BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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LAND, CULTURE, RIGHTS

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH A GENERAL OVERVIEW

Elizabeth Dougherty

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
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EDITOR’S NOTE

This Working Paper on counter-mapping can and should be placed on a larger canvas of work on mapping, cartography and the history of contests over cartographic images and practice. However the primary focus of the paper is on new and recent work on counter-mapping rather than a synoptic review of a larger and more inclusive field. For those people unfamiliar with earlier work and the relevant classic works in mapping, we have provided a basic list of key works below.

Michael Watts
Director, IIS

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CLASSIC WORKS IN MAPPING AND CARTOGRAPHY


INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is about relations, relations between people and land and relations between people concerning land and the rights that emerge based on the dynamics of the relations and the systems of belief and practice behind them. Specifically I review literature broken into three main sections: 1) privatization of land in urban and rural areas which includes a section specifically on urban squatters; 2) migration, refugees, forced displacement and relocation; and 3) mapping. Throughout each section, the ethical, moral and political ideals are revealed through specific practices. These practices and ideals are theoretically and geographically located in the space of and between the local and the global, the urban, rural and peri-urban and are deeply imbedded in questions concerning privatization and sustainability.

How do local flows of social, economic and political power centered on land and rights interact with those flows of a global scale? This bibliography deals primarily this question, particularly in situations where land, culture and rights are under contestation. More specifically, the literature reviewed here deals with movement—movement of people, movement of capital and movement of ideologies and practices. The authors included here are, in their various contexts, probing the question: how are people, in the form of state institutions in a global or national context, in the form of urban neighborhood associations, in the form of families and of individuals, dealing with these movements in terms of land and culture?

This question is not primarily a question of ownership but a question of rights. The motion of people, capital and ideologies and practices can deeply upset long-term relations concerning land, which in turn changes cultural realities associated with people in a particular place with particular arrangements. The question of ownership is subsumed within the question of rights. Who even has the right to ownership must also be established. (It is interesting to note that ownership or even access to land is not one of the human rights currently touted within the agenda of international human rights!)

As Michael Goldman writes,

Although these (ecological) initiatives from social movements, as well as states and firms, are quite disparate, the common focus is on the question of property rights—rights to land, forests, yields, burial grounds, seeds, intellectual property, ground and surface water, radiowaves, ecosystems, gene transfers, underground minerals, urban space, the village well and pastoral grazing. Whoever controls property rights controls the processes of resource extraction and environmental change. [Goldman: 2]
I would like to add that those that control property rights also have a great capacity to influence culture. In each case of research included in this bibliography, whether concerned with the privatization of land, displacement due to development, refugees, the articles have to do with who has the right to exert control over land. It is about the capitalization of land and those people who are being displaced in the act and the strategies to cope with and find one’s way around these forms of displacement.

Geographic locations can not be disengaged from human relations nor can human relations be considered separately from geographic particularities. Culture and geography are both instrumental players in the field of human relations. Hugh Raffles notes that

[Locality] is a set of relations, an ongoing politics, a density, in which places are discursively and imaginatively materialized and enacted through the practices of variously positioned people and political economies…Locality is both embodied and narrated and is, as a consequence, often highly mobile: places travel with the people through whom they are constituted.” [Raffles: 324]

He goes on to say that

…the production of [a specific] locality involves all kinds of people in all kinds of places. Some of them may not even have heard of the place they work to localize, whereas others may spend most of their time there. A locality emerges in complex ways through the multiple practices of numerous individuals working in the midst of various situated projects. Its location is never secure and it is always in need of reaffirmation and redefinition. It relies on different people at different moments for materialization, and its concreteness is achieved in the interplay of disparate meanings, all of which are radically dependent on the contexts in which they are deployed. [Raffles: 327]

Those working to establish policies and project methodologies for the establishment of human rights in relations to land and resources are in a tough position. The way that things are currently organized in governmental and nongovernmental organizations, there is often a need to design policies and methods that can be flexible enough to be is applicable in numerous locales, in varying circumstances. This has a lot to do with the belief that projects can and should occur in fairly short time frames of two to five years and that one methodology should be able to work, with minor adjustment, in a variety of situations, in order to save time and money. Given the track record of development projects globally, there are obvious problems with this assumption of efficiency of time and money. As Raffles points out above, there are a huge variety of players involved in the history and planned future of any locale. Negotiating and attempting to align these interests and systems of belief (such as those evident in development, those evident in a national political system and those evident in local land tenure systems) is instrumental to the success of the negotiations and the resulting policies (or decision to not make a policy) and project designs. Like it or not, complexities are present and no amount of drive for efficiency will circumvent the realities that must be considered.

A useful way to think about land, culture and rights is through a concept used by geographers, that of “landscape.” Geographer David Harvey poses the question: “From whose perspective is a landscape produced?”

1. As “culture” is being less used within anthropological and sociological circles, I would like to clarify that by culture I mean societal relations as they show themselves in ideologies, beliefs and practices.
The answer is “a question of power in the first instance. It is a question of what has been called ‘the power to define’—the power to define what is natural, what is right, and what is proper; of how social reproduction will proceed, and by what means surplus value will be produced” (Mitchell: 108).

The readings reviewed in this bibliography exemplify the fact that landscape is produced. Landscape is the creation of place at the intersection of geographic space and social activity. It is a compellation of multiple interests and conceptualizations of territory and land use. The production of landscape is a powerful activity, necessitating on-going intersections of the perceptions and interests of governmental agencies, private corporations, individual citizens and those organized into groups along the lines of civil society and tribal affiliations. These articles demonstrate the multifaceted issues related to class, gender, ethnicity, historical circumstances, and current configurations of political, social and economic interests that continually reshape the use and reconceptualization of land, thus producing “landscape.”

Throughout the articles reviewed here, questions of power are foregrounded. How do powerful agents (such as governments, international NGOs, global legislative bodies, private corporations) impact and shape the perceptions and use of land? What are their interests? What methods do people use in order to contest powerful forces? What are their interests? How do geographic and ecological conditions shape the use of the land and how do particular types of use reshape the land? In reading these reviews “the shapes that social processes give to the land” (Mitchell: 98) should become obvious.

In terms of the human experience of land, there is no such thing as an objective physical environment. It is always being experienced, interpreted and interpellated. For instance, the term “forest” or even more so “rainforest” brings wholly different conceptualizations to mind for various people. For many in North America, the term “the rainforest” immediately brings to mind a poster of cartoon characterized red-eyed tree frogs, boa constrictors, gorillas, quetzals, flowing vines and lush wet forest trees and rivers—an endangered environment that must be protected from abusive human use. The phrase “Save the Rainforest” exemplifies the perspective that all rainforests with their individualized social, political, economic and geographic confluences of historic and present day circumstances are conflated into a single concept. An occupant of a specific forest area may think of the forest in terms of personal histories, often covering many generations, and as a source of fire fuel and food. They may also think of governmental agencies trying to restrict their use of the forest or relocate them. Those living close to but outside of a forested area may have great trepidation about real and imagined dangers of the forest, spiritual and physical. The governmental agency personnel may be thinking that the forest should be set apart as a national reserve because an international aid or lending organization is pressuring them to do so. This same government worker may conceptualize the forest as a source of revenue from logging and mining or ecotourism companies. Each perspective influences the choices of individuals interacting with physical space as well as with each another.

