martial art movie from 2003, in which the characters perform Muay Thai (a combat style originally used in Thailand). Nowadays, it is practiced all over the world. Anhan takes *Ong-Bak* as a symbol to describe how *Vollkontakt* (the German word for 'full contact', as in 'full contact when hitting someone') should be performed. Adding the French expression à la, he accomplishes a comparison: full contact 'like' in the movie *Ong-Bak*.

Further connections to martial arts follow in lines 20 and 21, respectively. In both, several ethnic-cultural references are weaved together. Anhan mocks his imagined opponent for having 'Kung Fu' and 'Wing Chun' skills like 'Bruce Lee'[13], whereas he, as Anhan raps in the following line, would be a master in '*Kampfstil Tunceli, altmış iki kurdî*'. *Kampfstil* is the German word for 'combat style'. *Tunceli* is a Kurdish-dominated province in Turkey with the license plate area number sixty-two. This number is called *altmış iki* in Turkish.[14] So, his combat style is like the one Kurdish people (*kurdî*) practice in the area where he – in his own words – 'comes from' (Anhan 2013). Hence, in this polyglot conglomeration of ethnic references and different languages, the artist compares East-Asian combat styles and a Sino-American individual to an imagined combat style *Tunceli*, using German, Kurdish, and Turkish words. Fusing all of these different ethnic-cultural codes, he accomplishes to create a new meaningful totality that is hybrid at its core. He takes these different ethnic-cultural identities, removes them from their original context, and places them in a new context of meaning. In short: He performs with a hybrid ethnic-cultural style.

This hybrid ethnic-cultural style also comprises references to Anhan's perceptions of class and gender. The passage 'Still the same Chabo, bitch, whom you meet at the train station, snorting noses' reflects Anhan's socially precarious childhood with limited educational and economic opportunity. It was during this time that he regularly consumed and sold drugs. As Anhan tells in an interview, this lifestyle was shared with many other individuals with a migration background who struggled to make ends meet (Anhan 2014a). On a more general level, it points to the current precarious situation of many (non-white/racialized) migrants and their descendants coming from historically disadvantaged migrant communities, which emerged in Germany in the context of labor recruitment programs in the 1960 and 1970s. Beyond that, the word 'bitch' in the passage indicates a masculinist imaginary. It is predominantly used by men to denigrate other men as weak or in a derogatory way towards women (see Baldwin 2004). By using this term, Anhan displays elements of the patriarchal migrant masculinity. Lastly, Anhan's overemphasis of material wealth ('Hafti Abi is the one who sits in the Lambo' and Ferrari') stresses the tale 'from rags to riches', or the image of the self-made man coming from a marginalized societal position. It can further be understood as an aspiration to adopt hegemonic masculinity (Seeliger 2012).

It is important to note that Anhan uses ethnic, gender and class references in his raps as many other German rappers do. By contrast to most of those other rappers, his usage of those references maintains an ethnic-cultural hybrid style.

**Discussion and Conclusion**

Individuals with a migration background who have to deal with disadvantageous ethnic or racialized categorizations in combination with homogenizing notions of identity can develop and strategically deploy new concepts of ethnicity. We have argued that hybrid stylization

[13] Wing Chun is a form of the Chinese martial art Kung Fu (Oxford Dictionary 2019). Bruce Lee, in turn, was a Hong-Kong and US-American martial artist and actor (among other occupations) trained in Wing Chun (Thomas 2008).

[14] Including the following word *kurdî*, the literal translation would be a '62 Kurd'.

represents such a strategy, effectively blurring the lines of supposedly clear-cut ethnic-cultural boundaries and undermining stereotypical and homogeneous perceptions of culture. Hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization – based on White's network-theoretical concept of style (White 2008) – is the ethnoheterogenous formation of a collective sensibility with its own values and codes. Such a style emerges due to specific patterns of cross-over switchings among distinct ethnic-cultural contexts and is a source for change and innovation, thereby contributing positively to one's sense of self. It expresses itself as ' "relational" to other minority and majority groups, as well as "situative" in specific power relations' (Tiesler 2018: 201). In practice, it enables the proper articulation of individuals' in-betweenness and offers a re-evaluation of ethnic categories used for disadvantageous categorizations by majority group members. Moreover, owing to its in-betweenness, it can create opportunities for social, competitive strategies and diverse alliances by tying together both the affected individuals with a migration background as well as certain members of the majority willing to engage in these issues.[15] Class and gender categories often become intertwined with ethnoheterogenous formations of hybrid ethnic-cultural styles.

In this article, we exemplified a hybrid ethnic-cultural style with the help of a German rap song by rapper Aykut Anhan. His lyrics are an illustration of in-betweenness and latent potentials for change and innovation.

Beyond that, hybrid ethnic-cultural stylization bears some relevant implications for individuals affected by disadvantageous ethnic categorization. Firstly, individuals with a migration background may share a sensibility for specific forms of ethnic categorization and exclusion, but at the same time, they could be unaware of other forms of disadvantageous categorization or may even promote them, e.g., anti-Semitic as well as sexist or homophobic stereotypes stemming from a masculinist imaginary. As a consequence, the purposed re-evaluation of ethnic categories is undermined. For example, Anhan has been criticized for anti-Semitic statements in his songs. In an interview, he admitted that he had grown up in an environment where anti-Semitism had been widespread, which had influenced him and sometimes still did, but that he now valued all religions equally (Anhan 2014c).

Secondly, styles can be conceived of as social, temporal manifestations and undergo constant change. In the context of migration and integration, every generation may have to build their own styles, as social-cultural contexts are constantly changing. For example, descendants of migrants, i.e., second-generation youth, can predominantly switch between different languages in monolingual parental homes and monolingual public schools. Third generation youth may, in turn, switch between a bilingual parental home and a monolingual public school. Fourth-generation youth may switch between an assimilated monolingual parental home and a monolingual public school. At the same time, legal rules and norms may change as well, or disadvantageous ethnic categorization may change from blatant to more latent forms. These examples also suggest that completely assimilated individuals with a migration background who still experience categorical exclusion need to create new cultures of appreciation and develop hybrid ethnic-cultural styles. Otherwise, they might only articulate the re-evaluation of ethnic categories in an assimilated and non-autarchic way, in which case the re-evaluation's success still depends on the majority's goodwill. Parents with a migra-

[15] We should also be aware that an ambivalence exists in the label 'person with a migration background'. On the one hand, it reproduces in- and out-group binaries. On the other hand, it enables us to make group-based processes of exclusion and discrimination visible. Our intended understanding refers to the second purpose. Nevertheless, the category 'migration background' is a construction and a temporal marker that we as researchers need to replace with more fitting categories addressing group-based exclusion and discrimination in the future (Will 2020).

tion background could, therefore, strategically choose to preserve some ethnic-cultural values and codes to assemble a pool of cultural material out of which their children can create their own styles (see Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Finally, expressions of hybrid ethnic-cultural styles might be copied, imitated, or even become mainstream, thereby risking the loss of their original purpose of re-evaluation (Ha 2005). Anhan's song became so popular that cover versions were created on social media platforms and *babo* was selected to the youth word of the year 2013 in Germany. This popularization could undermine the struggles for recognition that lie behind the usage of hybrid ethnic-cultural codes (see Seeliger and Dietrich 2017). In this regard, one also has to ask whether the self-labeling strategy based on the belief in the re-evaluation of negatively connoted words, such as the 'Kanak' outcast, is the right approach. Those words are reproduced all the time by whoever wishes to do so. Thus, their meanings will never be established and controlled as their creators initially intended. So, could it be better to leave those terms behind us and build new terms based on positively connoted expressions? Or alternatively, should affected individuals completely forgo self-labeling, as complexities of lives cannot be condensed into a single word? These questions, among others, remain to be answered by society in the future, especially if individuals with a migration background intend to overcome the harmful process of ethnic categorization.

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**APPENDIX**

| German Lyrics | English Translation |
|---|---|
| Lyrics: „Chabos wissen wer der Babo ist“ [own transcription] | Lyrics: “Chabos know who the Babo is” [own translation] |
| 1 Chabos wissen, wer der Babo ist | Chabos know who the Babo is |
| 2 Hafti Abi ist der, der im Lambo’ und Ferrari sitzt | Hafti Abi is the one who sits in the Lambo’ and Ferrari |
| 3 Saudi Arabi Money Rich | Saudi Arabi money rich |
| 4 Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Know who the Babo is |
| 5 Attention, mach’ bloß keine harakets | Attention, don’t make any harakets |
| 6 Bevor ich komm‘ und dir deine Nase brech‘ | Before I come and break your nose |
| 7 Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Know who the Babo is |
| 8 Immer noch derselbe Chabo, bitch | Still the same Chabo, bitch |
| 9 Den du am Bahnhof triffst, wie er grade Nasen snifft | Whom you meet at the train station, snorting noses |
| 10 Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Know who the Babo is |
| 11 W, W, Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Kn, Kn, Know who the Babo is |
| 12 Tokat, Kopf ab, Mortal Kombat | Tokat, head off, mortal combat |
| 13 Vollkontakt à la Ong-Bak, komm ran | Full contact à la Ong-Bak, come closer |
| 14 Opfer, du bist Honda, ich Sagat | Looser, you are Honda, I am Sagat |
| 15 Nicht link von hinten, ich hau‘ dich frontal, sakat | Not sneaky from behind, I bash you frontally, sakat |
| 16 Dein Yokuzuna-Sumo ficke ich mit ‚nem Pushkick | I fuck your Yokuzuna-Sumo with a push kick |
| 17 Was los, du Hurensohn? Komm wieder, wenn du Luft kriegst | What up you son of a bitch? Come back when you recover your breath |
| 18 Pussy, muck bloß nicht uff hier, du Rudi | Pussy, don’t act up here, you Rudi |
| 19 Nix mit Hollywood, Frankfurt, Brudi | Not Hollywood, Frankfurt, Bro |
| 20 Du kannst Wing Chun und Kung Fu wie Bruce Lee | You can do Wing Chun and Kung Fu like Bruce Lee |
| 21 Kampfstil Tunceli, altmış iki kurdî | Combat style Tunceli, altmış iki kurdî |
| 22 Magnums und Uzis durchlöcherten den Tatort, oğlum | Magnums and Uzis perforated the crime scene, oğlum |
| 23 Und du liegst danach tot rum, Straßenmorde, Tagesordnung | And you lie around dead afterward, street murders, the order of the day |
| 24 Amina kodum, es geht um schwarze Porsches mit den Magnum Motors | Amina kodum, it is about black Porsches with the Magnum engines |
| 25 Vollgas, Monte Carlo, Touren à la Formula Uno | Put the pedal to the metal, Monte Carlo, tours à la Formula Uno |
| 26 Hafti Abi, Baby, Straßenstar international | Hafti Abi, baby, street star international |
| 27 Biji, biji Kurdistan, ich mach‘s auf die Babo-Art | Biji, biji Kurdistan, I do it Babo style |

| German Lyrics | English Translation |
|---|---|
| 28 Chabos wissen, wer der Babo ist | Chabos know who the Babo is |
| 29 Hafti Abi ist der, der im Lambo und Ferrari sitzt | Hafti Abi is the one who sits in the Lambo and Ferrari |
| 30 Saudi Arabi Money Rich | Saudi Arabi money rich |
| 31 Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Know who the Babo is |
| 32 Attention, mach` bloß keine harakets | Attention, don't make any harakets |
| 33 Bevor ich komm' und dir deine Nase brech' | Before I come and break your nose |
| 34 Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Know who the Babo is |
| 35 Immer noch derselbe Chabo, bitch | Still the same Chabo, bitch |
| 36 Den du am Bahnhof triffst, wie er grade Nasen snifft | Whom you meet at the train station, snorting noses |
| 37 Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Know who the Babo is |
| 38 W, W, Wissen, wer der Babo ist | Kn, Kn, Know who the Babo is |

## Note on the Author

Coşkun Canan is a postdoctoral researcher at the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research, Humboldt University of Berlin. His current research interests include migration and integration, diverse and hybrid identities, political and intersubjective recognition. He has published in journals such as *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Journal of International Migration and Integration,* and *Migration Studies*. He is the author of *Identitätsstatus von Einheimischen mit Migrationshintergrund: Neue styles?* ['Identity status of natives with a migration background: new styles?'].

Albrecht Hänig (M.A.) studied Social Sciences at the Humboldt-University of Berlin and the University of California, Santa Barbara. He also worked for the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research and the German Center for Integration and Migration Research. His research foci include the topics of integration and migration, (anti-)racism, as well as post-colonial theories. In 2018, he successfully defended his master's thesis titled "First and Second-Generation Immigrants in Right-Wing Populist Parties – Interviewing Members with a Migration Background of the 'Alternative for Germany' (AfD)". In the same year, he published a paper about "Welfare State Deservingness of Immigrants in Germany" in the journal *Soziologiemagazin*.

# The Negotiation of Belonging in San Francisco's Public Space: Discursive Constructions of Sanctuary Cities

by Catharina Peeck-Ho (University of Oldenburg)

**Abstract**

Since the mid-1980s, San Francisco has been among the so-called 'sanctuary cities' in the United States and allows undocumented migrants to make use of public services without any fear of deportation. The policy is an outcome of discourses concerning how to deal with social diversity, especially in regard to citizenship status in the context of the movements of refugees from Central America in the 1970s and 1980s. Due to the current political climate in the U.S. and some measures taken by its federal government, sanctuary cities are under pressure. Against this backdrop, the San Francisco Arts Commission launched a campaign with the aim to reflect the status of San Francisco as a sanctuary city; the campaign includes a variety of events and exhibitions, among them a poster series by artist Rodney Ewing. This article analyses San Francisco as an example for how cities represent themselves in the field of culture. It addresses questions of belonging, the dialectics of homogenization and heterogenization and the role of social inequalities in discourses on sanctuary cities.

**Keywords:** Sanctuary Cities, United States, Citizenship, Migration, Belonging, Politics of Belonging, Social Inequalities, Intersectionality, Cultural Representation

## Introduction

Cities use cultural production to represent themselves and support strategies of urban marketing against the backdrop of globalisation. In the United States, for example, beginning in the 20th century, multicultural festivals served to celebrate the multi-ethnic population of immigrants as an enrichment to society (e.g.: Welz 2007). Although the inclusive ideal of a country that is generally open towards migrants was always up against often racist discourses and practices, as many studies have shown (in regard to migrants from Asia, e.g., Chang 1991; generally: Portes and Rumbaut 1996), current developments reveal fundamental differences in the discursive framing of migration. Belonging becomes a highly controversial subject and this is reflected in cultural production. One example that has gained increasing attention within media and political debates are so called sanctuary cities: cities which refuse control the residency status of its inhabitants, do not enforce national immigration law and do not cooperate with immigration authorities on the national level (Kaufmann 2019). Research often focuses on legal dimensions, crime and security (Villazor 2010, Gonzalez, Collingwood et al. 2017, Wong 2017) or the development of sanctuary cities and the actors involved (Mancina 2016, Sarmiento 2017). This paper provides a different approach and analyses cultural representation. Hall notes that "representation connects meaning and language to culture" (Hall 1997: 15), which is an important factor of the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011). To investigate the political projects of belonging associated with current debates on sanctuary cities in the United States, this paper analyses discursive representations in San Francisco's public sphere in 2018, especially a cam-


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paign launched by San Francisco Arts Commission (SFAC) on the topic. It focuses on a poster series named 'Human Beings: A Sanctuary City' by artist Rodney Ewing as an example for how immigration is narrated in cultural production.

Debates on the topic in the United States are polarized: The Trump administration and its supporters framed sanctuary policies as a threat to national security and public safety. Therefore, in January of 2017, federal order 13768 was released to limit federal funding for sanctuary cities (White House 2017). On the contrary, human rights activists, civil society organizations and representatives of local administration regard the inclusion of migrants as a basis for a safety in the urban space. Supported by research which states that crime rates are lower in counties with sanctuary legislation (e.g. Wong 2017) or that there is no correlation between crime and sanctuary policies (Gonzalez, Collingwood et al. 2017) they argue that sanctuary cities positively impact all residents. The differences with regard to the debate on security and migration are linked to different policies of belonging. This article focuses on San Francisco as an example of a city that introduced sanctuary legislation relatively early. It opposed federal policies in regard to sanctuary legislation and gained wider attention within current political debates. The paper elucidates how San Francisco represents itself as a sanctuary city in order to identify the discursive framework to negotiate current questions of belonging, migration and the politics of belonging in the United States.

The argument begins with a short overview on the history of sanctuary cities in the United States, and follows with a discussion of Americanness as a result of what Nira Yuval-Davis (2011) calls 'the politics of belonging'. Ethnoheterogenesis (EHG) (Tiesler 2017, 2018) is a helpful concept to analyse Americanness, as it points towards processes of homogenization and heterogenization in narratives of migration, diversity and citizenship. The paper analyses the empirical example, drawing on methods from image analyses (Bohnsack 2014) and the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse analysis (SKAD) (Keller 2005). It concludes with an outline of the main results which will be related to questions of power within U.S. society.

## The Context: Sanctuary Cities in the United States

The history of sanctuary cities in the United States dates back to the 1980s when national debates arose in solidarity with refugees fleeing from the civil wars and dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala. U.S. authorities did not approve refugee status for over 90% of these cases, causing social movements in the United States to rise up and form public protests. The actors were mainly members of churches who placed the refugees in so-called „public sanctuaries": some supported migrant women crossing the U.S. border into Mexico, and others published stories of migrant women in an effort to put pressure on the authorities. The main aims of this activism were to stop U.S. participation in the civil wars in Central America and of deportations to these countries. In San Francisco this movement was strong, not least because it succeeded in involving local authorities and winning allies in the city administration. In the mid-1980s, "sanctuary" was institutionalized, reflecting a discourse within the municipal government that acknowledged the diversity of inhabitants in regard to citizenship status (Mancina 2016). Central documents that are considered authoritative for San Francisco are the 'City of Refuge Resolution' of 1985 and the 'City of Refuge Order' of 1989. Today the principles represented therein can be found in the city's administrative code. Among other things, it stipulates that the city and district of San Francisco are a 'City and County of Refuge' and that city employees are not permitted to inquire about the residence status of individuals or refer them to the federal authorities without special reasons (City and County of San Francisco 2019).

Although the political debate and documents such as order 13768 indicate that sanctuary cities can easily be identified, literature shows that

definitions have their own set of problems: While in some cases sanctuary legislation is adopted in the administrative code in other cities, practices like e.g. a lack of enforcement are established without a formalized policy or resolution. Furthermore, the content and the ideological background of sanctuary policies varies (Gonzalez, Collingwood et al. 2017: 6). In order to compare different cities, the authors suggest the following working definition of sanctuary cities:

> "(…) a city or police department that has passed a resolution or ordinance expressly forbidding city or law enforcement officials from inquiring into immigration status and/or cooperation with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)" (Gonzalez, Collingwood et al. 2017: 2).

Although the definition is broad, it points to a central aspect of sanctuary policies: The refusal of cooperating with federal authorities that sanctuary policies often involve, which can be regarded as an area of conflict between local administrations and the federal state. The discursive connection between immigration and security is therefore strong: Opponents of sanctuary cities define migrants without legal documents as a threat to public security and sometimes associate them with criminal actions. Advocates, on the other hand, argue that trust between public authorities and the inhabitants of a city forms the foundation for creating security, as it enhances cooperation, such as with the police force. According to these accounts, people who fear deportation are less likely to collaborate with the police or report a crime. Examples of these different points of view can be found in the lawsuit between the city and county of San Francisco and the federal government on order 13768 that followed the order by the White House, as documents show (Walsh 2017; White House 2017). It is one example of the nationwide discourse on the legitimacy of sanctuary legislation on the local level.