Hence, the built landscape—the meeting of space and society on the land—is a material “thing,” but it is more than that. The landscape is a site or vortex of social action and social meaning; it is a place, not just a space… Indeed through the social interaction of people within places, what we come to call the landscape is created: the buildings, trees, roads, fields, and other items in the landscape come to assume the form that they do through social struggle and social interaction. And as Pred (1984, 1990) has repeatedly stressed, places (and so too landscapes) are always in the process of “becoming,” and thus are a special kind of a “thing”… an embodied set
of processes. In some sense, in fact, landscapes are like produced commodities, for while social processes make them, their final form often masks those processes. [Mitchell: 100]

Changes in landscape affect social practices and vice versa—thus they are always in the process, as geographer Allan Pred says, of becoming (referred to above). It is not just humans acting upon the physical world, but the conditions of the physical world impacting the perspectives and productive forces of humans.

Perceptions of space, place, and environment play into the interactions that humans, as individuals and as groups, have with the physical world. When people move from one place to another, they carry with them their normative perceptions, often confronted with very different constructed norms in the areas to they relocate. When forced to relocate due to war, territorial disputes or via the process of “development,” human groups often more overtly codify and defend their own “norms,” even if in their “homeland” these norms were fluid and flexible. The establishment of norms of perception and behavior is a central action that is influenced by relations of power. The ability to codify perceptions whether legally (in national laws or corporate contracts) impact the legislative actions that seek to establish, local, national and international, norms for behavior in relation to these landscapes.

The readings reviewed represent circumstances in which land, in a nexus with culture and rights, has come into dispute. Whether the subject of the reading is urban interests moving into rural areas, or rural interests moving into urban areas; whether focused on border disputes, or disputes over traditional lands now under the influence of national governments and/or private enterprise; whether highlighting the political use of maps and “countermaps” or discussing peoples displaced due to the forces of “development,” the issues are specifically related to land, culture and rights. The fight is over whose perspective on the landscape (itself the nexus of land, culture and rights) will dominate.

The production of landscape is an attempt to reinforce or create domination, consent, control, order, hegemony. While multiple and contestory readings are indeed possible, the history of landscape production by powerful social actors is to set forth a one true meaning of what is possessed in the view, to make rational the seeming irrationality of social relations between domineering ruling classes and those that would fight against them. [Mitchell: 99]

This bibliography deals specifically with current views on domination, resistance and all the points on the grid of social activity and political geography in between. Land, culture and rights are each aspects of a continuous, dynamic production of landscape; a physical, material space viewed from a particular perspective reflecting power-filled social relations.

Cited


The articles reviewed in the following two sections (Privatizing Land: Shifting Traditional Land Tenure to State and Private Holdings, and City Scape: Urban Development and Urban Squatters) deal specifically with the privatization of land in both rural and urban settings. Thinking of land as property has not always been the assumed norm around the globe. In many cases, land has been shared by groups of people with no formal legal arrangements, but with well-defined informal understandings as to use, informal laws based on and in social relations. Social taboos and social hierarchies have often determined who has access to land and resources as well as the form and frequency of use. As the ideology and practices of capitalism continue to move more and more rapidly around the globe, so does the conceptualization of land as a commodity, a thing, rather than considering land as primarily the space of, and key reason for human interaction.

Land considered in the form of private property represents a very particular relationship between humans and a geographic space. Even the idea of property itself is not constant. So that the relationships with people are in constant renegotiations not just as geography changes and not only as more and more land falls under contracts of formal ownership, but also as the idea of property itself shifts. As C. B. Macpherson writes:

The meaning of property is not constant...when people have different expectations they are apt to see the facts differently. The facts about a man-made institution which creates and maintains certain relationships between people—and that is what property is—are never simple. Since the institution is man-made, it is assumed to have been made, and to be kept up, for some purpose: either (or both) to serve some supposed essential human needs, which would determine (at least the limits of) what the institution is; or to meet the wants of the classes which from time to time have set up the institution or reshaped it, that is, have made it what it is. In either case, those who see the purpose differently will see the thing differently. [Macpherson: 1]

It is an error to rationalize capitalized land as more secure or governable while at the same time downplaying or under-realizing the importance of human relations in relation to, and as created by, the use of land and resources. As June Prill-Brett reminds us, “Customary law, like state law, both modifies behavior and is itself modified by the strategies of relevant actors.” (Prill-Brett: 697) The fact is that all dealings between people concerning land are meant to organize how people relate to one another in relationship to their “things.” Humans are at the base of land management and the human rights associated with land. The changeability and flexibility of these relationships of rights based on political, economic, social and geographic factors cannot be underestimated. Individual and group cultural identities are deeply tied to property (as different from private property). Identities are neither easily made not easily unmade. How people desire to deal with land is often a product, not only of the geography of the locale itself, but of their identities. These identities are further related to relations with family, friends, fellow workers and larger social networks. Making rational choices, plans and policies does not ensure rational outcomes. Ostrom makes the point that, “The paradox that individually rational strategies lead to collectively irrational outcomes seems to challenge the fundamental faith that rational human beings can achieve rational results.”

We are witnessing a massive proliferation of global institutions, international, national and regional NGOs and governmental organizations concerned with the management of land and environment. These organizations must consider the immense need for and difficulty in achieving a
balance in policy making and program design between what can be rationally and scientifically known about land and environment and what should be understood in terms of the rational and irrational nature of human relations with one another and the geographic space they occupy.

It is worth taking a moment to consider the literature concerning the global commons which foreground general issues related to land, culture and rights. This literature refers back to Garrett Hardin’s “Tragedy of the Commons” published in 1968. In this article Hardin addresses the chronic overuse of common resources. Hardin reflects the views of Aristotle who wrote, “that which is common to the greatest number of people has the least care bestowed upon it.” Hardin suggested that if no one person is responsible for resources that everyone has access to, then each person will tend to use and the resources, even to the point of overuse in order to gain the most personally. Without seeing immediate consequences of one’s own concentration on profit, no person is apt to be morally and physically responsible for these common resources. He refers to this conundrum of overuse as the tragedy of the commons.