Forms of articulating a position within these conflicts can be identified in a range of projects implemented by the San Francisco Arts Commission (SFAC) that is funded by the city. They were aiming to respond to 'what it means to be a Sanctuary City in today's political climate' (SFAC 2018a) – a sentence which alludes to the social conflicts on immigration within the United States. In 2018, SFAC organised and funded an exhibition, public discussions and two poster series shown on Market Street in the city centre. The following section analyses the poster series 'Human Beings: A Sanctuary City' as an example of a specific subject position within discourses on immigration in the United States. These discourses refer to constructions of Americanness as something that is rooted in universalist values of equality, thereby legitimizing sanctuary legislation as an answer to strict immigration legislation.

**Americanness and the Politics of Belonging**

Americanness is an outcome of 'the politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis 2011), which is connected to what Anderson has called 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1996). Studies on the negotiation of belonging in the United States, for example, point to its links to social constructions of place and power relations within society (Nelson and Hiemstra 2008), the conceptualization of American national identity as a social identity that involves the construction and valuation of membership (Schildkraut 2011: 5) and to the use of symbols to negotiate meanings of citizenship and the nation (Wood 2014). These aspects of constructing Americanness play a role in current debates on how to deal with immigration. Yuval-Davis differentiates between belonging as a concept connected to 'an emotional (or even ontological) attachment, about feeling "at home"' which entails a positive perception of the future and the feeling of being safe (Yuval-Davis 2011: 10) and political projects of belonging:

> "The politics of belonging comprise specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivity/ies which are themselves being constructed in these projects in very specific ways and in very specific boundaries" (Yuval-Davis 2011: 10).

From this point of view, the ways of negotiating Americanness within society are a result and a manifestation of current political projects of belonging that are connected to different visions of national membership. The discourses evolving around sanctuary cities comprise important parts of the politics of belonging as they serve to construct a certain (and sometimes opposing) knowledge about undocumented immigrants, thereby legitimizing measures to either integrate them or to legitimize deportation and refugee detention. In the United States this process has its own set of difficulties, as direct or mediated experiences of migration are deeply embedded in constructions of Americanness, as Friedman (1991) points out. In his account the concept refers to a different set of beliefs about what it means to be American, about normative values, history and multiculturalism. Migration histories are used by politicians, such as the 1988 presidential campaign when both candidates identified themselves as descendants of immigrants who were ultimately successful in climbing the social ladder (Friedman 1991). This strategy can be interpreted as a way to respond to an assumption that is shared by many Americans who think of immigrants as a hardworking group (Schildkraut 2011: 160ff) and maintain a generally social positive social valuation of work. Friedmann describes Americanness mainly as a category of self-ascription that involves a certain type of value orientation and is constructed within processes of cultural production (Friedman 1991).

Beyond this definition, there is another important aspect of Americanness in this context, as it is closely connected to debates on sanctuary cities. For the period after 9/11 Weber observes a tendency to link Americanness to questions of security: an idealized image of unity is confronted with dichotomous distinctions between "safe" or "unsafe" citizens or "safe" and "unsafe" forms of Americanness (Weber 2013). To be marked as 'safe' or 'unsafe' in this regard becomes an aspect of belonging and Americanness itself proves to be a form of belonging that oscillates between the ideal of homogenization and constant processes of constructing otherness and internal differentiation. The contradiction between heterogenization and homogenization and especially the assumption that there are 'unsafe forms of Americanness' refers to different groups of the population[1] – one of them being undocumented migrants (e.g. Weber 2013, Gonzalez, Collingwood et al. 2017). It shows that the reference to Americanness as a nation of immigrants is contradicted by processes of securitization and serves to understand how this is used within struggles about citizenship rights (Weber 2013).

The concept of ethnohetergenesis (EHG) gestures to processes of homogenization and heterogenization within the negotiation of belonging (Tiesler 2017, 2018), which is useful when considering Americanness as an outcome of current politics of belonging. EHG refers to the study of migrants and their descendants 'wherein conceptual debates on self-perception, modes of belonging, group formation and collective subjectivities continue to be at the core of theoretical considerations' (Tiesler 2018). The author frames inclusion and exclusion as dialectical processes and argues that in order to avoid – what she calls – the "identity-jargon" (Tiesler 2018: 215):

> "[…] the EHG concept suggests perceiving individuals and their subjective experiences, preferences and unique webs of group affiliations (Simmel) as non-identical with others despite possible common ethnic affiliation and ascriptions to macro groups. Above all, as an analytical framework, EHG considers ethnic membership as *one among many* membership roles." (Tiesler 2018: 215)

Tiesler emphasises the diversity of group affiliations at the micro level, especially in the context of migration and the connection to both the homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies in constructing belonging. The representations analysed in this article reflect this contradiction. They can be regarded as a means to negotiate

[1] The author refers e.g. to a deserter who now lives in Canada and a member of a group of native Americans who regularly cross the border to Mexico to visit relatives. (Weber 2013)

what it means to be American today, thereby homogenizing the group of people that is represented in the images. On the other hand, the reference to individual narratives involves the effect of heterogenization as it shows that affiliations are diverse. To grasp this variety and the multilevel character of these social processes it is useful to take up an intersectional perspective, as ethnic ascriptions are often closely linked to other categories, among them class, gender and citizenship.

**Negotiating Belonging Within Narratives on Migration: The SFAC Campaign**

The empirical basis for this paper is a series of events and exhibitions by SFAC in cooperation with the Office of Community Engagement and Immigrant Affairs (OCEIA) in 2017 and 2018. Among the events in the context of the SFAC campaign was an exhibition called "With Liberty and Justice for Some" (SFAC 2017), a documentary on the topic followed by a public discussion with representatives of refugees, activists and public officials (SFAC 2018b) and different smaller actions in public space: the "Sanctuary Print Shop" (SFAC 2018d) by Sergio de la Torre and Chris Treggiari which has been shown in different art museums in the country and two "Market Street Poster Series" on the topic: the first by Miguel Arzabe (SFAC 2018a) and the second by Rodney Ewing. The latter will build up the empirical focus of the paper and serve as an example for how diversity and belonging are framed within these discourses.

According to Tom DeCaigny, San Francisco's director of cultural affairs, the campaign aimed to 'reflect the complexity and diversity of experience of those impacted by our countries immigration policies' (SFAC 2018b). Against the backdrop of new forms of representing urbanity in the context of globalization, the intent to reflect cultural diversity within the campaign can be regarded as a strategy of cultural policies that makes use of cultural symbols as a form of city marketing. This is often in connection to processes of gentrification which are regularly criticized as driving factors of economic inequality (Welz 2007: 229-231). In light of the current political debates in the United States, another aspect is emphasized by the city administration (e.g. SFAC 2018a) and by the artist (Ewing 2019): As sanctuary cities were threatened by the Trump administration and became a symbol for competing political projects of belonging in the U.S., a need has arisen to produce a specific kind of legitimate knowledge on the topic. In this way, the SFAC campaign is not only a form of city marketing that seeks to represent an image of an inclusive and diverse city, but a way of producing knowledge to challenge narratives that, for example, connect immigration to crime. The art analyzed here cannot, therefore, be regarded as a kind of authentic experience of immigrants. This does count for the statements on the posters, too, as they are up part of the artwork.

The poster series 'Human Beings: A Sanctuary City' reflects the interplay and politics of belonging and exclusion in the experiences of undocumented immigrants. The images' symbolic language and the different layers of meaning represent the complexity of experiences and the contradictions undocumented individuals face. The series includes six motifs by Rodney Ewing, a San Francisco-based artist whose work addresses current debates on issues such as race relations, religion and politics. He identifies himself as someone who aims to 'create a platform that moves us past alliances, and begins a dialogue that informs, questions, and in some cases even satires our divisive issues' (Ewing 2019). In this way, he positions himself as a someone who is willing to participate in public debates. Therefore, these posters are analysed not solely as pieces of art but as representations within the discourses on immigration outlined above. Furthermore, this particular poster series differs from other events within the campaign; the artist connected personal accounts of migrants (represented in short citations) with a symbolic language that refers to Americanness, nationality in general, experiences of and during migration and life in America, as well as in the sending countries

of migrants. It thus provides an example for a subject position within discourses on sanctuary cities which stresses migrants' experiences on the micro level in order to connect them to structural inequalities within American society. This strategy is not unusual, as it can be seen in the exhibition "Sanctuary City: With Liberty and Justice for Some" (SFAC 2018c), which was also displayed in 2018, as well as the exhibition on the history of Angel Island (which was used as a detention centre for immigrants between 1910 and 1940). These exhibitions utilize similar techniques to address immigration. For example, the Angel Island exhibit focused on the history of a place as a starting point to reflect on the topic of immigration. Its emphasis differs from what is outlined above, yet the aims are comparable: the goal is to encourage reflection on immigration and diversity as it applies to the present (Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation 2020).

The motifs of Ewings' posters vary in colour and composition but their use of symbolic language renders them a cohesive body of work. The posters contain four layers: grey and white clouds are in the background (1) covered by transparent colour fields (2), administrative forms of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security or fingerprint cards used when entering the border of the United States, and the image of a person's eyes (3), and a citation in the front (4). Due to blackened parts in the forms at the centre level, the citations are not always entirely readable, though the majority can be identified. The different layers of the images create a representation that cannot be grasped immediately. Texts which include up to 316 words (such as one poster, Indentured) assist the viewer to interpret the body of work.

As part of the "Market Street Posters Series" by SFAC which regularly displays art to the public, the posters are located at places where people are waiting, especially at bus stops. Market Street builds one of the central axes of San Francisco leading from the northeast to the southwest of the city centre. Its importance as a central location is emphasised by the fact that many bus lines and other forms of public transportation cross it, transporting high numbers of people – locals, tourists and business travellers – to different places in the city. The central location underlines that the perspectives presented in the Market Street Poster Series is promoted by the administration. One level of meaning lies in the visual representation of the images, which will be depicted in the following paragraph.

**Narrating Immigration as Visual Image: Images as Representations of Sanctuary Cities**

Images build up one level of the social construction of reality: They refer to incorporated knowledge and follow their own logic. To acknowledge this 'inherent logic of the image' (Bohnsack 2014), the section deals with the formal design of the posters. Although this paper will not analyse the images comprehensively, it will provide a short overview and interpretation of the posters' composition. These images form one important part of this specific discourse on sanctuary cities, as they are the first and sometimes the only thing the spectator looks at before eventually reading the written text. Therefore an analysis of the contents of the texts will demonstrate the similarities and contradictions between a visual representation of 'responding to the theme of San Francisco as a Sanctuary City', as stated in a short text at the bottom of the posters.

Since the pictures are collages, their composition and the relation between the different visual elements differ from other forms of images. They can be broadly divided into four different layers of analysis, starting with the background and then moving towards the text in the front. Every picture involves a pattern of dark and light fields that can be interpreted as clouds in the background. The second layer offers the most variation, as it contains a different allocation of coloured fields and colours for each poster. They use up to three colours; among them are shades of blue, red and white (A Gracious Man, ½ Immigrant) or dark green, red and white (Home for the Brave), blue and white (Sombra), yellow and blue (The Outsider), and green and white with a

metallic band in the upper section of the image (Indentured). The colour fields allow associations to flags, e.g., in the cases of the blue and white flag from Nicaragua (Sombra), the blue and yellow flag from Ukraine (The Outsider) and the use of the colours blue, white and red that can be associated with the U.S. flag and indicate that the persons are born in the United States. The third level contains written words and fingerprints that can easily be identified as governmental immigration documents. In the front the audience can identify written text and observe a person's gaze.

Combining different levels of depiction, the posters form a collage that connects various and sometimes contradictious meanings. While the grey and white clouds in the back of the image mainly create common ground for the whole representation and can arouse various, mostly homogenizing associations, the colours of flags in connection to the immigration documents on the third level can be interpreted as indicating immigration as a process that is strongly shaped by national governments. The flags, however, are abstract and require a closer look to identify them. Belonging, in this regard, mainly refers to national symbols: America is represented as an administrative regulative body that identifies and categorizes people. The gaze of the individuals in the front of each poster indicates that the accounts are connected to real people. It is apparent that every picture shows a different person though their identities, yet they remain largely unknown and unrecognizable. Interestingly, this opens up spaces for contradictory interpretations: on the one hand, it is a form of de-individualization – as only a small part of the face is visible – or conversely, it is a means to individualize the accounts of people whose eyes are made visible to the audience. In dependency to the connection to other symbols – namely the written passages (stressing the individual) or the governmental forms (stressing the shared experience), this form of pictures involves both – heterogenizing and homogenizing tendencies: Generally the negotiation of belonging is visually shaped by different identifications and ascriptions that are only partly by choice. The complexity of the structure evokes a diversity of possible associations: For example, the facial features can be interpreted as representing the people who are speaking in the written texts. They can thus be interpreted as either individualizing or de-individualizing, depending on the connection to other symbols like governmental forms or written statements. If the images are interpreted as representations for immigration, the process appears as complex and in many ways guided by regulating practices, symbolized by the governmental forms that are used at border checkpoints and other places that serve to register migrants. This narrative is underlined in the written passages in the front of the pictures. The next paragraph analyses the posters' contents and aims to broaden the picture on homogenization and heterogenization. It raises the question of how far belonging is connected to Americanness.

**Narratives of Immigration and the Negotiation of Belonging**

In the last paragraph it was stated that the visual representation creates forms of belonging by referencing flags as national symbols and America as an administrative body that identifies and categorizes people at its borders. The relative homogeneity of immigration forms and documents is contradicted by the diversity of narratives that are presented in the written texts on the front of the images. They build up the central focus point and are – compared to the abstract symbolic language of the visual representation – immediately approachable for the reader. The statements refer to what it means to migrate and live in the United States. They include reflections on politics as well as current discourses in society. Furthermore, they indicate what kinds of conflicts migrants have to deal with in terms of belonging. As references to current political debates remain implicit, knowledge about the political context of the art is crucial for the process of interpretation and is expected from the audience.

The written passages present very different stories about immigration and belonging, although some motifs are repeated in the different statements. They draw a very diverse image of migrants in the United States. The text consists of a heading and a quote formulated in first person. A look at the headings themselves gives a first impression on the content of the passages. The posters are titled 'Sombra', 'Indentured', 'A Gracious Man', 'The Outsider', '½ Immigrant' and 'Home for the Brave'. The texts themselves remain relatively short but include references to countries of origin (The Outsider), affections towards American society (1/2 Immigrant) or language (A Gracious Man). In the cases that refer to the experience of migration, it is narrated as difficult and not necessarily chosen:

> "[…] Going to school was becoming difficult, so one day my Mom called and said it was time to go. […] I did not want to leave my great grandmother, but sometimes you have to do something you don't want for your own good. I eventually ended up in a refugee center trying to come to the United States. It took me 53 days to get out that place and arrive in San Francisco. In that place, I forgot that men don't cry; in that place I cried almost every day in private" (Sombra).

As the audience does not know what happened during the stay in a refugee centre, the citation is a good example of how the statements in the poster series leave room for interpretation. What can be safely deduced is that migration and the ways of regulating it by the government can be a negative experience. In the poster series this does not only count for the process of moving to the United States but for the cases in which people try to obtain permanent residency, a process that is described by one person as 'doing time, and waiting to become legal' (Indentured). The experience of being undocumented and vulnerable appears here as something that affects the everyday life of migrants and their feeling of belonging in many ways, as it limits the life chances of people, who have to fear deportation: 'My family was constantly […] worried that any misstep would send us back' (The Outsider). This daily situation, the audience learns, has huge impact on the ways people relate to living in America. This narrative is supported by the literature on the topic: In his study on the coming-of-age of young undocumented persons in Los Angeles (also a sanctuary city) Roberto Gonzalez shows how especially those who enter the United States as young children are forced to navigate a complex terrain of belonging and exclusion: they grow up as Americans but the older they get the more important becomes their undocumented status as e.g. job opportunities are restricted. The author concludes that the experience of being undocumented cannot be regarded as a process that starts with crossing the border, but "continues as they navigate life in the shadows" and (at least for the next generation) eventually leads to assimilation and a citizenship status but as a *condition* that shapes the life of migrants substantially (Gonzalez 2016: xix-xxi).

Another dimension which is stressed in the poster series focuses on the expectations which are connected to migration and can include the pursuit of economic opportunities:

> "I came to the United States with the plan to make and save money faster than I could at home. I'm still with this dream. But here, my dreams changed for other things: like to build a restaurant back home for my mother. I want to have money in my savings for old age. To be here, my dream is to return to my country, and see my people, my family. I have not seen my mother since I was 9 years old" (Home for the Brave).

It is not mentioned which country is called 'home', but this short passage shows that migration can be a strategy to support the family. It points to global inequalities and transnational family ties and their role in the ways belonging is constructed. Families are often described as a key factor for migration, as either relatives made or influenced the decision to immigrate (Sombra), going back to the family is described as the ultimate aim (Home for the Brave) or parenthood involves expectations of 'rais(ing) a good person out of my kid' (A Gracious Man). Raising a child can be challenging, as demonstrated in the following citation:

> "Since I have been here I have always held a separate account with enough money in it for a one-way ticket home if I felt that the tide is turning against immigrants. I would leave if democracy were starting to fail, or saw signs that groups were being targeted. These are the things I worry about. But at the same time I am excited about registering to vote and getting involved in local and national politics. I am concerned about how my daughter will navigate her existence here because of her being 1st generation, mixed-race, and mixed religion. I worry that I will not be equipped to help her with these things" (Intendured).

What is presented here is interesting on different levels. The reference to democratic involvement points to the narrative that immigrants are willing to contribute (Schildkraut 2011: 160 ff.). The feeling that society does not accept immigrants is underlined by the reference to the daughter who, in many ways, corresponds to ideals of assimilation to American society. The worry of not being accepted as belonging to American society can be found repeatedly in the passages (e.g., Indentured, ½ Immigrant, The Outsider).

Language constitutes another crucial aspect of heterogenization. The next passage shows it can be connected to differences in the treatment of migrants. Three of six passages mention language skills as something that opens up opportunities r narrows them down.

> "I was lucky, because I studied English as a first language when I was in Pakistan, so my treatment was much different from my husband's, who did not speak English when he arrived. His experience was much more raw. So, within the immigrant community immigration is not a monolithic experience" (Indentured).

Social inequalities can play a role when it comes to negotiating belonging, as the citation highlights. They are in a relation to subject positions e.g. when someone acts as a mediator. In one statement the person is described as "the conduct between Spanish-only speakers and those who don't speak Spanish" (A Gracious Man). In these ways, language builds up an important factor in the process of negotiating subject positions, but does not create unlimited opportunities of being accepted as an American. The third mention of language in the poster series indicates this assessment:

> "I feel like a ½ American because I acknowledge that I will always be seen as Chinese first and not 'American' no matter how I speak or where I work" (½ Immigrant).

This reference does not describe family ties or migration history as the deciding reason for feeling only partly American, but points to ascriptions by others. Although there are references to patriotism and democracy (see below), being raised in the United States (as the colours of the image indicate), committing to general values and being able to speak English do not automatically create belonging. As these citations show, the subject positions taken up within discourses on Americanness stand in relation to language skills but are not limited to them.

Homogenizing tendencies on the process of migration involve both the framing as a difficult process accompanied by fears of deportation, long periods of waiting and concrete encounters with authorities and as an individual chance to earn money, support the family or to realize one's dreams. Although the persons live, study or work in the United States, and two of them mention raising children there, the process does not seem entirely completed in some cases because of the lack of permanent residence status. In regard to questions of belonging, the accounts reflect a feeling of alienation towards U.S.-society although some articulate a wish to overcome this. Belonging is related to language, although language skills do not automatically create a feeling of being perceived as American for everybody. Heterogenization, on the other hand, occurs in the individual accounts of people that are speaking in the passages. They build up a basis for what can be regarded as diversity within the city and reflect tendencies of social inequality between different migrants and migrant groups as well as between migrants and non-migrants. Being a sanctuary city in the accounts means to stress and accept the existence of diversity. Criticism of official politics of migration and belonging

are only indicated in the accounts of individual people.