Since the publication of this influential article, many people have again taken up the theme of the commons (global, national and local) and its management. While the validity of Hardin’s presupposition is often questioned, there is a general agreement that common resources must be actively managed so as to prevent overuse. Referring back to Marx’s statement that nature is just a much a source of use-value as labor, Susan George calls the focus on the commons “a titanic struggle for control of the true, primordial source of ‘use-values’ and the wealth that underpin labour and life. In such a struggle, because the stakes are high, it is not surprising either to find all kinds of weapons employed: ruse and propaganda, intimidation and blatant violence” (George: ix). The obvious question becomes how should common resources be managed? Who should manage it and how should the process be structured? Some argue for an international global forum of management, others for nation-states to maintain full control of their own resources, others believe in privatization of all property and/or the control of land by private enterprise, while yet others believe that local populations can best manage their own lands and resources. Each article within this bibliography addresses the question of land rights and management, giving vital information based in particular locations and situations. The consideration of these issues is complex and multivalenced and cannot be dealt with in any simplified, one-track fashion.

As Elinor Ostrom puts it, “The issue…is how best to limit the use of natural resources so as to ensure their long-term viability” (Ostrom: 1). Sustainable use of resources over the long haul is the goal of management ethically and legally. The definition of property, rights of use, rights of ownership and the balance of private and public interests are at the heart of the matter. Weighing the costs and benefits for the various actors and their interests provides a way into the specific issues in each instance of management. In trying to solve the problem of governing the commons, various suggestions are put forward—land can be owned and/or governed by governments, by private enterprise, by community organizations or by individuals.

One cannot simply establish the most rationale form of management through modeling or the invocation of game theory or through the consideration of the prisoner’s dilemma. It is necessary to consider the social, political and economic context (i.e. culture) to the specific resources, in each instance of management in order to provide greater opportunity to envision how individuals can cooperate in their use of resources, to understand the culture of the commons.
The literature on urban growth and development often does not take on issues related directly to land holdings. Rather, the literature concentrates on the planning and (re)development of cities, the segregation and alienation of one social class from another, the decimation of the sense of community due to sub- and ex-urbanization and loss of city centers, the continued growth of car culture, of gated communities, sources of water and energy, and crime and pollution. The popular themes relate to the particularity of local places being wiped out through monopolization of culture through the Disneyfication, the McDonalds-ization, the things go better with Coke, the Swoosh, the take-over of local identity through transnational corporate images and the ideals of the western world forced upon and actively sought after by people living in all lands around the world.

As Michael Sorkin writes,

Main Street is now the space between airports, the fiber-optic cables linking the fax machines of the multinational corporations’ far-flung offices, an invisible world wide skein of economic relations. Liberated from its center and its edges by advances in communication and mobility and by a new world order bent on a single citizenship of consumption, the new city threatens an unimagined sameness even as it multiplies the illusory choices of the TV system. [Sorkin: xii]

In order to follow the theme on issues of this bibliography in urban locales, these first two sections center in issues of community, marginalization by state and/or society, and the supercession of capital over human relations. The influence of class, the relations between classes played out upon and determined by land and rights, the limits of the state and the potential fading of local community influence, as well as the effects of capital and capitalism on social relations are central motifs. These articles point out the dialogue of power, money and people involved in the relations between urban and rural areas, whether due to trash moving out of the city or rural people moving into the city or the city itself expanding its perimeters further into rural areas.

Cited


The current neoliberal love affair with free market policies [is] an echo of policies championed by nineteenth-century Latin American nation builders….the vehicle for transformation was to be coffee. [Charlip: 92]

Small landholders were not eradicated when large-scale coffee growing became a central feature of the Nicaraguan economy. Rather these various landholders interacted with the market on an uneven playing field based in socioeconomic conditions. Land held as ejidal (communal agricultural land) land was recognized by the state of Nicaragua. In the mid to late 1800s, the shift toward private property became more prominent. But small landholders never disappeared. It made more sense for large landholders to keep the necessary seasonal workforce close at hand by not usurping all the land and thus keeping small-scale farmers in the area. This article traces the historical development of large and small coffee holdings in Nicaragua.


ABSTRACT

“The modern Dominican sugar industry seems an excellent case study of how foreign investors and markets induce capitalist social relations in subsistence-oriented rural societies.” This article focuses on the creation of commercial land markets in an effort to understand the dimensions and implications of local participation in that transition. It examines how diverse actors used and articulated customary proprietary rights in land and alternative notions of absolute private property from about 1880 to 1930, during which period the contours of the sugar industry materialized. This was also a seminal period for Dominican state formation, and control over land was an important arena for attempts to increase the institutional capacity and ideological authority of the state. Peasants, land speculators, sugar entrepreneurs, and government agents influenced aspects of state formation as well as the commercialization of land in the course of their negotiations and disputes over the meaning of property.

SUMMARY

The author traces the evolution of land rights from customary use-rights to absolute private property with the introduction of sugar as the dominating industry crop in Dominica. The transformation of the land itself from customarily negotiated and owned agrarian land to fields of sugar was one of the most direct experiences of the arrival of capitalism. Free-range cattle became carefully bred cattle meant for the sugar fields and customary land holdings transitioned to surveyed private land titles. The United States, both through private enterprise and through military oversight was a key motivator of this process.

**ABSTRACT**

Contending perspectives have interpreted the impact of rapid growth in peri-urban areas in very different ways. One school of thought characterizes peri-urban growth as leading to the development of new markets and the conversion of property rights, in such a way as to transform the local economy, leading to greater entrepreneurialism, higher rates of growth and improved human welfare. Another sees the destruction of agricultural livelihoods without their replacement by any alternative economic activity. This paper compares four cases within the peri-urban area of Accra, and assesses the impact of the urban sprawl on them. The cases highlight the loss of land to housing, the protection of agricultural land from urban sprawl, environmental degradation and the commercialization of peri-urban agriculture. Evidence is found for both perspectives, but considerably more for the second view. Policies to mitigate the worst impacts of urbanization are suggested.

**SUMMARY**

Much of the growth of African cities is taking place at the “peri-urban” fringe. One view sees this as leading to the development of new markets and customary property rights transforming along the various forms of privately held lands. Transforms the “actors” from “sleepy agrarianism” to more active, entrepreneurial free market commerce.

The other view sees this as a shift of people who were self-reliant agriculturist “without its replacement by any other economic system that guarantees community or individual survival. The loss of agricultural livelihoods leads to the rapid growth of a semi-proletarian informal economy, which often grows only by absorbing more participants without an accompanying increase in total economic output.” Without planning and management this contributes to urban sprawl and environmental degradation.

Through four case studies, the three forms of land tenure in Ghana (customary ownership; state ownership; split ownership) are investigated, as well as issues of environmental degradation, shifting cultural norms, gender and economic re-orientation. The authors make the point that the involvement and choices of local leadership greatly impacts the direction communities take as they shift away from agriculture to become incorporated in the urban landscape.


**ABSTRACT**

Southeast Asia’s many Negrito groups have suffered formidable human rights violations during
the past century. This article documents some of the abuses that have occurred in one particular Negrito society in the Philippines, the economic and demographic effect these abuses have had on that society, and how the members of that society are today responding (or failing to respond) to what is happening to them. The authors apply the competitive exclusion principle as a heuristic device for exploring why this social injustice is found worldwide whenever small-scale ethnic peoples are outnumbered by more powerful societies.

SUMMARY

The issue of racism and competitive exclusion over resources is at the heart of human rights issues related to the hunter-gatherer Agta Negritos. The authors track various reasons for a sharp decline in population rates among the Agta, an indigenous population in the Philippines, while at the same time looking at various human rights abuses experienced by the same group. Government soldiers kidnapping of women for sexual purposes, massacring Agta townspeople are some of the human rights abuses listed. The Agta's hunter-gatherer lifestyles are in decline due to the destruction of the forest areas in which they have been living. Although experienced in farming practices, the Agta seem unable to establish themselves on their own farms, in large part based on the occupation by non-Agta populations of lands the Agta have cleared for agriculture. There is a sense of entitlement among these other populations as the Agta are not considered as equal in terms of political, social and economic rights.


ABSTRACT

This article explores a much neglected class of rural producers in Mexico, commercial family farmers, whose position in a globalizing political economy is treated as either unproblematic or ignored altogether in the agrarian literature. I contend that these small scale capitalist farmers, as well as their peasant and ejidal counterparts, as being ‘privatized’ under Mexico’s new neoliberal agricultural policies, culminating with the passage and implementation of NAFTA. While it might seem logical that capitalist farmers oriented toward commercial production would be pre-adapted for this new free-market model, they are instead subject to new rules for operating an increasingly hostile, competitive market. In 1993 small commercial dairy farmers in north-central Guanajuato began to seek new organizational forms with which to achieve better market integration and increase profits during a period marked by falling milk prices, increasingly scarce and expensive credit, removal of subsidies, and rising cost of production. Noteworthy among their strategies was the formation of marketing cooperatives. An analytical framework drawn from the new institutional economics is employed to understand and explain the cooperative strategy and why it succeeded in one case and failed in another. A third case, sketched briefly, outlines the initial attempts by an ejido to form a cooperative and create a joint venture with external interests. The article concludes by suggesting several policy recommendations to support Mexico's faltering dairy sector.

ABSTRACT

In June 1992, the Australian High Court handed down its judgement in the landmark case of Mabo vs. Queensland (No 2). Much to the consternation of powerful mining capital, pastoral and state government interests, the majority of the Justices overturned legal precedent and declared that under certain circumstances common law indigenous land title to land had survived European conquest. This determination was enthusiastically received by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities across Australia on the grounds that its paved the way for a renewed phase of indigenous empowerment and self-determination. The paper places the Mabo judgement in context and, three years on, discusses the question of whether the earlier euphoria was justified.

SUMMARY

Recently Australian national lawmakers are attempting to alter the social reality that aborigines were “inside the state, but outside the nation.”(189) In a very practical sense, the identity of Australian indigenous peoples have been taken up in land tenure issues.

The author problematizes “Native Land Title” on several different counts. Though called “native” (to the chagrin of Aborigines and Torres Straight Islanders who prefer the term “indigenous”), this law was created by colonial powers. It draws on the rationale of rights and ownership as well as on “organic” traditional laws and customs. Another issue at hand is the variation in the conceptual understandings of ownership and relationships to land among indigenous groups. Heaped onto these complex questions come the influences of national and transnational corporations who are looking for access to lands to mine for minerals. The government is now publicly recognizing rights of Australian indigenous peoples that have previously been ignored. In light of the power of large mining corporations, this is a significant shift for both the indigenous groups as well as the national government.


KEY QUESTIONS

What is the state and nation recognizing when it embraces “the ancient laws” of indigenous Australia? What is this thing “tradition” which produces sensations, desires, professional, personal and national optimisms and anxieties? What is this thing which is ever only obliquely glimpsed and which resists the bad faith of the liberal nation and at the same time does violence to good civil values, indeed crystallizes the best form of community “we” could hope for? What is this glimmering object the public support of which can support, as if by magical charm, the feelings necessary for social harmony in the multicultural nation, for good trading relations with the Asian-Pacific, and for a new globally inspirational form of national cohesion? How is this thing socially produced and politically practiced? Why must Aboriginal persons identify with it to gain public sympathy and state resources? [Povinelli: 22]
SUMMARY

“This essay maps the political cunning and calculus of cultural recognition in a settler modernity.” (23) In the case of indigenous peoples of Australia, in order to gain access to the benefits associated with the Native Land Rights, there must be some sort of identification with an “ur”-indigenous, meaning a sense of authentic indigeneity based in living a present lifestyle consistent with historical Aboriginal practices and beliefs. The Australian state is attempting to responsibly take up their moral and legal obligation to the indigenous population by allowing the traditional system of land tenure, called “native title,” to co-exist with the national common law. In order to establish native title, the people living on the land must maintain Aboriginal laws and traditions. Povinelli points out that this approach by the state to traditional land tenure pressures indigenous people to maintain a certain kind of image, whether it is currently desired by them or not, in order to maintain their lands, a forced indigeneity. She asserts that this is a form of “settler modernity” and hegemony. “Hegemonic domination…works primarily by inspiring in the indigenous subject a desire to identify with a lost indeterminate object—indeed to be the melancholic subject of traditions.” (23)


ABSTRACT

Indigenous people in the Philippines Cordillera region maintain legal pluralism by invoking several legal orders—customary laws, conflicting national laws, international law, and principles of human rights—to assert claims to ancestral lands. Although the U.S. Supreme Court in 1909 held that Philippine lands that had been occupied from time immemorial are presumed never to have been public, the Spanish colonial Regalian doctrine, derived from the explorer Magellan’s claim of all lands in the Archipelago for the Spanish crown, remains the theoretical bedrock on which Philippine national land laws rest. Land not covered by official documentation, such as the highland areas occupied by indigenous groups who have not acquired legal titles, is considered part of the public domain. Recently, dam-building projects, logging concessions, and commercial farming in highland areas have spurred renewed efforts by indigenous groups to assert rights to ancestral lands threatened with flooding, deforestation, and dispossession.

SUMMARY

In the Philippines, land was traditionally collectively governed by usufructuary rights, meaning that those who cleared and the land and planted crops there, maintained the right to use the land and to enjoy the benefits of their labor in terms of crop yield. Under Spanish, then U.S. and now Philippine governmental control, this system of land tenure has been challenged, superceded and returned to by the various governments. Under the current Philippine State, there has been extensive encroachment onto traditional land holdings by private enterprise and the state, particularly with the goal of development of resource use. Dams are a particular example of this.
CITY SCAPE: URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN SQUATTERS


SUMMARY

Cities all over the world are reifying class relations and social positioning via the development of land and space. “Fortified enclaves,” gated communities, are yet another spatial form of establishing hegemonic class relations. In São Paulo in the 1940s and 50s, the rich and middle class occupied lands at the center of town while the poorer populations living on land which marked the city’s periphery. Los Angeles is also examined in the recent shift in the spatial organization of classes in urban areas. Now people from various social strata are living in closer quarters, finding themselves in neighborhoods less and less well defined along the lines of race and class. To remedy their fears from increasing violent crimes, members of the upper classes have begun to build secured spaces in which they are separated physically and socially from other classes. Public spaces, such as streets and separate “domestic worker” entrances are reserved for the lower classes, while the upper-classes venture from their elite housing directly to their cars which they take to their offices and shops. The actual contact of classes is regulated and controlled. This urban trend suggests that multiculturalism and democracy be not reconfirmed as functional realities in these urban circumstances.