**Americanness, Belonging and Sanctuary Cities**

The statements draw a contradictious image of Americanness: while democracy is presented as something valued by immigrants, other statements raise questions in patriotism and citizenship:

> "With the current administration, I have had to reevaluate what it means to be American and a patriot. It has occurred to me that even as a ½ immigrant, I fully believe in the basic tenets of Democracy, and I feel responsibility to uphold the values this country represents. It's frustrating to me that people are twisting these ideals to promote their own agenda." (½ Immigrant)

The commitment to value orientation confirms what Friedman noted in his analysis of Hollywood movies – the idea of transcending of ethnic boundaries in the light of values that are constructed as 'American'. On the other hand, the audience learns that the current situation results in a reassessment of belonging. The questions of Americanness presented here go beyond the topic of migration and point to current political developments and the ways people deal with them on the individual level. In this way, the section creates a narrative that opens up spaces for identification for immigrants and everyone perceived as such by others but also for groups that are critical towards the current government. Belonging and citizenship are closely connected, not only because a lack of citizenship status affects perceptions of belonging (see above) but also because the group that identifies with the position of 're-evaluating what it means to be American' is not restricted to migrants. Connecting self-perception to the ascriptions by others shows how belonging fundamentally

The emphasis on democracy and patriotism is contradicted by the use of symbolic language in the written passages. Symbols of Americanness are often associated with a different meaning and seem to symbolize the hardships of migration:

> '[…] it's funny because you come here to the land of the free for the opportunities, but after a certain amount of time it feels more like bondage or indentured servitude' (Indentured).

Other statements cite variations of referring to the United States but transform the meaning: One of the poster titles e.g. is 'Home for the Brave' referring to the phrase 'Home of the Brave' in the national anthem. In effect this reformulation underlines how profoundly belonging is something that people strive for but cannot access. What it means to be a sanctuary city is not explicitly thematised. The intention of this approach is described by the artist Rodney Ewing who comments on the series:

> "My goal for this project is to move this discussion of immigration from being monolithic, to one that is as complex and nuanced as the people reflected in this art work" (Ewing 2019).

The complexity of the collages as well as the individual accounts of people reflect his attempt to individualize narratives on migration and belonging. On the other hand, it can be stated that this focus on individuality is not entirely realized: The homogenizing tendencies within the pictures and the texts transport another message as they refer to the United States and claim belonging despite current political tendencies against migration. Being a sanctuary city is represented as a city that actively acknowledges diversity independent of the citizenship status of persons. The hardships of migration are repeatedly stressed in the accounts and there are different examples of criticism towards U.S. authorities. While the need for opposition against current discourses that claim Americanness only for non-immigrants or 'good immigrants' is explicitly stressed mainly by the artist himself, the accounts in the poster series are mainly articulating worries about current social developments. Although the collages draw on the same set of symbolic language, the focus lies on the heterogeneity of experiences and their limitations.

**Conclusion**

For undocumented migrants, living in a sanctuary city is connected to experiences of inclusion and exclusion, which are parts of political projects of belonging. In many ways, these experiences are linked to power relations within the United States. The poster series by Rodney Ewing develops this topic and conveys that experiences of migration are diverse and full of contradictions. The campaign can be regarded as an example for how the city of San Francisco presents itself in the cultural sphere. As shown in the literature, connections between city marketing and culture can serve to add symbolic value to city space (Welz 2007). Ewing's art is presented as a direct response to political and social conflicts on immigration and sanctuary cities. This paper therefore argues that, in this case, the body of work is furthermore a strategy to represent certain forms of knowledge on migration to legitimize the city's political position as a sanctuary city. Because the posters include different semiotic levels, they are able to convey a more nuanced rendering of the issue than a written text could. In fact, they create different layers of meaning and connect tendencies of homogenization to heterogenization; they thereby frame not only migration but – what is more important here – repeatedly refer to belonging and representations of Americanness.

To analyse these processes, this article referenced the analytical framework provided by Yuval-Davis on belonging and the politics of belonging (2011) and connected it to Tieslers concept of EHG (2017, 2018) as it serves to identify tendencies of homogenization and heterogenization within processes of negotiating belonging and points to the interplay of different membership roles that constitute belonging and can be contradictory. The analysis showed how homogenization and heterogenzitation are proceeding simultaneously while referring to different modes of belonging. Nationality is represented mainly in respect to the United States, and the sending countries of immigrants are indicated by the use of certain colour schemes that can be interpreted as flags. The relation to the United States, though, remains full of contradictions: while democracy is presented as valued by immigrants and economic opportunities as a driving factor for migration, the political conflicts manifested in immigration legislation and the social climate appear as a threat to immigrants. Overall the posters convey that many regard America as a land which opens up opportunities, but that these ideals are under threat. Other membership roles are emphasised, too: the family is especially represented as a driving factor of immigration and living without legal status. The narratives of families that need to be supported or the challenges of raising children in the current situation point to social inequalities both within the United States and globally. Immigration in these accounts is narrated as motivated e.g. by the responsibility to provide for others and not as individual choice.

What is not addressed are the problems sanctuary cities involve and this may be due to the function of the campaign in terms of taking up and legitimate a certain position in the discourse on immigration. While undocumented migrants gain new possibilities to participate in the social life of a sanctuary city, they remain in a highly insecure legal status that restricts many aspects of their life, e.g. education and work opportunities. For immigrants without a legal status, citizenship rights are not fully accessible and this affects their sense of belonging as studies show (Gonzalez 2016) and the posters indicate. Sanctuary cities – one can conclude – are not a solution but, at best, are a way to deal with problems that actually need to be dealt with more substantial reforms of the current legislation. Another aspect which could not be discussed here are the ongoing debates on gentrification and the increase of population groups which cannot afford living in the city anymore (Zuk and Chapple 2015). Given that immigrants are affected disproportionately by these developments (Sarmiento 2017) the representation as an inclusive city seems to build up a contradiction to these developments. But as literature indicates that representations of mul-

ticulturalism in the cultural production of cities often serve as a means to increase the symbolic and ultimately the economic value of city space (Welz 2007) gentrification could be regarded as an accepted effect or even as intended outcome rather than something which stands in conflict to these forms of cultural production. San Francisco, from this point of view, represents itself as a sanctuary city not for the sake of inclusion but draws on discourses on inclusion as a strategy for economic development.

Immigrants in the United States build up a largely heterogenous group being far away from the perception of a common history. What the posters show, nevertheless, is a common fate in the current political and social situation. Immigrants are presented not only as a group of people who find themselves in a status of legal insecurity but who often feel alienated in a society full of contradictions: The opportunities in regard to economic advancement and political participation are contrasted by experiences of not belonging as belonging is constantly challenged on the level of discourse and due to a lack of permanent citizenship status. These processes reflect the complexity to navigate a field that connects belonging to a variety of social inequalities which work in diverse ways and are intersectionally linked.

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# The Conceptual History of Ethnogenesis: A Brief Overview

by Nina Clara Tiesler (Leibniz University of Hannover)

**Abstract**

This paper seeks to contribute to the theoretical understandings of ethnicity, ethnic membership formations and (de-)ethnization processes. It presents an overview of the use of an early, constructivist process category that has nearly been forgotten: ethnogenesis. It was employed in international scholarship across disciplines already before the "ethnic revival" in American discourse in the 1970s and/or the emergence of the discourse on "urban ethnicities".

Accordingly to the manifold of perspectives on – and definitions of – ethnicity, tracing the conceptual history of the term ethnogenesis from the late 19th century up to the present day leads to insights into diverse scholarly traditions. It also illuminates the ways the concept was used, which is dependent on the very specific historic (and political) context of research. The study's empirical findings were found using the search engine JSTOR as it provided going deeper into the academic exchange between US and Soviet scholars.

**Keywords:** Ethnogenesis, ethnicity, ethnization, social change, cultural change, ethnoheterogenesis

> One of the most important tasks confronting Soviet historians is that of opposing the fascist falsification of history, especially in the field of ethnogenesis.
>
> Aleksandr Dmitrievich Udal'tsov, The Main Tasks of Soviet Historical Science, 1946: 243

The study of ethnic relations has been a common pursuit in Sociology and Anthropology, both in the past and in the present, especially though not exclusively in historical contexts marked by heightened migration. This paper seeks to make a contribution to the refining of theoretical understandings of ethnicity, respectively, ethnic membership formations and (de-)ethnization processes, through merging perspectives from both disciplines.

Since scholarship is taking an analytic view on the processes of modern nation-building, ethnic claims and ethnic othering (however constructed) and their objective consequences are being examined as well; they are seen as partly in line and partly in contrast to claims of race as they developed in most dramatic ways under fascism and Nazism. Processes of (de-)ethnization matter to different degrees and in different ways in various social and historical contexts. This is why studying the genesis and continuously shifting social forms of ethnicities is heuristically important in that it can help us clarify processes of socio-, cultural- and political change in society at large.

On the one hand, "ethnicity" often appears as an unsettled and ill-defined field of inquiry. On the other, there is rich scholarly work on the question regarding how ethnicities emerge and what processes are at work. The latter takes a


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constructivist approach and introduces certain analytical criteria that specify the development, for example, of the emergence of ethnicity through institutional framework, meaning making, social classifications, power relations, etc.[1]

Emphasis lies on the genesis and changes of ethnic framing and multiplicity of ethnic memberships. This contribution moves further back into the history of such conceptual debates that refer to the emergence of ethnicities. More specifically, it presents a brief overview of the use of an early (to my account, the earliest) process category that was in use in international scholarship across disciplines before the "ethnic revival" in American discourse in the 1970s (e.g. Yancy et al 1976) and/or the emergence of the discourse on "urban ethnicities" (Cohen 1974), at roughly the same time: ethnogenesis.

According to the manifold perspectives on and definitions of ethnicity, tracing the conceptual history of the term ethnogenesis from the late 19th century up to the present day leads to insights into diverse scholarly traditions. It also illuminates the ways the concept is employed, which is dependent on very specific historic (and political) research contexts. Looking at the overview of a scholarly debate that spans over centuries, and in order to systematize distinct usages of the term and (at least some) general findings, it was necessary to choose one narrow window to look into a huge discursive field. In comparing different journal archives that one can use to such an end, one criterion was the quantitative content of digitized back issues; another was the quantity of entries when feeding their search engines with the word "ethnogenesis". In accordance with these two criteria, the study's empirical findings were found using the search engine JSTOR.[2] Naturally, using only one journal archive has its limitations, and any decision to use a specific one remains debatable. Using JSTOR as a proxy for this mission had an advantage. In comparison to other databases and archives, it provided much more opportunity to go deeper into one important aspect of the conceptual history of ethnogenesis that is at the same time crucial and less widely known: the Soviet history, a specific context that, as other multi-"national" federal states, generated broad discussions on "ethnic groups" that show drastic shifts accordingly to political change (most notably for academia after World War II, and, in general, in the historical turning point 1989-1991). Nominally a union of multiple national Soviet republics, in practice its government and economy were highly centralized. Interestingly, international academic exchange was very vivid already in the 1950s, especially between Soviet scholars (in their setting of a multi-national, one-party state) and their American colleagues (in their setting of an immigrant society, in plain McCarthyism).[3]

## The Origins of Ethnogenesis in a War Poem – A selected quantitative overview

The most recent monograph on ethnogenesis, by Barbara Voss, was published in 2008 by the University of California Press, entitled: *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Voss 2008). "How

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[1] This is done, inter alia, by in recent articles by Zolberg and Woon (1999), Brubaker and Cooper 2000, and Alba (2005) or Wimmer (2004).

[2] JSTOR (short for Journal Storage) is a digital library founded in 1995. Originally containing digitized back issues of academic journals, it now encompasses books and other primary sources as well as current issues of journals. It is known as a reputable journal archive; its content comes from more than 900 publishers and provides full-text searches of almost 2,000 journals in more than fifty disciplines.

[3] The quality of this academic exchange between Soviet and American scholars on ethnogenesis during the Cold War was extraordinarily notable. As Krementsov (1996) put it, „during the 1940s, Soviet foreign policy evolved from wartime cooperation to Cold War confrontation with Western countries, and this evolution had a profound effect on both the international and the domestic aspects of Soviet science policy. During the war, Soviet leaders used the international relations of Soviet science to improve the alliance with Western countries. With the war's victorious end, science was engaged in a fierce competition with the West, most of all in the field of atomic and other weaponry. During the short period from 1945 to mid-1947, cooperation and competition coexisted and even stimulated each other" (Krementsov 1996: 229).

did diverse groups of people, who previously had little knowledge of each other, navigate the challenges and opportunities of abrupt and sustained interactions caused by colonialism, conflict, and migration?" is one of the key questions approached by the author, who also aims to generate a productive dialogue between queer studies and archaeology, and develop rigorous methodologies that support the study of sexuality and gender through archaeological evidence.

While several research fields of current relevance merge in this recent book, the study of processes which, at different times, disciplinary traditions and, henceforth, differing meanings, were called "ethnogenesis". This concept has a long tradition in Historical Archaeology (with the first publications using the term appearing in JSTOR in 1945, see Table 1.), Anthropology (1942) and Area Studies, especially Latin American Studies, account for its early usage (1931), with the first entry in the Sociology category only appearing in 1962.

Bibliographical research via JSTOR in November 2015 revealed 3.997 search results for books, book chapters, journal papers, pamphlets, reviews, and other miscellaneous documents in all disciplines which use the term "ethnogenesis" in their full text.[4] The most recent contribution was published in November 2015; a book review on Neo-Indians, and the oldest was published as early as April 1873 in the US American literature journal *The Aldine* (Thomas J. Watson Library 1873). This piece refers to a new and enlarged edition of Henry Timrod's (1829-1867) famous poems, edited by Paul H. Hayne, who, according to the text, "had written a touching memoir of his brother poet […] whose life was a hard one but happily for him it was not a long one" (Thomas J. Watson Library 1873: 88). Often called the "Poet Laureate of the Confederacy," Henry Timrod is considered by many scholars to be the most gifted of the Southern poets writing in this era (Barret and Miller 2005). The earliest works found at JSTOR which mention the notion ethnogenesis are from Literature Studies, as Timrod's poem Ethnogenesis (1861) drew many young men to enlist in the service of the Confederacy.[5] In fact, with the outbreak of American Civil War, in a state of fervent patriotism Timrod returned to Charleston to begin publishing his war poems. His first poem of this period is "Ethnogenesis", written in February 1861, during the meeting of the first Confederate Congress at Montgomery, Alabama. Part of the poem (see textbox) was read aloud at this meeting (Barret and Miller 2005: 311-315).

**Ethnogenesis**
By Henry Timrod (1861)

Hath not the morning dawned with added light?
And shall not evening call another star
Out of the infinite regions of the night
To mark this day in Heaven? At last we are
A nation among nations. And the world
Shall soon behold in many a distant port
Another flag unfurled!

The number of bibliographical references at JSTOR decreases significantly to 166 when limiting the search to contributions to journals and books (excluding reviews, pamphlets, and so forth) which carry the notion "ethnogenesis" not only in their full text, but in their title.[6] Archaeology leads with thirty titles, published between the years 1945 and 2014, followed by Anthropol-

[4] The same pattern of search for the notion "ethnicity" revealed 135.626 results, with the earliest publication listed at JSTOR from the year 1935.

[5] Born in Charleston, South Carolina, to a family of German descent, Henry Timrod was descended on both sides of his family from military men. His grandfather Heinrich Dimroth migrated to the United States in 1765 and anglicized his name. His father, William Henry Timrod, was an officer in the Seminole Wars and a poet himself.

[6] Specifying the search for abstracts is not recommended, as JSTOR only provides abstracts on 10 per cent of all items when including books and book chapters.

ogy with twenty-nine titles between 1962 and 2014, and Sociology with twenty contributions published between 1962 and 2015. The next disciplines in this ranking are Area Studies (an umbrella category) and History (Table 1). While Archaeology leads in terms of publications with "ethnogenesis" in their title among the single disciplines (that is to say, not in terms of broad, inclusive umbrella categories such as Social Science, Humanities or Area Studies), Anthropology leads the ranking of publications which make reference to the term in their full text, accounting for 684 titles published between 1942 and 2015. Sociology comes second with 417 titles (1962-2015), Archaeology third (409 items), followed by History with 339 contributions, and Asian Studies coming fifth with 180 titles published between 1950 and 2008.

With the exception of the area of Language and Literature Studies, which reference Henry Timrod's ode for "the nation among the nations", the earliest academic works are from Latin American Studies. A cryptic reference in German from 1927 (Avis. Anthropos, 22(1/2), 338-346) gives a hint on a new publication by J. Imbelloni, entitled, "Investigaciones para la Ethnogénesis Americana, No. 1, Buenos Aires 1926".

Another early contribution (in German) was by Hermann Trimborn, full professor of American Studies and Ethnology at University of Bonn until 1968, on the Chibcha High Culture. In accordance with the normative for the time practice

**Table 1: Publications with 'Ethnogenesis' (EG) in Title or Full Text**

| Journals, Books & Book Chapters in [discipline] | No. of listed journals | No. of papers & books with EG in TITLE | Published between [years] | No. of papers & books with EG in FULL TEXT | Published between [years] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Archaeology | 133 | 30 | 1992-2013 | 409 | **1945**-2014 |
| Social Sciences | 1089 | 29 | 1962-2009 | 1.015 | **1942**-2015 |
| Anthropology | **124** | **25** | **1962-2014** | **684** | **1942**-2015 |
| Sociology | **198** | **20** | **1962-2015** | **417** | **1962**-2015 |
| Area Studies | 245 | 18 | 1978-2011 | 649 | **1931**-2015 |
| History | 484 | 13 | 1984-2003 | 339 | **1958**-2015 |
| African Studies | 72 | 5 | 1990-2001 | 122 | **1968**-2011 |
| American Studies | 137 | 5 | 1999-2011 | 162 | **1976**-2015 |
| Asian Studies | 166 | 5 | 1978-2008 | 180 | **1950**-2008 |
| Latin American Studies | 74 | 3 | 2000-2007 | 74 | **1931**-2012 |
| Language & Literature Studies | 431 | 3 | 1984-2005 | 128 | **1899**-2015 |
| Linguistics | 63 | 2 | 1991-1998 | 47 | **1966**-2014 |
| Political Science | 229 | 2 | 1962-2007 | 141 | **1962**-2015 |
| Humanities | 848 | 2 | 1984-2003 | 222 | **1899**-2015 |
| Urban Studies | 8 | 1 | 2004 | 3 | **2004**-2010 |
| American Indian Studies | 10 | 1 | 2001 | 26 | **1979**-2015 |
| Population Studies | 63 | 1 | 1999 | 15 | **1993**-2014 |
| Religion | 156 | 1 | 2014 | 109 | **1958**-2015 |
| ALL | 4.530 | 166 | 1962-2015 | 4.742 | 1899-2015 |

(Source: own research at JSTOR)

of racial (and predominantly racist) categorization of peoples, the author expresses his concern about the lack of a "genetic explanation of the here blossomed high cultures" which, in his eyes, had been the "key issue to be determined in the general framework of American Ethnogenesis" (Trimborn 1931).

Many scholars who contributed to the early (Latin) American Studies were anthropologists, ethnologists and ethnographers. Historically, Anthropology as such has grown out of the interest in exotic peoples and has had at its core ethnogenesis and the classification of races. For instance, still in the year of 1962, the journal *Current Anthropology* (University of Chicago Press) published a paper on "Racial Analysis of Human Populations in Relation to Their Ethnogenesis" (Wiercinski and Bielicki 1962). According to the bibliographical search (Table 1), this is the oldest paper among the 25 found in 124 journals in Anthropology which carry "Ethnogenesis" in their title. The authors, at that time both lecturers in Anthropology at the University of Warsaw, were concerned with the considerable lack of agreement about the general concept of race, on which any racial classification must depend:

> "The present unsatisfactory state of human racial classification, and especially the application of racial data to ethnogenesis, may be attributed to four factors: (1) lack of agreement about the general concept of race; (2) the use of different methods for the typological analysis of populations; (3) lack of information about the genetic transmission of racial characters; (4) difficulties interposed by the political implications of racist concepts." Wiercinski and Bielicki 1962: 2.