ABSTRACT

Focusing on a dynamic agricultural town in central Brazil, the author analysis that country’s transition in popular housing strategies from permissive to restrictive modes of control. In the former, poor urban settlers were allowed ownership of large lots which they could develop as they wished, enabling them to consolidate their domestic economic base in town and expand kinship networks. With increasing migration from the countryside, and an accompanying distrust of these new populations, local planners have implemented tighter controls on housing recipients’ use of urban land. This has made housing recipients less self-reliant and more mobile within the city.

SUMMARY

By favoring the interests of the urban elite, seasonal workers and migrants recently arrived into urban areas are limited in their ability to establish peri-urban settlements which allow them to “diversify their livelihoods” and develop extended kinship networks. Urban developments which in which the municipal government is less involved are more apt to support small-scale agriculture, subdivision of land for business use, rental or occupation by extended family. This reduces the need for squatting on public and private lands as well as diversified livelihood strategies.

Municipalities which have placed strict development restrictions within low-income settlements are also selecting and excluding potential residents along “moral” lines with the goal of creating a
“quality periphery.” This further extends the power of the local governmental branches beyond political influence directly into the private sphere. These qualifications include rules concerning the need to work for women and children. The goal of the municipalities, working through social workers, is to establish more permanent communities, rather than as holding tanks for those passing through.


This report explores whether environmentally hazardous industrial facilities, power plants, municipal solid waste incinerators, toxic waste sites, landfills, and trash transfer stations are unequally distributed with respect to the income and racial composition of Massachusetts communities.


ABSTRACT

This research article discusses the legal and cultural dimensions of a proposed solid waste mega-landfill in Farmersville, a rural Western New York community. The author argues that a corporation's and state environmental bureaucracy's development efforts and definitions of space dominate and decontextualize a local community's and region's own understandings and uses of space and land. This results in a colonial process of domination over large-scale citizen and government opposition. Using ethnographic, legal and documentary data, as well as the author's own citizen participation activities as a research basis, the article focuses on state notions of rural territory as legal space instead of cultural landscape. Local's space is differently bounded, conceptualized and used as place of and for community, morality, spirituality, and communality. Protracted bureaucratic procedures and still on-going legal battles between, on one side, local citizenry and legislators, and on the other, technocratic and corporate executives and attorneys, are ultimately traceable to the official ignoring of sociocultural issues in environmental impact assessments.

SUMMARY

In the United States, as is often the case the world wide, global perspectives of development that embody the “iron cage of technological thought” supercede the local. Rather than posing a comparison between “first world” and “third world” perspectives, the author of this article highlights differences arising between urban and rural perspectives. Urban developers and state bureaucrats fail to recognize the differentiation in values attached to land, morality, and social interaction in a rural area of upstate New York. “I suggest that the facility siting process is one of intentional domination, not simply over local economics and political power, but also over cultural landscape. This cultural landscape includes subsistence methods, lifestyles, values and community in the strong sense of social cooperation and attachment.” (276)

The specific instance is that of a private company based in an urban part of lower New York
attempting to situate a dump in a rural area of upstate New York that is not highly populated. The people in the region feel that they have already made their contribution to their country by housing a low-level nuclear dumpsite in the county. They see the state’s attempt to locate another dump in the area as treating the rural space as a space for “residue” as well as extending urban values on rural locales. They argue that space is not a commodity but a cultural landscape. Informal “rural systems” of word of mouth agreements and trust are contrasted with formal “urban systems” of bureaucratic and juridical contracts. Gaffin notes that neither of these approaches represents a “neutral discourse.”


ABSTRACT

With more than 40% of the urban populations of the Third World living in informal settlements, quasi- and extralegal adaptations have been utilized to appropriate land for housing. The most direct of these—squatting—has its inherent risks, however, for those who wish to improve their dwellings. Research has shown that house consolidation is more a function of resident perceptions than of strict legal categorization. This paper reports how such perceptions have triggered a greater rate of household consolidation among Javanese cemetery squatters than that in an adjoining area with formal land tenure.

SUMMARY

Invoking Peruvian scholar Hernando de Soto, Garr points to the issue of the right to occupy land, “expectative property rights,” a right not regularly discusses among human rights advocates. As poorer classes move into urban areas in the “Third World,” they often choose squatting as their first access to occupying urban lands. However, this can make “house consolidation,” the incremental improvement of housing, and a more tenuous task.

In Java, Chinese cemeteries provide a fairly stable option for squatting. Unlike other traditional relationships of land tenure, constituted by renting land from owners which may be taken back at any time, Chinese cemeteries are sites for potential long term housing in the city of Blimbing Sari. Unlike Javanese or Christian cemeteries, which are highly valued, the role and status of Chinese in Java place them in a position lacking the power to defend their cemeteries. The one strategy employed by the Chinese was to build a fence around an area which had not yet been occupied, in effect sanctioning the housing that already existed.

Given that cemeteries are close to rivers but above flood levels and also often within the city as opposed to peri-urban borders, these are prime locations for those poor workers who need to be close to their source of work and income, also allowing easy access to public services. Other than the rukan, an unpaid government official who maintains social standards of peace and harmony in neighborhoods, there has been no official government intervention in these squatting communities.

Those living in the cemetery areas have more aggressively determined to build permanent housing than those in legal land tenure situation, that is on land which they rent from a landlord.

ABSTRACT

This article reports on innovative elements in land use policy and zoning regulations which are being implemented in Recife, Brazil, notably with reference to the creation of zones (so-called Zeis) which recognize favelas as part of the city. It argues that the implementation of Zeis constitutes a considerable step towards the recognition of the social rights of favela dwellers in the city. By describing the process through which Zeis have been put into practice the article indicates how Zeis challenge an established social and legal paradigm and constitute a move toward the creation of a new system of property rights.

SUMMARY

[This report] argues that however complex the land development and regularization of land tenure in squatter areas might be, the creation of Zeis (Special Zones of Social Interest) and Prezeis (Zeis’ land use plan) constitutes a remarkable step toward the recognition of social rights: the rights of the favela dwellers to the city.

Settlements of squatters are a representation of the informal manner in which those living in poverty attempt to reconcile important issues, such as housing, in their lives. For many years, in Brazil, as elsewhere around the world, squatter communities were treated as a municipal infraction often. Most often these communities have been destroyed through bulldozing or burning.