In 1963, during the Seventh International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, the section "Ethnic Anthropology" met to discuss the "Application of Anthropology to the Problems of Ethnogenesis", together with topics such as "principles and methods of anthropological taxonomy, factors in racial differentiation, the variability of racial characters", and so forth.[7]

The Online Etymology Dictionary confirms that "Ethnogenesis" was the "title of an 1861 poem celebrating the birth of the Confederacy by U.S. Southern poet Henry Timrod" and provides a short entry: "1957 in modern usage, from ethno- + -genesis 'birth, origin, creation'."[8] As the first example of its usage displayed here appears the fragment "attempts to reconstruct the ethnogenesis of the peoples of Siberia" (no source indicated), a hint which puts the testimony regarding the "modern usage" from the year 1957 onwards into question. Indeed, with the exception the earliest references in Latin American Studies and the rather later sociological contributions on ethnogenesis, the majority of publications across all disciplines until the late 1960s referred to "Soviet Studies in Ethnogenesis", especially in the American journals. The earliest entry in journals of Archaeology was by Luce et al (1945), who in the section "Archaeological News and Discussions" reported on research of Soviet colleagues from 1941, e.g. on the history of the tribes of the upper Volga during the first millennium A.D. and on the ethnogenesis of the Slavs. As for Anthropology, Henry Field and Eugene Prostov presented "Results of Soviet Investigations in Siberia", 1940-1941, in the journal *American Anthropologist* (Field and Prostov 1942). The authors explain that for the study of ethnogenesis, the discovery of great territorial groups of monuments with their corresponding four local cultures was of particular interest, namely the Baikalian, the Amur, the Ob, and the Arctic (Field and Prostov 1942: 392). Obviously, developing a theory of ethnogenesis was of utmost importance for Soviet academia. This need was met by the late Academician Marr's[9] theories of ethnogenesis, which were generally accepted and regarded as "the Soviet theory of ethnogenesis" (Schlesinger 1950: 9).

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7 *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Feb., 1964), pp. 44-45.

8 The entry in the Oxford Dictionary reads: "Ethnogenesis: the formation or emergence of an ethnic group".

9 Marr Institute for the History of Material Culture, Moscow.

**The Soviet Approach: Political Implications and Reception at International Scale**

Ethnogenesis originally served as a Soviet approach concerned with the National Question in the new context *after* the October Revolution in 1917. In 1913, Lenin wrote his "Theses on the National Question" in opposition to the tsarist monarchy of the Great Russians. He argued for the self-determination of nations and their right to secede and form a separate state.[10] In 1922, when the new Marxist-Leninist state on the Eurasian continent, the Soviet Union, integrated multiple subnational Soviet republics, the National Question took a new turn. Ethnogenesis was developed and employed to acknowledge and preserve sub-national entities. But it also served to place them on an evolutionary scale towards an idealized concept of "civilization". This theory not only helped to construct separate ethnic units, later, it became the platform for independence movements during perestroika (Slezkine 1994).

During tsarist times, the antecedents of ethnogenesis as they were known in Great Russia, were still in the work of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). In his "Addresses to the German Nation", Fichte outlined an idea for the construction of the German nation through education. He argued that not only would people see themselves as a separate ethnic social entity, but through education, they would train future generations to act in defence of this collective.[11] The education reforms introduced in Russia in the 1820s, reflecting Fichte's argument, sought to train people's minds and bodies in order to create a coherent nation (Shnirelman 1996).

From the 1930s onwards, ethnogenesis was the predominant theory in much Soviet research. "Ethnogenetic studies" focused on demonstrating the existence and stable development of "nations" through language, customs, territory and economic life throughout history. Censuses in the 1920s and 1930s helped establish rigid concepts of ethnic groups and the development of peoples into nations through these categories (Hirsch 1997). In his famous "Marxism and the National Question", Stalin (1973) formally outlines these characteristics of a "nation," providing a framework for much research (Shanin 1989). Stalin's piece on the National Question is a short work of Marxist theory, written in January 1913 while living in Vienna.[12] Although it did not appear in the various English-language collections of Stalin's Selected Works which began to appear in 1928, "Marxism and the National Question" was widely republished from 1935 as part of the topical collection *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*[13]. However, Victor Shnirelman (1996: 10), a social scientist, explains, as "Soviet patriotism" or nationalism grew, scholars were encouraged "to study the formation and evolution of peoples living in the

[10] "[…] this a) for the sake of the basic principles of democracy in general; b) also because there are, within the frontiers of Russia and, what is more, in her frontier areas, a number of nations with sharply distinctive economic, social and other conditions; furthermore, these nations (like all the nations of Russia except the Great Russians) are unbelievably oppressed by the tsarist monarchy" (excerpt from the second thesis). Lenin wrote 10 theses for his lectures on the national question delivered on July 9-13, 1913 in the Swiss towns of Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne and Berne. Lenin, (Lenin Collected Works, Progress Publishers, 1977, Moscow, Volume 19, pages 243-251.)

[11] His views were no doubt influenced by the French occupation of parts of Germany in 1808 when he delivered these lectures in Berlin. Furthermore, he gained the support of a large segment of the public who were also tired of the occupation and energised by this patriotism. As Fichte argued: "it is only by means of the common characteristic of being German that we can avert the downfall of our nation which is threatened by its fusion with foreign peoples, and win back again an individuality that is self-supporting and quite incapable of any dependence upon others" (Fichte 1968: 3).

[12] First published as a pamphlet and frequently reprinted, the essay by the ethnic Georgian Stalin was regarded as a seminal contribution to Marxist analysis of the nature of nationality and helped to establish his reputation as an expert on the topic. Indeed, Stalin would later become the first People's Commissar of Nationalities following the victory of the Bolshevik Party in the October Revolution of 1917.

[13] Eager to denigrate his nemesis, in his 1941 biography of Stalin, exiled Soviet leader Leon Trotsky intimated that primary credit for all that was worthy about Marxism and the National Question actually belonged to V.I. Lenin and party theoretician Nikolai Bukharin.

USSR". Here, the most pressing problem for the Russians was obviously the origin of the Slavs in ancient history, and a considerable amount of work is devoted to the subject (Schlesinger 1950). Following Rudolph Schlesinger, the influence exercised on the development of historiography among Slavs by the absence of political independence, and the prolonged struggle for it, was well known.

In the struggle for political independence and the mobilization of society for its purposes, a very important part was intended to be played, and was actually played, by the reproduction of a distant past when independent Slav states existed.

> "From the point of view of those who made such statements the fact of the existence of those states was regarded as a guarantee for future 'capacity of independent state-hood' and as a foundation of the claim to it. Naturally such an application of the distant past could be successful only if the latter was idealized. This was the origin of the numerous 'golden ages' to be found in the works of Polish, Czech, Croat and other historians. In fighting this approach, Soviet historians were motivated by the fact that Marxist theory demands an application, to however diverse conditions, of 'fundamental laws of historical development valid for all human society'" (Schlesinger 1950: 9).

The chauvinist application frequently made (often by Polish historians against the Eastern Slavs) of the migration theories cultivated by the nationalist schools of German history, made it necessary to give a fundamental counter-argument to all theories operating on a racial stratum, thus encouraging claims to racial superiority. This is the very specific historical context in which the Soviet Theory of Ethnogenesis gained popularity, as developed by the late Marr's scholars, second to none by Aleksandr Dmitrievich Udaltsov.[14] It is an anti-racist conceptualization of ethnogenesis which emerged earlier than

[14] Udaltsov was a Soviet historian and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1939). From 1946 to 1956 he was director of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Udaltsov, A.. (1946). The Main Tasks of Soviet Historical Science. Synthese, 5(5/6), 243-244.

RUSSIAN SECTION

THE MAIN TASKS OF SOVIET HISTORICAL SCIENCE

By A. Udaltsov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Soviet historians are engaged in creating a science of history according to the Marxist-Leninist method and are studying the specific features characterising the progressive development of all peoples of the world. The history of the broad masses of working people, which constitutes the most important aspect of this process, is the subject of particular attention on the part of Soviet historians. In this field of history they are following the lofty traditions of pre-Soviet Russian historical science which won universal recognition through the works of Luchitsky, Kareyev, Kovalevsky, Vinogradov, Petrushevsky and many others.

One of the most important tasks confronting Soviet historians is that of opposing the fascist falsification of history, especially in the field of **ethnogenesis**, with objective scientific truth based on a critical study of source materials.

Problems connected with the origin and social development of the Slavonic Russian people are first on the list of immediate tasks of Soviet historians. A study of the history of their native land, its heroic struggle for independence, the development of its culture, the main stages in its history – Kiev Russ, the Muscovy State, the Russian Empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and, lastly, the study of the history of the many peoples comprising this Union constitute the most important problems awaiting thorough research by Soviet historians. […]

*The Online Etymology Dictionary* notes, as "since 1957 in modern usage, from ethno- + -genesis 'birth, origin, creation'." Accordingly to Udaltsov et al., national characteristics, especially language, are comparatively late formations resulting from common material conditions of life, and by implication, common forms of social thought. It follows that the current explanation of the geographical distribution of certain nationalities by migrations, though not quite without foundation, "can be reduced to a very secondary place in the explanation of archaeological evidence on changes in social life, and replacements of one

'culture' by another. The traditional concepts of the 'original home' of certain nations or of an 'ancestral nation' belong to the realm of nationalist mythology."[15]

Schlesinger sums up that in this concept there is no longer any room for autochthony in any other sense; that migrations in prehistoric times become irrelevant for the formation of the present nations. By that time, the need for verification of the "Soviet theory of ethnogenesis" by concrete application to archaeological and linguistic material was generally recognized (Schlesinger 1950: 10). As a consequence, Soviet ethnologists started exploring ethnogenesis outside the Soviet Union. This connects back to our bibliographical research on ethnogenesis, where the very first contribution on the topic from journals of African Studies, published in 1968, reported on the "Explosion of African Studies in the Soviet Union" (Desai 1968). Desai reviews works of Soviet scholars from the 1950s and 1960s who engaged in understanding the origin of the peoples of the Guinea coast, or were concerned with the origin of the people of the Central Sudan; "and some others which display a new approach to the very intricate problems of the ethnogenesis and cultural histories of Africa" (Desai 1968: 250).

It was not only the first appearance in African Studies that referred to the Soviet Theory of Ethnogenesis. This same holds true for the majority of early contributions to journals *American Archaeology*, *American History*, and even the *English Historical Review*, which refer, above all, to the works of Udaltsov.

Apart from its ideological use to classify the diverse national entities, the weakness of the Soviet concept of ethnogenesis lies in the assumption (or political programme) that ethnic groups are stable and continuously transmit their social structures from one generation to the next. The reforms introduced by Gorbachev in the 1980s, however, permitted Soviet scholars to reconsider the theoretical basis of their disciplines (Gullette 2008: 264f). The purpose and intention of nationalist ideologies in the post-Soviet period were hotly debated. In 1990, Anatoly Khazanov, an anthropologist, remarked that "Soviet anthropology is at present at the crossroads […] connected with the general theory of ethnicities and particularly in its application to the ethnic situation in the USSR" (Khazanov 1990: 220; cited by Gullette 2008: 264). But this did not, accordingly to Khazanov— and like the situation in Bosnia at roughly the same time (Claussen 2000)— explain or moderate the rising ethnic tensions visible in various parts of the Soviet Union. Following Gullette, Soviet scholars concerned with ethnic studies were hoping that the social sciences would move beyond this impasse and adopt a multiplicity of views. A few years later, Valéry Tishkov, director of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in the Russian Academy of Sciences, lamented that ethnos – a term describing a community consciously aware of its distinctiveness and particular interests – and ethnogenesis were still the most "[…] powerful and sacred categories in post-Soviet Anthropology and in public discourse" (Tishkov 1994: 88). Tishkov, who was writing not long after the collapse of the Soviet Union, reported that ethnogenesis was regarded as "sacred", because it supported ethno-nationalist ideologies. While ethnogenesis had been a Soviet tool to authenticate different "peoples" and to chart their position on a scale of civilisation, it was now used to demonstrate the independence of new countries and separatist movements (Gullette 2008: 265).

In his work on *The Use of Ethnogenesis in Kyrgyzstan*, Gullette explains that while ethnogenesis supported independence movements, its proponents also used it to express chauvinism and xenophobia:

> "Scholars, such as Viktor Shnirelman and Sergei Panarin, criticised this view, specifically targeting the work of Lev Gumilev, one of the most popular ethnogenetic theorists since the 1960s. They claimed that nationalist leaders could easily use his work to create biased images for independent movements. Viktor Shnirelman and Sergei Panarin,

[15] Schlesinger (1950: 9) citing Udaltsov's report at the Anniversary Session of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, in S.I.F., I949/3.

> two Russian social scientists, have summarised Gumilev's formulation of ethnogenesis as:
> […] the birth of an ethnos [is formed] by [the] appearance of a small group of people, united by common sympathy and a great feeling of patriotism, who are prepared to sacrifice personal prosperity and even their lives for the achieving of their projected goal. In its name they are ready to break with their usual norms of behaviours, i.e. with the existing stereotype (Shnirelman and Panarin 2001:10)" (Gullette 2008: 265).

We conclude by highlighting that the first references to the term ethnogenesis are to be found in Literature Studies. A descriptive use of the concept, on the other hand, was first implemented in Latin American Studies, circa 1930s, followed by its use in the fields of Anthropology and Archaeology in different regions and scholarly traditions in the 1940s. While the term "ethnic group" had been established long before, the novelty of the notion of ethnogenesis was in its explicit emphasis on the genesis, on a formative process of ethnic groups and entities, thus acknowledging, implicitly at least, that ethnic groups are not natural, given entities, but instead result out of historical processes.

## Ethnology and Anthropology from the 1940s up to Present Times

Conceptualization and theoretical considerations appear from the mid-1940s onwards in Latin American Studies (works by ethnologists and anthropologists) and in Soviet (Archeological) History and Ethnology. In both strands it was used to differentiate between – and often with the intention to classify and categorize – social entities and populations along constructs of common history and cultural markers. As for Latin American Studies, the early use of the concept in colonial times was marked by racial classification. This might explain why works mentioning ethnogenesis in their full text, despite first emerging in 1931, from this pioneering stage through to 2007, only constitute seventy-four contributions to Latin American Studies, with just three of these contributions having made reference to the term in their titles; and these contributions have also come more recently, between 2000 and 2007. The critical reflection on the categorizing works of colonial scholars has revealed that these scholars were to what Steven Thompson coined "ethnic entrepreneurs" engaged in "ethnic strategizing" (Thompson 2011: 99). The constructivist critique of ethnicity by Ranger (1983), Fardon (1987), and Vail (1989) argues that often the very categories under debate – and most certainly their reification – were the outcome of the colonial encounter. For African Studies in particular – but broadly recognized among anthropologists and beyond – the flexibility of precolonial social networks and the ways that colonial administrators, missionaries, chiefs and elders, and educated elites created increasingly fixed ethnic categories and identification through systematic miscommunication, misconstrual, and manipulation, has been particularly emphasized. Although the structural forces of power relations and "ethnic change" are today recognized as intrinsic to processes of ethnogenesis, ethnic strategizing "from above" might have caused the concept itself to go out of fashion in Latin American Studies for a prolonged time period, this before getting discharged altogether by constructivist scholarly tradition (e.g. Gabbert 2011, 2014).

From the 1940 to the 1960s, most academic reference to ethnogenesis at international level turned to the Soviet theory of ethnogenesis. The decisive context here had been the National Question, with eminent Marxist historians and ethnographers partly taking up the role of motivating actors of "ethnic strategizing". It is no coincidence that the central issue was called the "National" and not the "Ethnic Question". Nations were seen as historically formative, and ethnic classification seen as not to be based on racist categories. The mission was "opposing the fascist falsification of history, especially in the field of ethnogenesis", pointing out that "national characteristics, especially language, are comparatively late formations resulting from common material conditions of life, and by implication, common forms of social thought", and that

the traditional concept of an "ancestral nation belong to the realm of nationalist mythology" (Udaltsov 1946).

Ethnogenesis was seen as the result of historical processes and worked as a materialist counterpoint to idealist, spiritualist, and suprematist claims of race as they developed in most dramatic ways under fascism and Nazism. The Soviet concept of ethnogenesis has its weaknesses, as stressed above. It did not consider what is today commonly referred to as "ethnic change".

**Considering Ethnic Change at the Heart of Ethnization Processes**

"Ethnic change" was probably most visibly introduced by the "instrumentalist analyses", as pioneered by the Manchester School Anthropologists, a perspective based on the observation of migrant workers that placed ethnic markers on highly circumstantial performances within new urban political configurations (as opposed to positions deriving from cultural complexities of rural origin) (see Epstein 1958; Mitchell 1956). While successfully challenging the earlier fixed ideas about "tribalism," these models had relatively little to say about the specific content of ethnic models, in particular, the affective elements that could become powerful political motivators. These and innumerous other works on processes of "ethnic change" and formation of ethnic groups and entities, from the 1950s onward, did not necessarily refer to these formative processes "ethnogenesis".

The instrumentalist perspective has offered quite complete explanations for the process whereby an individual, family, or community reassigns itself from one ethnic category to another without fundamentally transforming the system at hand. Fredrik Barth (1969:21) coined this phenomenon "ethnic osmosis". In current use, ethnogenesis, the creation of an ethnic category, can be seen as the constructivist's logical counterpart to the idea of "ethnic osmosis".

Following Steve Thomson, an American scholar of Political Anthropology, the Anthropology of Religion, and Development Studies, ethnogenesis can include both the "genesis", proper of an ethnic category, and also the historical processes of "regenesis," whereby major definitions of key boundary markers are renegotiated:

> "The creation, definition, and redefinition of ethnic categories, in other words, constitute an on-going process. […] As with all cultural phenomena, ethnicity is never truly a given but must be continually recreated. […] We can identify periods of active ethnogenesis and periods of relative stability in ethnic group categories. The corollary of this argument is that ethnogenesis is never an instantaneous event. By definition there is some period of time during which an ethnic category is "proposed," progressively claimed by individuals, and eventually recognized more broadly. Likewise, ethno(re) genesis, the significant redefinition of an ethnic category and its boundaries, does not occur instantaneously but proceeds over a period of time during which it is tested and contested, and either succumbs to the status quo or becomes generally recognized." (Thomson 2011: 98)

**Ethnogenesis from a Sociological Perspective**

In Sociology, the term has only gained momentum in the 1960s, during the phase of the so-called "ethnic revival" in American Sociology, with the first paper by Lester C. Singer, entitled "Ethnogenesis and Negro-Americans Today", published in Social Research (Singer 1962).

In looking at all journal papers, books and book chapters across disciplines that appear in JSTOR carrying "Ethnogenesis" in their titles, Singer's paper comes in 42th place. The "Top Ten" are all single chapters within the same book (the recent monograph by Voss, 2008), with the exception of an anthology of Southern Poems (including Henry Timrod's war poem *Ethnogenesis*) edited by Barrett and Miller (2005), fourth. The overwhelming majority of the fifty most relevant contributions were published from the year 2000 onwards. Among this fifty, Lester Singer's paper is the oldest and only one published prior to the 1990s. When limiting the search to particular umbrella and single disciplines, Singer's paper comes sixth in Social Sciences, first in Political Science, and sixth in Sociology, here follow-

ing five single chapters in different edited book. In short, until the present day, it is the most relevant paper in sociological journals.

Typical for sociological foci, the analysis of the relationship between the individual and social structure in formative processes of social entities is key for Singer. The author makes clear the notions that underlie the use of the term "social entity" as contrasted with the term "social category". Social categories refer "to numbers of people who constitute an aggregate because they have a common characteristic(s) about which society expresses some views and which therefore influences their life chances":

> "The 'members' of a social category are not necessarily involved in any relationship among themselves. Thus the terms 'men', 'women', 'immigrants', and 'divorcees' stand for social categories. The term 'social entity', on the other hand, refers to a number of people manifesting such qualities as patterned relationships, shared values, and self-recognition. Thus a team, a gang, a community, an ethnic group, and a society all constitute recognizable social entities." (Singer 1962: 420)

For Singer, and importantly for our understanding of "ethnic groups", the central point of the contrast between the two terms is the "presence or absence of internal structure and the accompanying cultural, or ideological, element". He further suggests calling the formative process of ethnically defined social entities "ethnogenesis, meaning by this term the process whereby a people, that is an ethnic group, comes into existence" (Singer 1962: 423). He also reminds us that this process is only one of several kinds of group-forming processes, of which socio-genesis is the generic term.[16]

While there are a multiplicity of causal factors at work in processes of ethnogenesis, Singer suggests specifically looking at the context of power relations, that is, "the specific character of the relationship with the other segment(s) of the population". This relates to a common social scientific sense, namely that internal group development and external (inter-group) relationships influence one another. In short: the characteristics of an emergent ethnic group are the consequences of factors outside themselves as well as their response to these factors. The bases may be ideological differences, imputed intrinsic differences, particular functions in the division of labor, etc. – this to be taken into account when describing a particular case of ethnogenesis. For a general outline of the process, however, the particulars are not important (Singer 1962: 423-428).

There is a parallel to Max Weber's very argument that highlights the difference between a kinship group and ethnic membership (as a "believed-in membership"), precisely where Singer underlines that the ancestors of the people in question do not necessarily show any kind of "ethnic group characteristics" (Weber 1968, 2007). Rather, it might only been possible to conceptualize former generations as a social category, not as a social entity.

Singer developed his concept of the formative process of ethnogenesis in response to a lack of adequate ways of conceptualizing "Negroes in Negro-white relations in the United States", criticizing the fact that earlier attempts were based on static category concepts and, as such, appeared not to do justice to the phenomenon. In his eyes, the available data seemed to "require an entity concept that will allow the developmental factors to be taken into account". Singer connects with the kind of process which E.K. Francis referred to:

> "Yet even on the ground of our limited knowledge it becomes clear that, generally speaking, the stages of development traversed by ethnic groups are: expansion - fission - new combination." (Francis 1947: 398, note 11; cited by Singer).

> "What we have here called ethnogenesis is related to Francis' sequence at two points. It is, on the one hand, temporally prior in that ethnic groups must have formed before they could expand. On the other hand, the last stage of the sequence is eth-

[16] Socio-genesis is a term describing the origins of certain problems within a society; specifically, the fact that many problems originate due to specific attitudes (or activities) within a society.

nogenesis. Consequently, the expanded sequence should be: ethnogenesis - expansion - fission - new combination (that is, ethnogenesis).” (Singer 1962: 429-430)

**Concluding Outlook**

The first references to the term ethnogenesis are to be found in Literature Studies. A descriptive use of the concept, on the other hand, was first implemented in Latin American Studies, circa 1930s, followed by its use in Anthropology and Archaeology in different regions and scholarly traditions in the 1940s. While the term “ethnic group” had been established long before, the novelty of the notion of ethnogenesis was, in its explicit emphasis on the genesis, in a formative process of ethnic groups and entities, thus acknowledging, implicitly at least, that ethnic groups are not natural, given entities, but are instead the result of historical processes. Conceptualisation and theoretical considerations appear from the mid1940s onwards in Latin American Studies (works by ethnologists and anthropologists) and in Soviet (Archeological) History and Ethnology. In both strands, it was used to differentiate between – and often with the intention to classify and categorise – social entities and populations along constructs of common history and cultural markers. Although the structural forces of power relations and “ethnic change” are today recognised as intrinsic to processes of ethnogenesis, ethnic strategising “from above” might have caused the concept itself to go out of fashion in Latin American Studies for a prolonged time period, this before getting discharged altogether by constructivist scholarly tradition (Gabbert 2011, 2014). From the 1940s to the 1960s, most academic references to ethnogenesis at international level were to the Soviet theory of the subject. The decisive context here had been the National Question, with eminent Marxist historians and ethnographers partly taking on the role of motivating actors of “ethnic strategising”. While ethnogenesis was seen as the result of historical processes, the Soviet concept of ethnogenesis still considered ethnic groups as being rather stable, social entities that would continuously transmit their social structures from one generation to the next. It did not consider what is today commonly referred to as “ethnic change”.

Although the term genesis carries the connotation of “birth” or “creation”, non-Soviet discourses actually startet employing ethnogenesis also to describe what was later called “ethnic change” or “ethnic osmosis” (Barth 1969). In introducing the ethnogenesis of African-Americans as starting *ab initio* (unlike all other inquiries up until that date in which ethnogenesis was used to conceptualize the transformation of some ethnic groups into other ethnic groups), Singer’s contribution added decisively to the works of his time because traditional perspectives had nearly exclusively focused on the survival and transformation of European-derived “ethnic cultures” in the USA.

**Lester C. Singer, Ethnogenesis and Negro-Americans Today, 1962: 424**

This process appears to have the following form,

1) A portion of a population becomes distinguished, on some basis or bases, in the context of a power relationship.

2) The members of this distinguished population segment are “assigned” to a particular social role and fate; that is, the division of labor becomes reorganized.

3) As these people react to the situation in which they find themselves, they become involved with one another, if the situation permits. In other words, social structures develop among them; it is at this point that entity characteristics first become apparent.

4) Then these people become aware of their commonality of fate. The growth of such corporate self-awareness reinforces the structuring tendencies.

5) The further development of the emerging ethnic group will then depend, in part, on the nature of the structures that develop the content of the group’s “self-image”, and the shared conception of its destiny. This, of course, emphasizes internal development, which is our present concern.

It was later argued – e.g. by Fredrik Barth (1969) and Anthony Greeley (1974) – that the process whereby ethnic groups come into being had been largely ignored. Similarly, as criticized by Pierre van den Berge (1967) as well as William Yancey et al. (1976), the emphasis on culture as an explanatory variable had tended to obscure the contribution of structural conditions to the emergence and persistence of ethnicity. During the same period, several scholars (e.g., Cohen 1969, Doornbos 1972, Hechter 1974, and slightly later Taylor 1979) suggested that while ethnicity may involve cultural referents, its development and persistence would depend on certain structural conditions. This is to say, the expectation that class or functional cleavages should become predominant over ascriptive solidarities in modern society seemed to be unjustified in view of the persistence of these structural factors (Mayhew 1968, Bell 1975). Here, the awareness and need to differentiate between social category and social entity, as stressed by Singer, is at the core. And still, Singer's expanded sequence appears too linear to grasp the formative process of either hyphenated or pan-ethnic conceptions of ethnic membership. This supports the argument that differing processes described as ethnogenesis can more tellingly be conceptualized as Ethnoheterogenesis (Tiesler 2018), as the latter concept highlights the dialectic of hetero- and homogenization at work. In order to further develop Ethnoheterogenesis as an analytical process category, an awareness of the differing strands in the conceptual history of the term ethnogenesis appears essential.

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# Factors and Ethical Values that Foster a Sense of Belonging Toward the Host Society: The Case of South Asian Communities in Montreal's Parc-Extension Neighbourhood (Canada)

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**Abstract**

Place attachment studies developed scales for measuring the sense of belonging using a range of determinants. However, ethical values are rarely dealt with as such in the literature on belonging. This study's primary objective was thus to understand and rank the factors that, within an immigrant community whose culture of origin is somewhat different from that of the host society, foster development of a sense of place attachment (neighbourhood, city, state, or country). Then, to grasp the role of ethical determinants in constructing a sense of place attachment, the study's secondary objective was to see, also by ranking, which of the values present in the host society are perceived by members of immigrant communities as fostering their attachment to it. To attain these objectives, the study interviewed forty adult members of South Asian communities living in a Montreal multiethnic neighbourhood. The results show that interpersonal relations, low crime rate and infrastructures are the most important factors to foster place attachment, while fraternity, equality and safety are the most important ethical values.

**Keywords:** sense of belonging, ethical values, host society, South Asian immigrants, Canada

## Background

Populations in Canada, Quebec, and the city of Montreal have increasingly varied ethnic origins (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2013; Dewing, 2009; Bating *et al*., 2007; Li, 2000). This creates new challenges for public administrations, particularly in terms of integration and social cohesion. In recent years, several western nations have initiated broad collective contemplation of the models that are most conducive to fostering integration and social cohesion in multi-ethnic communities (Zapata-Barrera 2017; Caponio & Borkert 2010; Vertovec 2007; Castels 2002). This was the case in France, with the Stasi Commission (Stasi 2003), the Netherlands (Michalowski, 2005) and, of course, in Quebec, with the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (Bouchard & Taylor 2008), and the more recent debate on the Charter of Quebec Values (Gouvernement du Québec 2013). The tensions that sometimes manifest around these issues seem to be partially provoked by conflicting values that fundamentally come from a single source: the legitimate desire of both minority and majority community members to *feel like they belong* in the place where they live, that is, to have a sense of living in a place that is *like them*, and where they can have the life they aspire to (Banting &

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Soroka 2012; Ager & Strang 2008). In this ideal that drives them, what is immediately stressed is the key importance of the *sense of belonging*, which can be defined as individuals' feeling that they matter to the other people in the group and can get their needs met through their involvement with the group (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

For several decades now, scientific research has made it possible to understand the sense of belonging through its individual and psychosocial aspects, among others. Several studies argue that the sense of belonging is a fundamental human need (Guérin-Pace 2006; Guilbert 2005; de Coninck 2001; Schlachet 2000; Maslow 1970) that is highly determinant of overall well-being, that is, human physical and mental health (Hill, 2006; Andersen et al. 2000; Richer & Vallerand 1998; Hagerty et al. 1996; Baumeister & Leary 1995). In this way, the sense of belonging is a major factor in a person's level of satisfaction and positive perception of themselves (Young et al. 2004; Richer & Vallerand 1998; Baumeister & Leary 1995). However, the sense of belonging is not only accompanied by mental and physical well-being; it is also based on a relationship of inclusion between an individual or a group and a defined social category (nationality, ethnicity, society, social class, etc.). A positive sense of belonging and well-being therefore imply an individual's perception of his adaptation to his environment, insofar as that environment features the social categories used to assess whether or not he belongs to the group (Fisher 2010; Leloup & Radice 2008; Oriol 1985). Conversely, the loss of an individual's sense of belonging in his environment is an important dissatisfaction factor that can lead to anguish, depression, or antisocial or self-destructive behaviour (UK Social Exclusion Unit 2001; Hagerty & Williams 1999). In other words, a sense of belonging creates a sense of internal harmony, as well as harmony between individuals and their environments (Brettell & Reed-Danahay 2011; Reed-Danahay & Brettell 2008; Dorais 2004; Hogg & Turner 1985).

Immediately, given the key place the *living environment* plays in the individual's environment (family home, friends, neighbours, community, cultural and work lives, etc.), the *sense of belonging in a place*, sometimes called "social belonging," "rootedness" or "place of attachment" (Barbeau et al., 2013; Enns et al., 2013; Rioux & Mokounkolo 2010; Alphandéry & Bergues 2004; Bonnemaison 1981), is *one* essential dimension (as we can also belong to a family, profession, sports team, etc.) of the resulting sense of belonging and well-being. This is why, in numerous studies in the fields of economy, politics and society, the sense of belonging in a place is generally considered to be the glue of social cohesion, cultural identity, integration, or citizenship (Spoonley & Peace 2007; Di Méo 2004; Heckmann & Schnapper 2003; Forrest & Kearns 2001; Phinney et al. 2001; Abou 1981). Some of the place attachment studies developed scales for measuring the sense of belonging using a range of determinants, such as identification, shared values, social participation, the sense of acceptance or rejection, sense of personal value, etc. (Markus 2010; Avanza and Laferté 2005; Jenson 1998; Berry 1997; Bollen & Hoyle 1990). These determinants *implicitly* suggest that the strength of the sense of belonging in a place (country, state, city, neighbourhood, etc.) is closely linked to value systems that shape the individual's *personal ethic.* Yet ethical determinants are never dealt with *as such* in the literature on belonging (Walters 2007).

**Purpose of the study**

The study's *primary objective* was to understand and rank the factors that, within an immigrant community whose culture of origin is somewhat different from that of the host society, foster development of a sense of place attachment, i.e. the neighbourhood, city, state or country. Then, to grasp the role of ethical determinants in constructing a sense of place attachment, the study's *secondary objective* was to see, also by ranking, which of the values present in the host society (in relationships between citizens or with institutions) are perceived by members of immigrant communities as fostering their attachment to it.

**Theoretical Framework**

Our research team opted to address the sense of belonging primarily from its psychosocial dimension, starting with the *subjective evaluation* expressed by members of the South Asian communities living in Montreal (Quebec, Canada). Rather than taking a "distantiated" approach to belonging, involving, for example, observations of an immigrant's integration with a social institution based on external socioeconomic characteristics, belonging was examined through its *affective* dimension, associated with the attachment a person has for a place. This evaluation is partially determined by the *personal (ethical) values* behind that person's judgements about others and about institutions. A value is an emotionally rooted form of personal preference which structures our evaluation of things, and which propels actions (Farmer & Versailles 2019). The value can also be associated with *purposes* that are expressed in actions that are intended to achieve them. For example, the value of equality is not only a determinant for the emotional and intellectual structure that guides the subject's actions; it is also a kind of *state of the world* that the subjects who place importance on this value are seeking to achieve (a purpose). Ethics is a search for the "good" in action. It seeks to answer the question: "what to do to do well?" (Ricoeur 1990). Therefore, to achieve good, ethics must be based on values. As a result, a person's "morality," "personal ethics" or "worldview" are made up of ordered values that shape how he or she perceives and acts on the world around him or her, including the place where he or she lives (Weber, 1993; Ravlin & Meglino 1987).

Accordingly, the research team needed to question study participants directly about their attachment to various places (neighbourhood, city, country, etc.). To discern that attachment, they also had to ask about certain more salient facets that characterize a place. Such facets may include such things as urban infrastructure (parks, playing fields, libraries, public transportation, places of worship, etc.), architecture, the economy, people, and so on. Such facets can also be more *intangible*, associated with significant events that create positive or negative memories about a place, or values that define the place's social structure and interactions between its people. Our conceptualization of belonging is thus based on the idea that place attachment develops from "valences" between the subject's affective predispositions, rooted in values that shape personal ethics, and the place's objective characteristics which define its specificity. Although this approach founded on valences associated with personal values is fairly unusual in the literature, it is nonetheless embedded in numerous studies, particularly in environmental psychology, in which the determinants of place attachment are physical, spatial, social or emotional (Altman & Low 2012; Debenedetti 2005; Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001).

This conceptual background was used in developing the interview guide (see table 2), as well as in analyzing (coding) the study data. The interview guide's first section asked members of South Asian communities to assess their level of attachment to their neighbourhood, the city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada and their country of origin. In the second section, we asked them about the ethical or moral values that are most important to them in their social and private lives. We also asked them to tell us what values a society should promote to foster a sense of belonging in the people who live in it. Further details on data collection appear in the methodology section.

**Methodology**

*Population and sample*

To better understand the notion of belonging and its ethical determinants, the study questioned *adult* members of South Asian communities who live in the Parc-Extension neighbourhood in Montreal. Either they or their parents were from four countries: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. These communities' cultural practices and traditional believes are generally fairly different from those of Quebecers of European origin (Fiore 2013; Paré 2008; Walters 2007; Poirier

2006; Dhruvarajan 1993; Meintel 1993). For example, and in contrast with most Quebecers, South Asian social networks are largely formed around families and religious leaders, which makes members' desire for individual emancipation less evident, particularly among women (Rajiva & D'Sylva 2014; Zaidi et al. 2014; Varghese & Jenkins 2009; Voigt-Graf 2005; Walton-Roberts 2004). In general, the neighbourhood's population has less education (over 50% have a high school diploma or less), and is poorer (over 40% are low-income people) than the Quebec population as a whole; Parc-Extension is the neighbourhood with the highest proportion of its labour force working in a language other than English and French (Bakhshaei & McAndrew 2011; Ville de Montréal 2010; CDÉC 2002).

The choice of these communities is therefore particularly appropriate for the study's purposes. Unlike many European immigrants, for example, for the South Asians, most of the process of constructing belonging remains to be done when they get to Canada (Vatz-Laaroussi 2009; Laczko 2005; St-Germain et al. 2005). It thus seemed easier to isolate the factors that enable the transition between "before" and "after" in the development of a sense of belonging after they arrived in Canada. In general, although of course there may be exceptions, the disjunction is less radical among immigrants with Western backgrounds and may make it more difficult to identify "local" factors in the construction of the sense of belonging (Gilkinson & Sauvé, 2012; Xue, 2007). The choice of Montreal and Quebec in Canada is also noteworthy in that it allows us to see whether the perception of belonging to place is modified by the competing integration models promoted by the central government (Canada) and a "substate nation" (Quebec) (Banting & Kymlicka, 2012).

As a result of a solicitation[1] on classified ad sites such as *Kijiji* and with neighbourhood community organizations that spread the word, the study team was able to recruit *40 adults* who lived in Parc-Extension. Twenty-six subjects were women (65%) and fourteen were men (35%). Since the study's main aim was to establish a ranking of the factors and values that are the most "attractive" in contributing to a sense of place attachment, the sample size was initially determined with a *view to representativity.* The team wanted to ensure that the picture of the South Asian communities the research created was sufficiently complete. We believe we have achieved that, insofar as the characteristics of the population under study (age, sex, place of origin, etc.) are all well represented in the sample. The details on study participants' sociodemographic profiles are provided in *table 1.*

**Table 1: Sociodemographic Profile of Study Participants**

| | | N | N% |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Age** | | | |
| | > 40 | 26 | 65% |
| | < 40 | 14 | 35% |
| **Sex** | | | |
| | Men | 14 | 35% |
| | Women | 26 | 65% |
| **Marital status** | | | |
| | Married | 21 | 53% |
| | Single | 14 | 35% |
| | Other | 5 | 12% |
| **Language spoken at home** | | | |
| | English | 2 | 5% |
| | French | 1 | 2% |
| | Other | 37 | 93% |
| **Education** | | | |
| | Primary school | 6 | 15% |
| | High school | 10 | 25% |
| | College | 8 | 20% |
| | University | 16 | 40% |
| **Economic situation** | | | |
| | Below average | 8 | 20% |
| | Average | 29 | 73% |
| | Above average | 3 | 7% |
| **Years in Canada** | | | |
| | 0 to 5 | 16 | 40% |
| | 5 to 10 | 5 | 13% |
| | > than 10 | 19 | 47% |
| **Religious practice** | | | |
| | Often | 30 | 75% |
| | Sometimes | 5 | 12% |
| | Rarely | 2 | 5% |
| | Never | 3 | 8% |

[1] The entire project approach was approved by the university's research ethics board.

*Data collection*

The data was collected by means of a sociodemographic questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire contained fifteen questions on age, sex, marital and professional status, dependent children, languages spoken at home and at work, economic situation, date of arrival in the country, and religious beliefs. The questionnaire allowed the study team to establish, if desired, cross-checks between the sociodemographic data and perspectives expressed during interviews. The interviews lasted an average of forty-five to ninety minutes, although some were longer. In general, participants were very generous and comfortable with their comments. The interviews were conducted in French or English. In two cases, the interview was carried out with the help of an interpreter. The interview location was selected based on what suited the participant. Some interviews were conducted in public places, such as coffee shops or restaurants. Others were held in an office at a community organization or university. Some took place at participants' homes. Prior to recruitment and data collection, the team walked the neighbourhood for several weeks to create ties with the communities by participating in activities, such as volunteer activities, that were not directly related to the study. This preparatory work facilitated the recruitment of members as well as word-of-mouth.