In Recife, the presence of squatters on private lands up until the 1940s was not a contentious issue. But when private land became more valuable, conflicts increased and squatters moved their occupation to public lands. Now, 60% of Recife’s nearly 1.5 million residents are squatters who occupy only 10% of the city’s area.

A change in political regimes from military to more democratic leaning has increased the number of civil organizations that are lobbying for land rights and services such as sewers and schools. The creation of Zeis and the corresponding legal enactment of Prezeis is concentrated around three goals: improvement of the quality of life; legalization of occupation; integration into the city, while preserving the neighborhood characteristics. Each Zeis has its own seven-member representative organization (Comul) which consult and advise in the process of accomplishing these main goals. However, as is often the case, the divide between intentions and practices is great. As of yet the favelas have not made much headway attaining the three outlined goals.


SUMMARY

In Guayaquil, Ecuador’s largest urban area, meztisos and indios migrating into the city often
become de facto land owners by squatting in one of the suburbios. The land which has been transformed into huge neighborhoods of squatters is unusable for almost anything else and therefore makes it less important to defend by the those who official own the land, be it the state or private land owner. In fact the state has made efforts to assist squatters in obtaining legal title to lands that have been occupied for over one year though the actual process of land titling is so arduous that only 2000 out of approximately 600,000. Those living in these suburbios constitute a petit bourgeoisie by participating in an informal economy and owing one's own home. The author compares the use value of those building and expanding their own homes on 10x30 areas over time as compared to the exchange value of houses that are built for the express purpose of sale.


ABSTRACT

This paper describes the way of a local tradition of paternalism and xenophobia shaped the political debate that developed after community-level recognition of a water pollution problem in a rural north Florida mill town. A paternalistic relationship between a large pulp mill and the community circumscribed opportunities for a meaningful public dialogue by narrowly framing the options: the firm eased criticism by supplying alternative sources of water; deference by local political and social institutions shifted the focus of the public discussion from the causes of the pollution to the morality and character of the firm; and a xenophobic culture made it possible to marginalize environmentalists as ‘outsiders’. The argument presented here is that the environmental conflict was mediated through latent social relations of paternalism which were played out simultaneously by the firm, local elites and townspeople and which determined the way the ‘community’ would be defined. These processes are illustrated through a review and analysis of relevant documents, reports and local newspaper articles which appeared during the course of the crisis from spring 1991 through to autumn 1992. The findings indicate that simplistic characterizations of local environmental conflicts are inadequate, and that the persistence and flexibility of historical traditions such as paternalism and xenophobia hold important implications for environmentalism, social movements and democratization.


ABSTRACT

Theorists of social movements have identified a growing number of “new social movements” which seek to “bypass the state” in their pursuit of social power. This article proposes that one way to appreciate the changing opportunity structure for such “new social movements” is to direct one’s attention to changes in the degree and nature of state territorial control. It is argued that political-economic transformation is resulting in a situation in which margins are emerging: areas which are clearly within the boundaries of the nation-states but which the intensivity of state political-
territorial control is limited. Social movements are gathering residual sources of social power in these supposedly “emptied” margins in an effort to construct alternative forms of territorial control. Their attempts to redefine territory challenge the construction and uses if territoriality which enable capitalist uses of space. An analysis is undertaken of one particular social movement from the margin—the Atlantic terminal Urban Renewal Area (ATURA) Coalition, a grass-roots urban planning/community control movement in Brooklyn, New York City.

SUMMARY

An urban development project in Brooklyn inspires members of the immediate community to mobilize their power. Their goal is to restrain a development project which would cause increased gentrification in the area, pushing out low-income residents. The coalition formed uses a discourse of anti-capitalism which highlights that states and developers cannot treat areas as malleable empty space. Rather, the coalition believes that the existing community, with their economic and social relations, has to be the basis for any redevelopment. Space must be considered in light of social relations rather commodity-based formations.
Migration is one of the oldest continual human practices. Yet regardless of this long-standing tradition of movement, there exists a current trend amongst Western media, academics, and politicians to interpellate migrants and refugees as a “threat” (Tesfehuny 1998). Racism, class discrimination and sexism are just as much a part of the West's contraction as they were the West's colonial expansion. Tesfehuny calls racism “…the underside of nationalism”(502). Those who have given up their homes or homelands either voluntarily or involuntarily are not given the same heroic status as those Europeans, an estimated 50 million in the 1800s alone, who, relocated themselves to all the continents of the world also on both a voluntary and involuntary basis. These immigrants were lauded as “pilgrims,” “conquerors,” “adventurers,” “pioneers,” and “Founding Fathers.” Yet current day migrants are referred to as “illegal aliens” and “refugees.”

According to Tesfehuny, “In 1992, 44 million people were reckoned as asylum-seekers, refugees, internally displaced and in refugee-like situations, of which 40.2 million (91.4 percent) were in the Third World. Only 1.8 million or 4.1 percent, were in Western Europe of North America.” (Tesfehuny: 503) In Europe the bulk of migration consists of intra-EU migration. “90 percent of the worlds 18 million external refugees have sought refuge from war.” (Tesfehuny: 509) Yet until recently there has been little consideration of immigrants and refugees in the studies of international relations. The literature now being produced which deals with issues of the movement of people across national borders for reasons other than labor migration is a vital beginning to investigating the complexities of human movement and resettlement.

Several authors address issues involved in the permeability of space/borders for entry and exit and the political rational which attempts to govern the extent and quality of mobility. Whereas, based on international treaties of trade, nation-states are permeable to goods and capital, the flow of people is more severely restricted. National boundaries and the nature of citizenship continue to be prominent considerations as the process of globalization brings more and more goods, ideas and people across borders. Nationalism is challenged when cultural variations are introduced into a shared space.

Migration has been one of the main factors behind the evolution of “new” forms of identities, “pluralistic” or “multicultural” societies and erosions of myths of homogeneity. Migration inter-plays with nationalism in complex ways. [Tesfehuny: 503]

The sovereignty of nation-states comes into question in discussions concerning the flows of goods, capital, ideas and people.

With respect to international migrations, the dominant discourses contain and/or isolate the factors for migration within the “Third World” or the “East.” Poverty in the South is divested from previous and current global relations of exploitation and processes of accumulation. Alternatively, these resort to reversal by elision: effacing the significant role of the West in processes

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2. The literature on migrants is labor centered rather than land centered. Even though displacement is directly related to motion through space, and generally to loss of property and land, these are not the highlighted issues. Rather, the literature concentrates on resettlement and human rights issues such as food, shelter and sanitary conditions. Ownership of land is, interestingly, not generally considered in this literature as a human right.
which (in)directly generate international migrations [neocolonial relations, global inequity and arms sales]. The discourses remain silent on the huge capital transfers, through debt and interest repayments to the West, ($196 billion between 1983 and 1994), or the systematic tariffs and trade walls of the EU that foreclose “Third World” counties from earning export income. The role of Western military-industrial complexes and arms sales to “Third World” countries in the generation of (refugee) migrations are also elided. Although silent on the mode of production of refugees in the world, these loudly clamor about the “abuse” of asylum rights…The richer states in the world are seldom at war, but contribute to these through the export of weapons. [Tesfahuny: 509]

Migration and displacement also occur within national borders. Ethnic warfare, displacement based on development or on multi-cultural population distribution population have all been reasons that groups of national citizens have moved from one territory to another. In these cases as well, national interests are placed against local populations and often against international interests in the discourses and practices of development and human rights.

Cited

ABSTRACT

There is increasing international concern about the environmental impacts of refugees on host areas, with governments calling for compensation for environmental damage, particularly concerning the loss of woodland resources as a result of demands for woodfuel. In addition to an obvious increase in the population of host areas, concern about refugees’ woodfuel use centres on the notion that they are ‘exceptional resource degraders’. Since they view their stay as temporary, it is argued, they therefore do not have any incentive to use resources in a way that is sustainable in the long-term. This study examined refugee migration to the middle valley of the Senegal River, and compared woodfuel use by refugee and local populations. Drawing on a household survey and direct measurement of woodfuel use. Little or no evidence is found to support the expectation that refugees use more wood for fuel than local people, or that they are more destructive in their collection or use of wood. This is important since it suggests that policy measures developed to reduce what is perceived as excess demand by refugees, notably through the introduction of fuel-efficient stoves, are unlikely to be successful. Reforestation schemes have been relatively unsuccessful in addressing supply and demand for wood.

SUMMARY

This article addresses the question of whether refugees are “exceptional resource degraders,” greatly contributing to the depletion of woodfuel resources. Given that wood is the primary source for energy in Africa, the issue of woodfuel is significant. Although there is not necessarily a connection that the rising number of refugees has resulted in an increase in deforestation, it is the case, that the concentration of refugees in a particular (often environmentally marginal) area can indeed lead to deforestation problems in that area.

In 1989, approximately 60,000 Mauritanians refugees joined the approximately 70,000 Senegalese living in Upper Valley of the Senegal River in Senegal. Generally the refugees were settled in groups of 2500, often near established villages. It was not unusual for there to be distant family connections between the Mauritanians and Senegalese which assisted in easing tensions of demands on limited resources between refugees and local Senegalese nationals.

Other causes of deforestation in the area are the lack of water due to dam construction on the Senegal River. Livestock overgrazing and long-term climactic desertification are also influencing forest generation and regeneration.

In their research, Black and Sessay found no evidence that refugee families consumed more wood for fuel than the other residents in the area, but rather that both groups adjusted their lifestyle practices to deal with existing shortages in wood fuel.

**ABSTRACT**

Resettlement planning can be used to reconstruct nomadic peoples’ communal and personal identities to a more national identity and sense of self within the greater collective and to achieve social, economic and political integration. Using the case of the resettle bedouin in the Negev Desert, this paper shows that such planning is not easily implemented and may not prove wholly successful if the target community is not included in the planning process. So resettlement may serve to create new identities in the planned environment that reflect a further sense of alienation from, rather than integration with, mainstream society.

**SUMMARY**

The author proposes that one complicated feature of the state’s plan to settle the mobile population of bedouins in Israel is the concentration on reforming bedouin identity according to the needs of the state rather than to the needs of bedouins themselves.

The bedouins in Israel divides themselves into three groupings: Arab, (tribesman), fellahin (peasants) and Abid (blacks). These groups are not prone to intermarry and the Arabs consider themselves the true bedouin, looking down upon the other two groups. However, all three stand apart from the Jews of Israel, considered to be enemies based on their non-Arab and non-Muslim status.

The state of Israel has made it illegal to live in anything other than permanent settlement. Yet, 45% of the bedouin population remain living in temporary and mobile settlements. An overemphasis on physical planning rather than social planning resulted in a failure to establish settlements of the nomadic bedouin into permanent settlements even though they were serviced by the state with schools, electrification, health care and running water. This resettlement scheme has left many bedouin feeling that their identity is on the line as a group. Even if they continue to live in tents, a sedentary tent is not the same as a moving tent. The allegory represents the shift in self-identity that can come with complying with Israel’s law. This identity is, in part, based on the family and tribal affiliations which are often lost in settlement programs due to design issues. Israeli planners have tried to learn from this initial error in planning and design and now segregate bedouins according to tribe and their own social demarcations. However, bedouins continue to see themselves as politically and economically separate from the state of Israel.


**ABSTRACT**

Indonesia’s recent history has revealed the fragility of a national unity created under a political
authoritarianism that was itself underpinned by the country’s relative economic success. The government’s transmigration resettlement scheme has been one particularly powerful mechanism through which the New Order government (under president Suharto) has sought to achieve unity amidst the country’s disparate ethnic groups. By settling Javanese people, Indonesia’s largest and most politically central cultural group, the state has attempted to achieve a presence of the “centre” in the country’s “margins,” and in turn, extend a particular imagined geography across the archipelago. This paper examines the spatial politics of this process in one particular region, where transmigration has been coloured by environmental authoritarianism and concerns over the activity of “illegal forest squatters.” It draws on Henri Lefebvre’s concept of the socially produced space to demonstrate how local people have challenged the spatial authority of the state, and the ways subtle forms of resistance are expressed in agrarian landscapes and livelihood practices in Lampung. The paper concludes by reflecting on the possibilities of linking such resistance to the emerging social movements which are beginning the challenge the post-Suharto government’s authority outside Java.

SUMMARY

By instituting a resettlement program to redistribute the Javanese population across the Indonesian archipelago, a heightened sense of ethnic difference and desire for self-determination is enlivened within a variety of Indonesian ethnic populations. While the state claims to be seeking a cultural unification and single model of Indonesian citizenship through their redistribution scheme, only the Javanese are being relocated, thus marking them out as Redistribution is geared towards reorienting livelihood strategies, which are aligned with the development goals of the state. Thus, between 250,000 and 450,000 people are being moved from forests to more remote, sparsely populated areas.

Elmhirst uses French theorist Henri Lefebvre’s social theory of space as the basis of her analysis. This includes the following categories:

1) spatial practice: “the organization of everyday life—people’s use of space, and the way this in turn structures daily life, insuring social cohesion and continuity”;

2) representations of space: “conceptualized space, the space of scientists planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers” (Lefebvre 1991); and,

3) representational space: “space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants and users.” (Lefebvre 1991).

These concepts serve to bring both material and symbolic elements of peoples’ relations with physical space into a clear view. The author specifically addresses agrarian reform and the extension of bureaucratic control through increased administration and taxation as they co-ordinate with a national environmental agenda. Elmhirst point out that human welfare is a key aspect missing from this agenda.