To align with study objectives, the interview guide separated the questions into two distinct categories: questions on factors that contributed to the sense of belonging, and questions on the role of ethical or moral values. The questions in the interview guide appear in *table 2.*

**Table 2: Interview guide questions on belonging and values**

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BELONGING AND FACTORS

***Q1:*** *In general, how would you describe the strength of your sense of belonging toward your country of origin? Toward Canada? Québec? Montreal? Your neighbourhood?*

***Q2:*** *What situations or events explain the differences? Are there any particularly striking moments?*

***Q3:*** *What characteristics must a place have (neighbourhood, city, country, state, etc.) to be attractive?*

***Q4:*** *What should a host society do to foster a sense of belonging in the members of your community?*

***Q5:*** *What should the members of your community do to become close to the host society?*

ROLE OF VALUES

***Q6:*** *Which of these aspects played an important role in constructing your sense of belonging? Explain why and compare.*

a) *The sense of being surrounded by family and/or good friends?*
b) *The sense of being accepted by the host society (politics, people, etc.)?*
c) *The possibility of having some level of comfort (job, health, education)?*
d) *A legal system that protects basic rights (such as religion)?*

***Q7:*** *What values are most important in a society? Fraternity (interpersonal connections)? Individual liberty? Equality? Religion? Safety? Explain.*

*Data analysis*

In addition to the forty questionnaires filled out by participants, the study team assembled empirical materials that included 1,248 pages of verbatim transcripts of the interviews. Using qualitative analysis software to navigate within the transcriptions was deemed unnecessary. Since it would have taken too much space to simultaneously present a detailed analysis of the interview excerpts on our research themes with the ranking of factors and values that foster belonging, this article instead focuses on the last aspect (ranking). Another article will be published based on a more in-depth qualitative analysis of the interviews and will report on participants' words and experiences. Thus, to fulfil the study's primary objective, which addressed the factors that fostered development of a sense of place attachment, the team simply compiled all the factors participants named, then established a ranking based on the *number of times* (frequency) participants named them, and the *ranking* they were each given (factor named first, second, third, etc.). This data analysis method draws on the *prototypical analysis* method developed to investigate social representations, among other things (Lo Monaco et al. 2016; Vergès 1992). To calculate and rank the factors in order of importance, we assigned a "score" to the factor named according to its rank. A factor named first received three points, a factor listed second received two, and a factor named third received one point. This data allowed us to identify the *overall importance* of the factors that foster belonging both due to the frequency at which participants mentioned them, and their real influence stemming from the ranking they were given. In general, participants explicitly ordered factors when answering questions. Sometimes, however, in the absence of an explicit ranking, we had to interpret the ranking based on the contextual elements of the response and the emphasis that was placed on certain factors by the interviewee.

To address the second objective, which was to identify the role of values, we used the same approach as with the factors that foster belonging. We had to differentiate between the values based on their importance. Once again, we also established their frequency and ranking based on a score. For each interview, we identified the values listed in response to the questions on the topic, noting their ranking and the number of times they were mentioned. As with the factors, the importance ranking was established based on the explicit ranking applied by the participants, or based on a contextual analysis of statements in which we assessed the emphasis placed on certain values using key language markers, such as adjectives, adverbs, place in the statement, etc.

**Results**

The results obtained for the importance of the factors that foster place attachment (primary study objective) are summarized in *table 3*. The results that enable an understanding of the role of ethical values (secondary objective) in constructing a sense of belonging are provided in *table 4.*

**Table 3: Factors that foster place attachment**

| Factors named | Frequency and rank | Score |
|---|---|---|
| Economy (jobs) | 2 x 2nd; 5 x 3rd | 9 |
| Infrastructure (roads, transportation, parks, playgrounds, etc.) | 5 x 1st; 13 x 2nd; 11 x 3rd | **52** |
| Interpersonal relations | 16 x 1st; 4 x 2nd; 7 x 3rd | **63** |
| Language and local culture | 2 x 2nd; 2 x 3rd | 6 |
| Political and legal system | 3 x 2nd; 1 x 3rd | 7 |
| Safety (low crime rate) | 10 x 1st; 5 x 2nd; 2 x 3rd | **42** |
| Similar culture (presence of culture of origin) | 1 x 1st; 5 x 2nd; 3 x 3rd | 16 |
| Social programs (health, education, etc.) | 3 x 1st; 5 x 2nd; 7 x 3rd | 26 |

**Table 4: Role of ethical or moral values**

| Values named | Frequency and rank | Score |
|---|---|---|
| Equality (treatment) | 8 x 1st; 5 x 2nd | **34** |
| Fraternity (friendship, mutual assistance) | 12 x 1st; 5 x 2nd | **46** |
| Honesty (integrity, trust) | 1 x 1st | 3 |
| Liberty (individual) | 2 x 1st; 7 x 2nd; 4 x 3rd | 24 |
| Piety (religion) | 1 x 1st; 2 x 2nd; 1 x 3rd | 8 |
| Respect (for others and self) | 5 x 1st; 1 x 2nd; 1 x 3rd | 18 |
| Safety (personal) | 8 x 1st; 6 x 2nd; 1 x 3rd | **37** |
| Wealth (financial) | 1 x 1st | 3 |

**Discussion**

*Ranking of factors*

In the results tables, we used bold for the three highest scores in each of the categories (factors and role of values). Among the factors that foster place attachment, the *quality of interpersonal relations* is, by far, the factor that is seen as the most positive (63 points). 29 out of 40 participants named this factor (72.5%). Interpersonal relations mean the relationships people have with family, friends, neighbours and colleagues, but it also includes interactions in daily life. Here, many participants said they were delighted with how nice people were in their neighbourhood, and in Quebec and Canadian society in general. Few reported having been subjected to racist statements or actions. The two other factors with the most positive impact on place attachment are tied at 42 points: the *sense of safety* associated with the low crime rate and the *quality of urban infrastructure*. Given that the sample featured a clear majority of women (65%), it is unsurprising to see safety rank this high, since women are the most frequent targets of harassment and aggression (Kavanaugh 2013; Jeyaseelan *et al*. 2007; Wesely & Gaarder 2004). Note, though, that several men also reported that this factor was important. The feeling of safety refers to the confidence people have in circulating freely on the street without being subjected to crimes or rudeness. The notion of urban infrastructure refers to roads (streets, avenues, etc.), the transportation system, parks, playgrounds, and all physical facilities (libraries, businesses, etc.) and equipment needed for a territory to operate properly (Steele & Legacy 2017). According to the data collected, this factor is seen as being as important as safety. In the Parc-Extension neighbourhood, one of Montreal's poorest, the proximity of services is reported as being very advantageous, given that nearly everything is in walking distance, which means households do not have to purchase a car, a very heavy financial constraint.

Among the other factors that participants mentioned less frequently, *social programs* such as health, education and support programs of all types (material help, language classes, etc.) have a meaningful position. Several participants reported, with emotion, that they had very much appreciated the help they got from various tiers of government, as well as from community organizations that are highly active in Parc-Extension. Nine participants (22.5%) also mentioned that they placed some importance on *cultural similarity* in fostering their attachment to the place. This expression refers to aspects of the culture of origin found in the host society, for example, places of worship, grocery stores, and neighbourhood festivals that celebrate the traditions of the country of origin. Finally, and interestingly, although it was sometimes suggested in the interview questions, the *political and legal system,* which includes the charters that protect individual rights and freedoms, do not appear to be a key factor in the construction of a sense of belonging, at least not expressly. Only one of ten participants presented it as a significant factor in build-

ing his own sense of belonging in the host society. Besides, only one participant (2.5 %) mentioned the debate on secularization (Charter of Quebec values)[2] as "negative", even if that topic was hot in the news when he was interviewed. The factor with the lowest score is *language and local culture*, but it is not generally suggested in the questions, so that participants who selected it did so spontaneously. Moreover, in contrast with received opinion, our study showed that there is a Francophile current within the South Asian communities. Some stated that they loved Montreal's French language and culture, even though they sometimes struggled to learn French. Some even said that they had visited other Canadian cities, like Toronto, but chose Montreal in the end because of the local culture, the pace, which is seen as slower, the safety and quality of life in Parc-Extension, and the less prohibitive cost of living.

*Ranking of ethical or moral values*

The values that were named as the most important in fostering a sense of belonging echo the factors. This is not surprising, since the selection of factors, which are, in a sense, the "external attributes" of places, is determined by the values, which we define as forms of personal preference that structure our assessments of things. We did not analyze the intersections between values and factors for each participant; however, the overall results suggest that it would be worthwhile to investigate how, in each individual, the values determine the social behaviours associated with construction of belonging. The value that stood out as the most important in fostering belonging to a place is *fraternity* (forty-six points). For the purposes of analyzing the participants' statements, this value included anything pertaining to the family, friendship, mutual assistance, and solidarity. Fraternity refers to very profound, immediate emotional needs, which no doubts explains its dominance. The second most important value is *safety* (thirty-nine points), which is understood as a type of peace of mind associated with preserving the person's physical and psychological integrity over time. Safety and fraternity seem to directly echo the two factors that were deemed the most meaningful, i.e. the quality of interpersonal relations and the sense of safety associated with the low crime rate. The third most important value is *equality* (thirty-four points). This value refers to a person's feeling that they are treated like others (regardless of their origin or social status), with the same respect and privileges. On this matter, it is remarkable to note that, although many study participants (40%, five years or less) had just come to Quebec, they stressed how much they valued being treated with respect, despite their "immigrant" or "refugee" status. Moreover, some participants deplored the fact that equality is not valued more in their country of origin (particularly with respect to gender and socioeconomic status).

Among the next values in the ranking, *freedom* (twenty-four points) and *respect* (twenty points) earned fairly high scores. In our study, freedom was associated with individual liberty, the ability to do what one wants to do, achieve one's ambitions, and assert one's personality. Respect was associated with "regard" for oneself and others, politeness, courtesy. Although these two values proved to be fairly meaningful to participants, it is still surprising to see that, in fourth place, freedom ranks fairly low among the most popular values, given that it is fairly customary to consider it as the primary motivation for the migration process. The three other values participants cited scored much lower: *piety* (eight points), *honesty* (three points) and *financial wealth* (three points). With respect to piety, defined as attachment to religion (devotion, zeal), it is interesting to note the discrepancy between participants' diligence in religious practice, as expressed in the sociodemographic questionnaire (75% practice often), and its appeal as a factor fostering the sense

[2] The Quebec Charter of Values was a draft charter of secularism. It aimed to establish the common rules of a secular state and to regulate requests for accommodation. It also proposed to prohibit the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols by government employees.

of place attachment. This could be due to the fact that the vast majority of study participants (or their parents, if the participants were born in Canada) did not choose to leave their country of origin on primarily religious grounds (stigmatization or religious violence in their country of origin), but rather for reasons associated with their well-being and safety, or to provide their children with a better future. Participants who discussed this issue certainly valued the presence of places of worship in their neighbourhood but, except in one case (participant thirty-eight), they did not seem to have a negative view of the host society's relatively low level of religious zeal.

*Comparison of results with results in the current literature*

The literature develops several models for acculturation and integration. The most well-known are: Berry's *Bi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation*, which places the various degrees of acculturation on a continuum that is bounded by the culture of origin on one side and the host society's culture on the other; it deals with behaviours such as assimilation, integration, separation or segregation and marginalization (Berry 1997); Rudmin's *Acculturative Learning Model*, which puts a great deal of emphasis on internal factors like personal motivation and the resulting learning process (Rudmin 2003); and the *Multidimensional Intercultural Training Acculturation Model* (MITA), which adds variables to take into consideration the situation of refugees who are displaced abruptly due to tragic events such as armed conflicts (Fathi *et al*. 2018). A critical analysis of these models reveals that, methodologically, the research into acculturation has neglected phenomenological research that focuses on lived experience and perception in favour of "confirmatory" studies intended to validate existing models (Chirkov 2009). This is one reason we opted to privilege a data collection method that allowed participants to explain how, in their opinion, the encounter with the host society was shaped through the development of their sense of belonging. The interview guide was of course designed based on a predetermined theoretical framework, but it was sufficiently "open" to allow participants to tell their stories. Our results show that there is clear interest in opening up the "space of subjectivity" to establish connections between certain personality structures, such as ethical or moral values, which shape thought and behaviour, and the socialization process usually highlighted by research into these matters.

As we note in the introduction, studies on the sense of belonging often revolve around clinical or social psychology, highlighting its importance in personal psychic balance. Most such studies also draw on quantitative methodologies that are based on the statistical analysis of answers to closed questions (frequently including Likert scales). Like the studies on acculturation, studies on the sense of belonging start from a theoretical framework (construct) whose contours can be established and measured using psychometric instruments (Hagerty & Patusky 1995). In studies on belonging, the theoretical framework is built around two notions: 1) the feeling of being valued by others and one's environment; 2) the feeling of being suited to a group or environment by means of shared characteristics (Hagerty *et al*. 1996). Even if they challenge subjects' self-assessments of their emotions and feelings, the studies aim to measure an individual's "fit"; that is, how others see him or her, and how they navigate the pre-existing standards that regulate social interactions. This perspective on the actors in belonging or acculturation (the individual, others, the environment and its standards) is constrained to a somewhat superficial type of "functionalism." Yet, given the central role they play in an individual's cognitive universe, it is fairly natural to consider ethical and moral values as the underpinnings of evaluation and social behaviour pertaining to the development of a sense of place connection. Clearly, a qualitative study such as ours is not as generalizable as quantitative research, but our respectable sample size and the clarity of the results tend to suggest that values offer some interesting explanatory power

for understanding connection to place. We could even add that, given the very intimate relationship between ethical or moral values and personality, they have a type of "anteriority" in the psychic economy that helps grasp the acculturation and integration behaviour they trigger.

In studies on place attachment, the psychometric perspective also dominates (Brown & Raymond 2007; Knez 2005; Shamai & Ilatov 2005; Williams & Vaske 2003). The most frequent variables used in measuring it are *place dependence* and *place identity*. Like the studies on sense of belonging, the studies on place attachment explore such things as a person's *general* emotional bond with a place, without using more detailed psychological variables like values. As for the attachment studies' consideration of a place's "external" characteristics (physical, spatial, social, cultural, etc.), they spend very little time on the specific context of the relationship between immigrants and the places where they choose to remake their lives. Our study identified some of these key factors for communities that are very understudied in Quebec. Here, note that our results for the ranking of factors that foster belonging converge with other results in educational psychology for place attachment predictors (Lewicka 2010).

To conclude our comparison of the results with the existing literature, it seems relevant to mention *needs theory*, insofar as it may be fairly obvious to think there is a connection between an individual's hierarchy of needs, that person's values, and stated preferences with respect to a place. The environmental psychology literature on place attachment primarily looks at *attachment theory* (Morgan 2010; Giuliani 2003). However, Maslow's *hierarchy of needs* (1943) identifies fundamental needs that can easily be associated with factors or values that influence the dynamics of connection to place. Thus, beyond physiological needs, which we can overlook given the study's context, the safety, belonging and love, esteem, and self-actualization can no doubt be related to factors or values evoked in our results. Conceptually, this association is interesting because it raises the issue of the preponderance of "deep" psychological dimensions, such as values and needs, in the ranking of preferences for places' external attributes. It provides a better understanding of why factors that have a more indirect influence on people's lives, such as laws and the political system, are perceived to be less significant. This once again refers back to the idea of *valences* (connections between subjective or psychological determinants such as values and external attributes) that we mentioned earlier. Here, while our study opens up a new perspective on values and their role in the dynamics of connection to place, it leaves the matter of the shared place of needs and values in this dynamic unanswered. Dealing with it would require some reflection on the distinctions between values and needs, which was not the study's objective.

*Study limitations*

In our opinion, the study has some limitations in terms of generalizing the results and reproducing them in similar contexts. The first and no doubt the most significant limitation is the *language barrier*. Here, the barrier cannot be reduced simply to transitioning from one language to another, as in going from French to English and vice versa. Rather, it involves radically different *lexical registers.* For example, it was not always easy to convey to some participants what a concept like "belonging" means. It took time to explain a notion that, for some, was not self-evident. Even though we believe we were able to overcome this barrier through dialogue, it seems reasonable to assert that this obstacle had an impact on the results. The results could potentially have been different with communities in which this lexical barrier was absent.

The second limitation also relates to the language barrier. Participants were not always able to name the "factors" or "values." The interview guide therefore planned to make suggestions. Clearly, this approach may have "guided" the answers in some cases. Although the interviewers strove to be neutral, it can still be easier for

participants to limit their answers to the selections offered. That said, the team was aware of this obstacle from the outset. In spite of this, we believe we were able to capture the essence of what the participants wanted to share with us.

The third limitation concerns the methodological approach used. If data collection had been restricted solely to the use of questionnaires, it would have been possible to develop a quantitative research design and carry out statistical analyses that delineate the scope of the results more sharply. However, we believe that establishing an in-depth dialogue with the participants, one that was characterized by trust, authorizes us to assert that we were able to more clearly establish the *meaning* of their thoughts on the issue of belonging. A closed questionnaire would have denied us this opportunity. We should add that the study included other facets and objectives not dealt with here. Lastly, with respect to *data triangulation*, we opted not to apply systematic cross-checks between the data from the sociodemographic questionnaire and data from the interviews. This is because, in light of a review of the verbatims, we judged that triangulation would not really enable a better understanding of the construction of a sense of belonging within these communities. Certain variables that could intuitively seem to favour development of a strong sense of belonging, such as date of arrival or place of birth, did not seem significant. We therefore put them aside in the more in-depth analysis.

**Conclusion**

In our opinion, our study has successfully spotlighted key factors that help make a place appealing to newly arrived immigrant communities. The results appear especially interesting because they were obtained through the contribution of South Asian communities who remain largely unknown in French-speaking Canada, and perhaps elsewhere. Moreover, by investigating the role of values in the construction of a sense of belonging, the study seems to show the relevance of linking certain fundamental psychological functions and their impact on the affinities (or valences) that develop between the social behaviours of a place's residents, and the place's apparent characteristics.

While the qualitative methodological approach privileged in our study--predominantly phenomenological--enabled a better grasp of the subjective meaning that a place's residents assign to the construction of their sense of belonging to the host society during a specific migratory journey, the fact remains that the entire issue of the relations between the internal variables associated with individual personalities and the external variables associated with place attributes could lead to further discoveries. For example, it would be very useful to know how the valences mentioned earlier in the article evolve over time in the framework of a longitudinal study design.

In the context of the mass migrations of the early twenty-first century and the political upheaval they triggered, the issue of belonging, and the resulting social cohesion are of clear interest, as shown by the many studies that explore this question. However, beyond the enthusiasm it generates, the theme does create many controversies in which ideological considerations blithely mingle with scientific imperatives. This mixed genre is seen fairly often in the mass media, in which the handling of social phenomena also follows marketing rules, but it should be avoided in scientific research and in the public policy it is supposed to orient. The desire to let the facts speak for themselves, and to separate science from ideology, lies at the heart of this study's design, and its dissemination.

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# Beyond Disciplinary Blind Spots: A Systematic Review of Research on Ethnicity and Race in Secondary Education Using Automated Text Analysis

by Lore Van Praag (University of Antwerp) and
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**Abstract**

Numerous scientific disciplines have shown a strong interest in studying ethnicity and race in the context of secondary education. This has resulted in a proliferation of discipline-specific perspectives on the subject, each characterized by its own blind spots. **Objective.** Previous reviews have applied a disciplinary approach and exclusively consider studies from one discipline. We depart from this approach and explicitly choose not to use discipline as a criterion for the studies we include. In this way, our systematic review is able to identify disciplinary blind spots and to present an interdisciplinary overview. **Methodology.** We study English-language articles published in Web of Science (1990-2019) on ethnicity/race/migration and secondary education/high school/comprehensive education/middle school and include all 7,620 research articles in our analysis. We analyse abstracts of these articles using automated text analysis. More specifically, we apply Topic Models to identify the core themes in the included articles. **Results.** We identify three clusters of topics, focusing on 1) health, 2) performance, enrolment and equity in education, and 3) psychological aspects. We discuss these clusters in depth with regard to the ways they examine the relationship between ethnicity/race and education. **Conclusion.** Our analysis reveals discipline-specific perspectives in the study of ethnicity/race in the context of secondary education. It also identifies gaps in the literature, within and across disciplines. In this way, the article provides researchers with insights on how they could learn from other perspectives on ethnicity/race and secondary education and stimulates interdisciplinary research.

**Keywords:** ethnicity; race; secondary education; Topic Modelling

## 1. Introduction

Over the last few decades, secondary schools have become more ethnically and racially diverse, which has generated an entirely new range of challenges and opportunities in various domains of life, such as health, education, and employment (Stevens & Dworkin, 2019). Parallel to this, there has been a growing interest in ethnic and racial diversity in educational contexts among scholars. Numerous disciplines have shown a strong interest in this subject, such as sociology (e.g., Stevens & Dworkin, 2019), psychology (e.g., Phinney et al., 2001), health sciences (e.g., Fiscella et al. 2000; Nazroo 2003), and educational studies (e.g., Jeynes, 2007). Each of these disciplines has its own research tradition with its own methodologies and loci of attention, and has therefore developed a particular approach to ethnicity/race and the educational context. This has resulted in an abundance of scattered discipline-specific perspectives on ethnicity/race within the context of secondary education. This

often results in conceptual ambiguity of concepts and the lack of cross-fertilizations across fields of studies and disciplines (Klein 2000).

In this contribution, we present an overview of how disciplines differ in their perspective on the way ethnicity and race shape people's experiences in secondary education. In this way, we offer the reader a roadmap to find her/his way in the vast and scattered literature on the subject. Moreover, this approach allows us to detect "disciplinary blind spots" on the subject. We use the term disciplinary blind spots to refer to aspects of a studied phenomenon that are *not considered* by a discipline. Obviously, each discipline has its own focus and may have good reasons to ignore certain aspects in its approach. Indeed, the power of each disciplinary perspective often lies in its reduction of reality by consciously ignoring certain aspects of that reality. Indeed, if this process of reduction is the result of conscious choices, this is valuable. However, it becomes problematic once certain aspects are simply not considered by researchers in a certain discipline. These forms of 'disciplinary tunnel vision' may hamper a more overarching understanding. A confrontation with one's own blind spots and with other disciplines' perspectives may help researchers to think outside the box/their disciplinary tunnel and provide them with novel insights regarding the way ethnicity and race can be defined, perceived and contextualized, and the role of ethnicity and race in the context of secondary education.

*1.1. Ethnicity and Race in Secondary Education*

There are numerous definitions of the concepts 'ethnicity' and 'race.' Despite the difficulties to conceptualise both concepts and the various interpretations, the most striking difference is that in most definitions the concept of 'race' refers to biological/physiological characteristics to distinguish groups from each other while the concept 'ethnicity' refers more to cultural ones (Kivisto & Croll 2012). Despite genetics not finding evidence to distinguish people based on race, the concept is still used in various contexts— in academia as well as in everyday use (Eriksen, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate 2006). 'Ethnicity,' on the other hand, is used to refer to a specific way of life, based on meanings, crucial for processes of identification and differentiation and departs from a more anthropological view (Jenkins, 2008). Both concepts continue to structure people's lives and opportunities and their importance depends on the context in which they are used (Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995). Because of this, the concepts race and ethnicity are often (but certainly not always) entangled with migration, impacting their significance and salience (Erel, Murji & Nahaboo 2016).

The study of ethnicity and race in educational contexts has increasingly found its way into various academic disciplines, each with its own research tradition and definitions. For instance, the previously mentioned anthropological conceptions of ethnicity, which stress processes of meaning-making, differ from how other disciplines approach it. In social psychology, many scholars study ethnicity as an aspect of more generic social identity processes (Zagefka 2009). Still, in other disciplines, ethnicity is considered interchangeable with other concepts, such as race (e.g., health studies: Sheldon & Parker 1992). In this study, we aim to go beyond such disciplinary perspectives by looking at similarities and differences across disciplines.

We focus on research on ethnicity and race within the context of secondary education, as this context is deemed relevant by many disciplines. We argue that the study of ethnicity and race in secondary education is appealing for many disciplines as it is a life stage in which the effects of (early) childhood experiences become apparent. It can shape the relevance of ethnicity and race and important choices and experiences that shape young people's future lives are made during this phase. Specifically, we address the following questions: How do different disciplines approach ethnicity and race in the context of secondary education and can we identify disciplinary blind spots? We hope that identifying these can help future studies to overcome their

blind spots and, in this way, develop a more interdisciplinary perspective on the study of race and ethnicity in the context of secondary education.

*1.2. Our Analytical Approach*

Previous reviews depart from an explicit disciplinary approach on ethnicity/race and education. This allows them to scrutinize the subject and/or to reflect on their own discipline. For example, departing from a sociological perspective, Stevens (2007) focuses on how (ethnic/racial) inequalities in education are defined within sociology and how schools play a role in the reproduction of such unequal outcomes. Another example is the review of Busch and colleagues (2014), who study the impact of health-related behaviour and health outcomes on the actual learning of students in schools, and who use sociological theories to make sense out of the findings of the review. While this type of review studies focuses on ethnicity and race within the school context, review studies in other disciplines do not explicitly delve deeper into the educational context, but rather use education as a control or explanatory variable. This is, for instance, the case in epidemiological review studies that focus on the use of the concepts of ethnicity and race within their field of research, and discuss mainly how the effects of education on their studied outcome should be seen in a distinctive way (Comstock, Castillo & Lindsay 2004; Lin and Kelsey 2000).

The disciplinary focus that characterizes previous reviews informs their selection criteria. First, scholars restrict themselves to including only studies written within their discipline or with a disciplinary focus. This is often explicitly emphasized in the introduction of the article (e.g., Stevens & Dworkin, 2019, p. 166) or method section (e.g., exclusion of articles that were predominantly grounded in a different subject area, Lauritzen and Nodeland, 2018, 149), or is visible in the discipline-specific search terms used (e.g., obesity, body size; Amadou et al., 2013, 2; focus on Roma and education in Europe, not on travelling or tourism education, Lauritzen and Nodeland, 2018, 149). Second, some reviews exclusively study articles published in particular journals. For example, Comstock and colleagues (2004) limited their review to articles published in the *American Journal of Epidemiology* and the *American Journal of Public Health*. Third, a frequently used criteria to include articles and complete the systematic literature review is to use a snowball sampling procedure to select (additional) articles (e.g., Stevens and Dworkin 2019). This could more easily result in a biased view on a field of study or does not fully incorporate all relevant articles written on the topic.

As shown by these examples, we argue that previous reviews, while being highly valuable, may be limited in scope due to their disciplinary tunnel vision. Hence, they are unable to transcend disciplinary blind spots and to include insights from other disciplines that may enrich their research. To map the different ways in which disciplines approach ethnicity in the context of secondary education, we perform a content analysis of scientific articles. In this way, we aim to move beyond disciplinary tunnel visions on the subject by including all disciplines. We do so by applying automated content analysis on data transcending disciplinary boundaries. In this review, we analyse a large collection— over 7,000— of research articles.

Because analysing this volume of texts by hand is not feasible, we use automated content analysis. We apply Topic Models which use patterns of word co-occurrences in texts to uncover latent themes across documents (Blei, Ng & Jordan 2003). A topic consists of a set of word probabilities, and when these words are ordered in decreasing probability they closely relate to what humans would call a topic or a theme (Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013, 547). For example, a Topic Model analysis on articles in newspapers may discover a topic including the words 'game', 'winner, 'goal', 'injury' and 'competition' with high probability, which indicates that this topic deals with 'sports.'

Automated text analysis gives us the advantage of mapping the structure of large text data.

Another advantage is that it is inductive. In this way, we minimize the change that our own disciplinary tunnel vision may affect our findings. By detecting the topics that are studied within and across disciplines, we are able to map the way disciplines differ in their approach to ethnicity and race in secondary education. In this way, we aim to reveal disciplinary blind spots. While this approach allows us to inductively map blind spots in a large collection of texts, it is content-wise not as sensitive as a close human reading. Thus, we may miss certain kinds of blind spots that are more subtle and that may remain hidden by automated text analysis. Nevertheless, our approach allows us to detect blind spots related to themes in an inductive fashion from a large collection of texts.

**3. Method**

*3.1. Data*

We focus on articles in Web of Science, the dominant academic database (Zhu and Liu, 2020). We included articles in our corpus with the following query: "TS=(ethnic* OR migr* of rac*) AND („secondary education" OR "secondary school" OR "high school" OR "comprehensive education" OR "middle school")". Our application of Automated Text Analysis imposes us to limit to one language. We opted to use key terms in English as it is the lingua franca in many academic studies and journals and we reflect on the implications of this choice in the conclusion. Due to the distinct naming of educational systems and structures across countries and systems, we should remark that not all studies included in this systematic literature review are exclusively limited to secondary education. We only retain research articles, and ignore all other document types, such as book reviews or editorials. Depending on different traditions across fields of study and disciplines, this could also impact the results. We analyse the abstracts of the selected articles because they are freely available and represent a concise summary of the article; this minimizes the chance of identifying peripheral/minor topics. Our focus on abstracts, moreover, is in line with previous work (e.g., Daenekindt & Huisman 2020; Griffiths & Steyvers 2004).

This resulted in a corpus of 7,620 articles, with a total of 1,341,690 words. By selecting articles using these general keywords, we are able to apply an interdisciplinary approach and transcend disciplinary tunnel visions that characterizes previous reviews. For example, in our corpus, there are 167 different discipline labels. These labels are provided by the Web of Science database, as each journal included the Web of Science database has been assigned to one or several subject categories. All articles were published between 1990 and 2019 because abstracts are not available before 1990 in the Web of Science database. Publications before 1990 are therefore not included in our analyses. Our data show a large increase in the numbers of publications between 2010 and 2019. Although no time-related analyses will be conducted, this curve follows the recent trend in academic research in which increasingly more research is published in the form of a journal article, leading to an increase in the total amount of publications. This demonstrates that our sample of articles is in line with this trend.

Before proceeding to the analysis, we pre-processed the data. First, we lowercased all words, and we removed punctuation and numbers. In addition, we removed stop words (e.g., 'which', 'and') or irrelevant words (e.g., 'Elsevier') as these do not hold relevant information for our research question. We also accounted for differences between UK and US spelling (e.g., 'behaviour' and 'behavior'). Next, we stemmed the data using Porter's algorithm (Porter, 2001). Stemming reduces complexity by removing the ends of words to reduce the total number of unique words. For example, the words 'political,' 'politics,' 'politician' share the stem 'polit,' and were hence replaced with 'polit'. Infrequently used terms were removed from the corpus as these do not contribute to understanding general patterns in the corpus. Words that appear in less than one percent of the documents were removed (e.g., Grimmer & Stewart, 2013).

*3.2. Topic Modelling and Model Selection*

We estimate Correlated Topic Models. The Correlated Topic Model (CTM) is an extension of Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) and relaxes the assumption made by LDA that topics are uncorrelated (Blei & Lafferty, 2007; 2009). Topic models yield two sets of probabilities: the per-topic-per-word probabilities and the per-document-per-topic probabilities. The per-topic-per-word probabilities show which words are the most probable words for each topic. The per-document-per-topic probabilities show, for every document, the probability of each topic.

In line with Debortoli et al. (2016) and Fischer-Prebler et al. (2019), we used both sets of probabilities in our model selection procedure. We estimated five different models, with ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty topics. We inspected these to decide on the ideal 'level of granularity of the view into the data' (Roberts et al., 2014, p. 1069). To evaluate which model made most sense, both authors independently investigated the most probable words for each topic and took into account the abstracts that loaded highest on the indicated topics. We selected the twenty topic model because it produced the best balance between parsimony and doing justice to the variation in the data.

**4. Results**

*4.1. Topics and Disciplines*

Before proceeding to an in-depth discussion of the topics and how they relate to each other, we first looked at how the topics related to disciplines. For this, we relied on the discipline labels provided by Web of Science. Using the standardized per-document-per-topic probabilities, we created a matrix with disciplines as rows and topics as columns. The shade of each cell relates to the probability that a topic appears in that discipline. In Figure 1, we only consider the fifteen most frequently occurring discipline-categories in our corpus to keep the figure interpretable. We discuss the content of these topics more in-depth in section 4.2. in Table 1. This heatmap shows that not every discipline covers each topic, and that there is substantial variation in the extent to which topics are used across disciplines. For example, topic seven is not clearly associated exclusively to a specific discipline as it is present in various disciplines. On the other hand, there are topics which are tightly connected to certain disciplines. For example, topic fifteen, with the highest ranked words "rural," "migration," "migrant," "capital," "labor," "mobility," "employments" (see Table 1), shows a very strong association with sociology. That is, this topic is almost

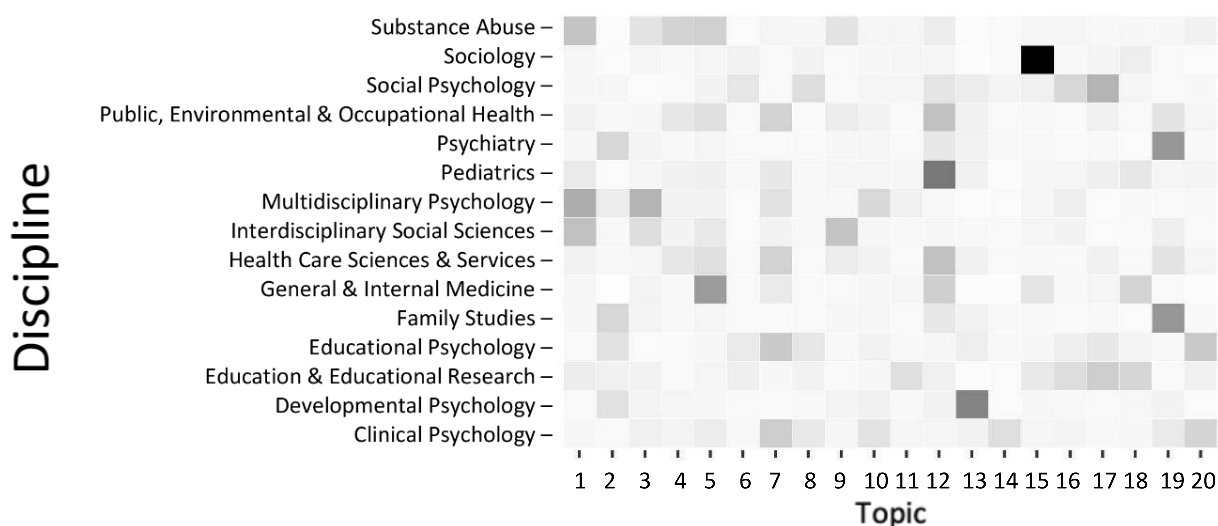


Figure 1. Heatmap Depicting the Association Between Topics And Disciplines

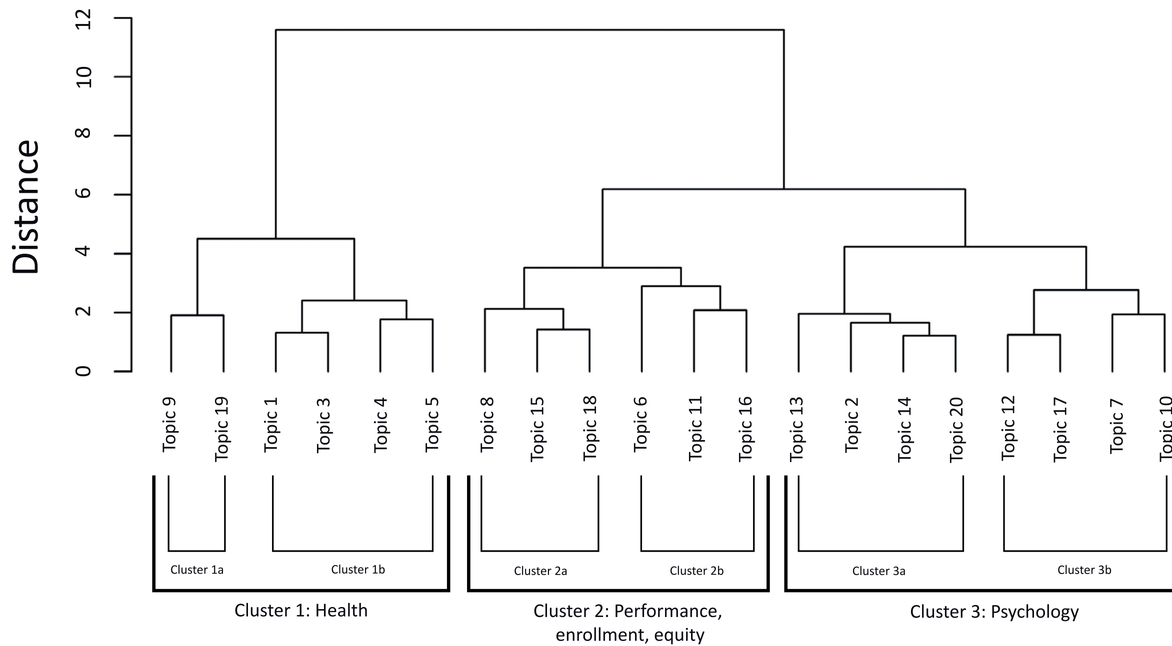


Figure 2. Dendrogram resulting from the cluster analysis on topics

exclusively present in sociology. This heatmap shows that research on ethnicity/race and education occurs in a wide variety of disciplines, and each of these disciplines differ in the topics they focus on.

The information of this heatmap provides the background information and exploration of the data necessary to further analyse the data. This information is necessary, as each article contains a combination of topics. Because the heatmap does not indicate which topics are combined in articles, it does not allow us to draw conclusions on disciplinary blind spots. For this, a cluster analysis is insightful as it shows us which topics tend to be combined in articles.

*4.2. Cluster Analysis*

We used a Q-mode cluster analysis on the document-topic probability distributions. To account for the compositional nature of the data, i.e., each row in the document-topic matrix represented sums to one, we transformed them to Aitchison composition scales and used the variation matrix to create distance measures between the topics (Aitchison 1986; Van den Boogaart & Tolosana-Delgado 2013).

Figure 2 presents the dendrogram of the cluster analysis. The distance indicates similarity between topics. Topics connected to each other at a smaller distance are more similar in terms of their distribution over the documents, compared to topics that are connected at a higher distance.

We discuss the dendrogram together with Table 1 and illustrate for each (sub)cluster our findings with exemplary articles that have the highest loading on these topics. Table 1 shows the ten highest ranked words on the individual level topics, for each of the topics, grouped according to the three main clusters that resulted from the cluster analysis.

*First cluster: health.*

The first group of topics (9, 19, 1, 3, 4 and 5) focus on health. For example, topic 9 relates to substance use, as is indicated by the words ‘alcohol,’ ‘tobacco,’ ‘drug.’ Topic 4 relates to research on body weight, indicated by words such as ‘weight’ and ‘obesity.’ In addition, a close reading of the abstracts loading high on this set of topics shows that these articles study patterns of health outcomes across ethnic groups. Within this cluster

**Table 1. The Ten Highest Ranked Words (FREX) on the Individual Level Topics (Relative Prevalence of Each Topic Between Parentheses)**

| |
|---|
| *Cluster 1: Health* |
| Topic 9 (5.1%)<br>alcohol, tobacco, smoking, cigarette, drinking, drug, substance |
| Topic 19 (4.2%)<br>sexual, suicide, depression, behaviors, symptoms, violence, risk |
| Topic 1 (2,8%)<br>men, health, services, women, occupational, disparities, mental |
| Topic 3 (5.3%)<br>rates, states, income, united, household, trends, mortality |
| Topic 4 (5.4%)<br>odds, weight, ratio, obesity, prevalence, pregnancy, adjusted |
| Topic 5 (5.3%)<br>patients, cancer, medical, care, clinical, screening, injury |
| *Cluster 2: performance, enrolment and equity in education.* |
| Topic 8 (3.3%)<br>children, parents, immigrant, child, terms, family, mothers |
| Topic 15 (3.3%)<br>rural, migration, migrant, capital, labor, mobility, employment |
| Topic 18 (5.8%)<br>pupils, secondary, policy, inequality, system, power, choice |
| Topic 6 (9,3%)<br>teachers, critical, teaching, article, cultural, language, way |
| Topic 11 (6.9%)<br>college, gap, graduates, enrolled, course, attending, black |
| Topic 16 (4.9%)<br>science, career, mathematics, academic, motivation, attitudes, achievement |
| *Cluster 3: Psychological aspects* |
| Topic 13 (5.1%)<br>middle, bullying, victimization, aggression, peer, grade, boy |
| Topic 2 (6,5%)<br>model, predicted, mediated, relationship, stress, psychological, negative |
| Topic 14 (4.5%)<br>american, african, latino, discrimination, youth, identity, neighborhood |
| Topic 20 (4.5%)<br>ethnic, asian, minority, groups, friends, friendships, european |
| Topic 12 (3.6%)<br>program, knowledge, intervention, randomized, recruited, skills, improve |
| Topic 17 (5.2%)<br>describe, new, organization, district, information, communicate, planning |
| Topic 7 (5.4%)<br>scores, scale, validity, measures, items, questionnaire, correles |
| Topic 10 (3.6%)<br>sports, athletes, physical, activity, sleep, food, intake |
| We replaced stems with the most frequently occurring unstemmed word to improve legibility. |

with a clear health focus, two larger subclusters are distinguished: the first including topics 9 and 19; and the second topics 1, 3, 4 and 5. In both subclusters the context of (secondary) education is included differently.

### Cluster 1a

Articles that load high on the first subcluster of topics (topics 9 and 19) focus on lifestyle and health-related behaviour, such as substance use and risk behaviours. For example, Qiao and Bell (2016) study indigenous adolescents' suicidal behaviours and risk factors in a nationally representative sample (Topic 19). Harrell and colleagues (2017) demonstrate how different ethnic groups in the United States use different forms of tobacco and have a different prevalence of tobacco usage (Topic 9). According to these scholars, health-related behaviours are developed during adolescence and, therefore, the context of secondary education is interesting to study in order to understand differences across ethnic/racial groups.

### Cluster 1b

The second subcluster of topics (topics 1, 3, 4 and 5) relates to articles on the prevalence of health outcomes, such as obesity and mortality rates. In general, these studies focus on how health outcomes vary across a wider range of socio-demographic variables, such as gender, education and socio-economic class. The topics discussed within this cluster vary with regard to the type and specificity of health outcomes and health care behaviour. For example, Cummins and Jackson (2008) study how differences in self-assessed health varied over time (Topic 1); and Krueger and colleagues (2015) study the relationship between education and mortality in the United States (Topic 3). Other articles focus on the prevalence of particular diseases, such as the prevalence of diabetes (e.g., Borrell et al. 2009), as well as health outcomes and health care behaviour or patterns, such as the delay for presentation in cardiac care (e.g., Conigliaro et al. 2002), unequal access to health care services, like emergency department utilization (e.g., Pines & Buford 2006), or treatment effects (e.g., Kane et al. 2003), across ethnic/racial groups. In general, most studies find worse health outcomes for ethnic minority groups, and the role of education in these studies is limited to an important control variable.

### Clusters 1a and 1b

Summarizing the first cluster of topics, we clearly see that articles that load high on these topics aim to explore causes of health disparities and to understand factors contributing to variation across groups. In doing so, they highlight the greater prevalence of risk factors (e.g., living in a deprived or restricted area; limited financial resources, and, important for this literature review, level of educational attainment) within ethnic minority or immigrant populations, that lie at the root of these health behaviours and outcomes. Articles examining these topics do not really depart from the discipline of educational sciences, but they include education as a context in which adolescents can be found, or as a control variable. The ways in which articles approach education, however, varies per subcluster. In cluster 1a, scholars tend to focus on a student sample, compared to studies in cluster 1b, which tend to analyse the general population. This makes sense, considering each subcluster's focus. Given the focus of cluster 1a, namely health-related behaviour (e.g., tobacco, hookah or alcohol use), scholars consider the context of secondary education as one of the most significant places where these behaviours are more likely to occur or develop, or assume this context is associated with the period of time in which adolescents are more likely to develop such behaviours.

This contrasts with the focus of cluster 1b. When scrutinizing the relation between ethnicity and education in this subcluster, differences in educational attainment are seen as an important control factor when explaining differences in health care behaviour and outcomes. These studies frequently discuss the advantages and

disadvantages of education for health-related outcomes and how it affects health care seeking behaviour and treatment. Interestingly, these studies do not necessarily find a straightforward relationship between education and health outcomes. More particularly, educational attainment increases preventive behaviour, health care practices, knowledge and resourceful networks, better living conditions, etc. (e.g., Kane et al. 2003). At the same time, higher educational attainment levels could also result in exposure to other risks associated with upward social mobility, increasing health risks and negatively impacting people's health outcomes (e.g., Stevens et al. 1998). It is worthy of note that the benefits of educational attainment also vary across ethnic/racial groups (e.g., Borrell et al. 2009). Finally, some of these studies highlight ethnic differences in self-assessments and perceived health (e.g., Dorsey et al. 2009).

*Second Cluster: Performance, Enrolment and Equity in Education*

The topics in the second cluster clearly indicate a focus on educational performance, participation and inequalities. For example, Topic 8 refers to factors affecting educational performance, as it includes words such as 'family', 'children' and 'immigration.' Other factors relate to measures of or attitudes towards performance, such as Topic 16 which refers to key words such as 'science,' 'career,' 'attitudes' and 'achievement.' As was the case with the first cluster, two subclusters can also be distinguished in this cluster. Cluster 2a consists of topics 8, 15 and 18, and includes themes related to the family background and the home environment of students, and how these affect enrolment and achievement in education. Cluster 2b (Topics 6, 11 and 16) focuses on school-related factors and outcomes. According to the heatmap presented earlier, these topics are mainly categorized in social/educational/clinical psychology, sociology and educational research and, to a lesser extent, in pediatrics and general and internal medicine.

Cluster 2a

Articles that have many topics associated with cluster 2a concentrate on the impact of migration or belonging to an ethnic minority group on educational achievement and enrolment. In doing so, many family background characteristics are examined in order to better understand how migration or belonging to an ethnic minority group matters for educational outcomes (Topic 8: e.g., Wojtkiewicz & Donato 1995), who migrates for education (Topic 15: e.g., Pais, de Mattos & Teixeira 2018), and how this is facilitated by existing educational structures and policies (Topic 18: e.g., McGuinn 2016). In particular, considerable attention is given to family background characteristics (e.g., Raley et al. 2005) and the financial, social and cultural resources these families have at their disposal to support their children to be successful in education and realize their (relatively high) aspirations. This is illustrated by Spera, Wentzel and Matto (2009), who study parental aspirations for their children's educational careers and contrast these aspirations against their children's actual educational performances.

Cluster 2b

In the second subcluster, studies focus on school-related factors that explain ethnic differences in education, such as educational practices, culture and language used (Topic 6), and how they affect school/course choice, attendance and enrolment (Topic 11) and motivations and school attitudes (Topic 16). By questioning these dominant views and practices that are taken for granted within educational policies and practices, these studies apply a critical (race) perspective, which contrasts with all other clusters discussed in this article (Topic 6). For example, articles focus on how teaching practices are hard to change as they are embedded in the curricula of schools, shaped by the dominant cultural groups (Chan, 2006), or on how youngsters themselves define 'race' (Roberts et al. 2008). The other studies in cluster 2b further discuss how the structural

disadvantage of ethnic minority groups and particular racial groups in society and education continues to reflect in their attitudes towards schooling and actual educational behaviour and performance. They do so by looking from a sociological perspective at school choices and factors influencing enrolment in higher education, and how they are organized by the opportunities these groups have (Topic 11). For example, Garcia (2006) studies how school choice decisions result in more racially segregated schools, impacting their future educational careers. More social psychological research discusses the attitude-achievement gap in general, and by doing so, these scholars also include or focus on ethnicity and/or race (Topic 16).

Clusters 2a and 2b

To summarize the second cluster, most studies focus on a wide range of factors that help to understand how ethnic/racial inequalities are maintained through education. These studies are situated within social science research. Articles with high scores on cluster 2a examine the development of human capital for migrant and ethnic minority groups, how resources within (family) networks contribute to this, and how much these factors play a role in how students perform and navigate within a particular educational system. Consequently, in the majority of these studies, parents' educational level is included (e.g., Spera et al. 2009). Remarkably, in cluster 2a, the focus on individual level characteristics and educational policies unravels the way (ethnic) inequalities are produced and reproduced through educational policies and across (migrant) families, without considering what happens in the school context. In cluster 2b, this research is complemented by studies that examine school-related factors and school dynamics within the wider societal context. Thus, studies with high scores on the second cluster concentrate on how existing structures and policies, as well as youngsters' family background, further impact the actual educational behaviour and outcomes of students. These studies do so by focusing on the impact policies, structures and family background have on people's minority position they have in society and culture, the resources they have access to, and the impact on their motivations and attitudes. These studies contribute to insights into how ethnic inequalities are produced and reproduced. This is also a major topic in the fields of sociology, psychology and educational sciences. These studies apply a wider variety of research methods, compared to the first cluster. Especially studies using a critical, sociological approach (Topic 8) applied more often qualitative research methods, although the majority of the methods used in these studies remain quantitative in nature.

*Third Cluster: Psychological Aspects*

The third cluster of topics applies a more psychological approach to ethnicity in the context of secondary education. This is clearly visible in the heatmap, in which all topics are categorized into one or more subdisciplines of psychology, in some cases combined with other disciplines. Most articles of Topic 13 fall into the discipline of developmental psychology; Topic 14 fits into clinical psychology; and Topic 17 mainly is categorized into educational psychology. Other topics are more combined with other related disciplines, such as Topic 12 which loads high on social psychology, pediatrics, health care sciences and services, and public, environmental and occupational health. Similar to the other two main clusters, we note a subdivision of topics into two subclusters. The first subcluster 3a contains topics 13, 2, 4 and 20; the second one, cluster 3b, includes topics 12, 17, 7 and 10.

Cluster 3a

The articles in cluster 3a focus on aspects of students' psychological development. Each topic has a particular approach, but all are related to adolescence or school life. Attention has been given to how families and students deal with psychological problems (Topic 2, e.g., Flouri & Panourgi 2014), school climate, peer processes related to victimization (e.g., Topic 13, e.g., Shir-

ley & Cornell 2012), the development of racial identities and its impact on health and educational outcomes (Topic 14, e.g., Hurd et al. 2013), and ethnic diversity in schools and networks (Topic 20, e.g., Munniksma et al. 2017). Topics in cluster 3a vary slightly in the extent to which they concentrate on particular ethnic groups and the psychological issues with which they are confronted. Most of the psychological issues discussed in the articles that are associated with this subcluster are explicitly related to being part of an ethnic minority group or race, or having a migrant background (e.g., acculturative stress, e.g., Kim et al. 2014; school punishments, Shirley & Connell 2012; racial identity, e.g., Hurd et al. 2013). The focus on occupying a minority position in society, or belonging to a specific ethnic/racial group, is not always explicitly emphasized or the particular focus of the studies. Nevertheless, most of these studies do recognize its importance and control for it in the analyses (e.g., Flouri & Panourgi 2014). The school context and dynamics within schools take up a central role in the design of studies and theories used that score high on topics in this subcluster.

Cluster 3b

In the second subcluster, relatively more interlinkages are made to other disciplines than psychology, such as health care sciences or public health, than in cluster 3a. For instance, in Topic 12, studies focus on the evaluation of programs and interventions directed at changing health-related behaviour, both specifically related to adolescence and peer pressure, such as substance use (Shetgiri et al. 2011) and more generic health-related behaviour, like wearing glasses (Yi et al. 2015). Furthermore, research articles focus more on intervention programs, governance, and policies (especially Topics 12 and 17) compared to cluster 3a. Most of these studies and programs are explicitly directed at specific ethnic/racial groups and aim to reduce their vulnerable and disadvantaged position in society. Moreover, we note that these policies are clearly linked to ethnic diversity and the so-called integration of ethnic minority groups or migrants into society and schools (e.g., Topic 17; Bradbury 2008). Within cluster 3b, schools are seen as a governance tool to realize or promote a successful integration of ethnic/racial minority groups within the dominant or immigrant society and reduce ethnic/racial inequalities or unequal opportunities in society in general. In these articles, ethnic and racial diversity are often seen as a problem that need to be resolved, or as a potential that have been insufficiently realized or that have not yet led to positive outcomes. Furthermore, many of these articles refer to ethnic/racial segregation in society and aim to evaluate/study/implement policies which are framed into wider societal objectives and policies (e.g., Rasmussen, 2017). Finally, in order to be able to understand and evaluate such policies and programs, as well as the role ethnicity and race plays herein, research articles that study ethnic differences with regard to particular psychological or health-related outcomes are closely related, as well (namely, Topic 7 and 10). One topic in particular, Topic 7, is concerned with how these psychological constructs are measured and whether these scales are valid for particular ethnic groups or vary across ethnic groups, such as self-concept scores (Worrell, Watkins & Hall 2008) or the Reynolds adolescent depression scale (Walker et al. 2005). Examining the validity and reliability of these psychological measurements is relevant when discussing and examining ethnic differences in physical, sexual, dietary and other activities of adolescents, as is the case for studies in Topic 10 (e.g., Butt et al. 2010; Sheng & Gao 2012). The finding that there are clear differences across ethnic and racial groups inspires developing new policies or adjusting existing ones.

Clusters 3a and 3b

Articles in the third and final cluster have a clear focus on psychological outcomes. Due to the major changes and developments in adolescence – which is often a specific topic of research in psychology – the educational context plays a central role in most of these studies. While in cluster 3a

more attention is given to students' psychological development itself, research articles in cluster 3b focus more on how this differs across ethnic groups and/or is measured differently, and consequently relates to interventions and policies.

**5. Discussion**

When examining these clusters, some blind spots can be identified that could broaden and innovate our views on the relationship between race/ethnicity and education, both within and across disciplines. We will discuss the blind spots per cluster. First of all, the first cluster, which focuses on health, shows that a large number of studies focusing on ethnicity/race and education in our search do not really pay attention to educational outcomes, but rather focus on health outcomes, such as health care behaviours, substance abuse and health disparities. The abundance of research on these topics seems to suggest the need to look from a more holistic perspective at the school careers of youngsters and how it affects their entire lives. Especially in secondary education, ethnic and racial differences in peer influences and deviant behaviour could play an enormous role in the further development of these young people's school careers. Furthermore, it is surprising that these studies hardly consider the wider school and societal context to interpret their results. For example, studies that load high on topics from the first cluster take the school context for granted (first subcluster) or are not even limited to school samples and merely focus on general population trends, controlling for educational background (second subcluster). These studies depart from health care sciences and substance use (cf. heatmap), and hardly discuss the relationship between health-related outcomes, education and ethnicity. More research that focuses on the processes behind this relationship that pays attention to the underlying dynamics is crucial to understand the mixed effects of education on health-related outcomes.

The second cluster contains studies focus on performance, enrolment and equity in education, and depart from the social sciences. In this cluster, factors related to migration and/or being part of an ethnic minority are considered, examining both the family environment as school-related factors. The main focus of these studies is on how these factors relate to the educational careers and outcomes of particular groups of students with a migration background or belonging to ethnic minority groups. In line with currents of thought within social science disciplines, the educational context is often an integral aspect of the research question and focus. Different aspects of this educational context, such as achievement outcomes, enrolment policies or existing structures within the studied educational systems are considered and critically assessed. At the same time, attention has been paid to the ways in which migration history or ethnic minority position matters within this context. These research trends are, for instance, more in line with intra-disciplinary systematic literature reviews that delineate research traditions focusing on 'racism and discrimination' or 'motivation and attitudes towards school' (e.g., Stevens & Dworkin 2019). As these studies are very much concentrated on the educational and migration/minority context in which adolescents find themselves, they do not fully capture other interfering/supporting factors, such as substance abuse, or the relevance of these factors in the lives of adolescents. The relevance of these life domains compared to each other has not yet been not yet explored as they are not studied together. Furthermore, these studies focus on how having a migration background or belonging to an ethnic minority shapes students' educational careers, but do not surpass this life phase as they do not delve deeper into their consequences for students' future lives.

Studies in the third cluster focus exclusively on how adolescents experience (school) life, and how programs, policies or other interventions can be developed to improve this experience. These studies incorporate the educational structures in which adolescents find themselves, but focus on the psychological issues ethnic minorities or migrants are dealing with, and how this

relates to the overall position of particular ethnic groups in society. Schools are, rather, seen as governance tools to compensate for these structural positions; they are regarded as crucial institutions in society to promote change or to promote the successful integration of ethnic minorities and migrants in society. Overall, studies in the third cluster can be clearly be categorized with the discipline psychology, applying a very (narrow) intra-disciplinary focus, or study programs, policies and other ways to deal with such issues. This focus gives a clear picture on how being part of minority groups matters overall in life, but tends to neglect how institutions are structured by society.

**6. Conclusion**

The present study shows that the combination of ethnicity/race and secondary education is studied in a wide variety of disciplines, ranging from health sciences, to sociology, clinical psychology and educational research. Moreover, the findings of this literature review go beyond disciplinary tunnel visions. This study allows us to further identify other relevant fields, concepts and studies, related to your central concepts, and reflect upon how they are studied in other geographical regions as well. This is frequently missed in prevailing academic canons that mainly draw upon research within the same (sub)discipline and field of study. Departing from a broader scope, using automated text analysis, is particularly valuable when delineating a research domain and/or question and to enlarge one's literature review, which further helps to avoid the pitfalls of one's specific (sub)discipline. Furthermore, by revealing disciplinary blind spots on the subject, this overview helps to make researchers' implicit reasons to include education and ethnicity in their study more explicit, and contributes to further interdisciplinary theory-building and/or more critically reflecting on the premises, canons and traditions in one's own discipline.

In our systematic literature review, we identified three clear clusters, each characterized by a distinct approach on education and ethnicity. Each cluster studies one aspect of the encompassing and structuring impact of both education and ethnicity on all kinds of life opportunities and chances. It should be noted that some ethnic/racial/migrant groups are more frequently studied with regard to a particular topic. For instance, ethnic minorities and migrant children are more represented in Topic 8; migrant populations are more studied in Topic 15; and all groups are included in Topic 18. Also these topics demonstrate that 'ethnicity' and 'migration' are more often studied together when discussing issues such as belonging in education (e.g., cluster 2a) or 'race' and 'structural discrimination' (e.g., cluster 2b). Similar nuances are noted with regard to the educational level examined. This bias with regard to studied ethnic or migrant groups related to specific topics could also relate to the needs these groups have and the distinct positions they have across societies.

Some limitations of this paper need to be noted. First, the disciplines included in our study aligned with the pre-existing categorizations found on the Web of Science database . The technique to develop the heatmap also did not allow us to consider all disciplines. Second, due to our selection of journals and papers in Web of Science, the search terms in English we used, as well as our choice to include 'race' in the search terms for this study, there is a clear limitation with regard to language in which papers are published, and consequently, a geographic bias of the selected and discussed articles. This selection bias reflects the existing power dynamics in the academics and beyond. As most highly ranked journals, included in Web of Science, publish in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, and most journals are published in English (Mongeon & Paul-Hus 2016). For this reason, journal articles conducted within these countries weigh more heavily in the current overview as well. This also has consequences for the ways in which ethnic and racial inequalities in education are approached in research. This may be particularly relevant because the concepts 'race' and 'ethnicity' have very contextualised mean-

ings and historical roots in each country (Ladson-Billings & Tate 1993; Jenkins 1993).

Departing from this interdisciplinary systematic overview, future research could focus more on specific clusters and/or delve deeper into the research traditions of each cluster by combining automated text analysis with qualitative review techniques. More generally, we hope that our article contributes to further interdisciplinary work by helping researchers to go beyond their disciplinary blind spots and to develop new innovative ways in which education and ethnicity could be studied.

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