Elmhirst contends that this redistribution of Javanese in areas inhabited by non-Javanese is accomplishing a cultural hegemony of the Javanese which further extends a Javanese political imaginary into the political margins.
The changes in local cultural expressions and relations can be seen in more organized villages through the inclusion of Javanese architecture, in Javanese-style sanctioned national ceremonies and in Javanese-style sedentary forms of agricultural production. These practical shifts have resulted in a stronger sense of ethnic differentiation between Javanese and Lampungese within the areas of resettlement creating a form of local resistance to state-organized plans.


ABSTRACT

The article explores attitudes of nation states to territory and boundaries. These attitudes are divided into two categories. First, expressive arguments for maintaining or acquiring territory invoke a higher principle of ideology, faith, history, nature, language, race, community, or culture to prove that this territory “belongs.” For example, “historical rights” are presented to prove that the state is entitled to a certain territory. Second, instrumental arguments in which territory and boundaries are regarded as dependent variables. These arguments invoke functional ‘needs’ such as strategy, defense, economic viability, social development, transport and communication to prove that territory is required. The value of territory is thus defined as a means to other collective goals.

To investigate these attitudes, a concrete case-study presented: was the Zionist movement willing to trade territory for other values when confronted with this decision in 1937? In that year, a British Royal Commission proposed that the territory of Western Palestine be divided between Arabs and Jews, and that an independent Jewish state be established on a territory of 5000 sq. km. The proposal resulted in a heated controversy within the Zionist movement: should the Jews accept a state on merely one fifth of their homeland?

Five positions regarding this partition proposal are placed on a continuum: strong opposition, opposition, undecided, support, strong support. They are further examined according to their ‘expressive’ and ‘instrumental’ contents.

The resolution of the Zionist Congress in August 1937 was to adopt partition on principle and to negotiate with the British government the precise terms for establishing a Jewish state. This decision presented a victory of the instrumentalist pragmatic approach, according to which territory was a means of accomplishing other goals. The choice parameters of the 1937 decision typify the dilemma that later confronted the state of Israel, as well as other nation-states in similar situations.

SUMMARY

Theoretically, Galnoor is making a contribution to the field of political geography by concentrating his research on the relationship between state and territory. More specifically he is engaging with the notion of geographic determinism which posits that geographical imperatives determines political positioning. Galnoor uses the example of both the 1937 Zionist as well as the on-going difficulties with the partitioning of land between Arabs and Israelis to argue just the opposite. He suggests that the reason for the on-going difficulties is related to diverging nationalist aspirations. It
is not that this small piece of land can not be shared by two nations, it is that these two nations are unable to coalesce sufficiently to share this piece of land. In order to make this argument, Galnoor analyzes the 1937 debates within the Zionist Movement about the proposed partition of Eretz Israel. This article gives an excellent historical perspective on how the state of Israel was formed, the actions of the British and the various debates within the Jewish contingent concerning their dispute with Palestine.


ABSTRACT

This paper draws attention to the organizations whose money makes the status of “refugee” possible. I trace selected locations and destinations of funds provided by powerful humanitarian organizations and argue that the tensions that humanitarian aid aims to ease are historically and spatially specific. The regime of international humanitarian assistance—the “refugee industry”—concentrates power at specific sites, but operates across political borders and between groups of unequal positioning. In presenting a critical examination of the power relations which structure global humanitarian flows, I contend that core-periphery and center-margin binaries are inadequate tools for theorizing mobility. The dynamics of forced migrations combined with voluntary donations produced nuanced, contradictory positions that defy overarching narratives of humanism, development, and unitary subjects. The “transnational politics of mobility” introduced in this paper attempts to move beyond the binary geopolitical divisions of North and South, East and West, as well as the problematic categories of First, Second, and Third Worlds. It aims to theorize unequal power relations in a context that pays attention to identities formed within, beyond, and in spite of nation-states, that is to say, in a transnational context. Transnational flows of refugees and donor funds are juxtaposed to accentuate their culturally marked, unequal positionings, as well as their differential mobility across sites of humanitarian activity.” [150]

SUMMARY

Economies of money, space, and power shape mobility unevenly within and across migrant groups. (152)

It is political significant that in 1995 there were 27.4 million refugees and other persons of concern worldwide, 11.8 million of which lived in Africa. The trends of territorial dispute and cultural conflict present today in Somalia can be traced back to British and Italian colonial partitions that occurred in Somalia and Kenya. These rifts were again reinforced during the Cold War when the United States and Russia invested their money, power and influence in these countries. The influx of arms which came in from the courting Cold War powers are, in part, responsible for the continuation of civil conflict along the border of Somalia and Kenya. Borders formed during colonial partition, reinforced during Cold War conflicts, are now again reinforced through “large, and no less political, flows of humanitarian assistance…” (156)

During the colonial division of lands, Britain and Italy divided between them an area which contained the Somali ethnic group. Britain created what is roughly present-day Kenya and Italy, in turn, formed what is now Somalia. At the time of independence (1960), the UN found that the majority of Somalis in Kenya preferred to be reincorporated with their Somali neighbors. Though
ostensibly concerned with assisting this Somali population split between two countries, the British were more overtly trying to placate the would-be leader of Kenya and so eventually reneged their promise to take recommendations from the UN, leaving the Somali population divided between two nations. Efforts to unify Somalis living in the Northern Province of Kenya have continued since independence.

In 1974 Somalia, influenced by the Soviet Union, invaded an area of the border shared with Ethiopia. Ethiopia had, up until the previous year, been an ally of the United States. The Ethiopian government attempted to annex this land. Ethiopia, unallied, asked for and received assistance from the Soviet Union. The Somali’s felt betrayed by the Soviet Union and forced them out of a military base, which was then consequently taken over by U.S. military forces. The Soviet Union combined efforts with Cuba, forcefully attempting to remove Somali forces from the border region in Ethiopia.

The borders, though acknowledged to be colonial constructs, were maintained by the OAU (Organization of African Unity) in order to take the easiest road to maintaining peace between nations. Many Somalis living in the Northern Territory have never lived on lands inside the Somali border. Rather than giving up their lands, they prefer that their lands become a part of Somalia. Regardless of external pressure from the OAU and the United States, the Kenyan government has steadfastly refused to cede any land to Somalia and told Somalis who wanted to be unified to “pack their camels and go to Somalia.” Since 1967 the Somali government has denounced any claim on the Northeast Province.

The United States directly intervened in Somalia by mounting Operation Restoration Hope in December 1992 in response to civil war. A UN peacekeeping force—UNISOM II—later replaced marines in May 1993. Somali refugees who sought asylum were rounded up from urban areas and other sections and sent randomly (not in family units) to camps and border sites in the Northeastern Province.

Since colonial times Somalis have found themselves both forcefully separated and forcefully united with other Somalis, inside the borders of Somalia itself or in refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya. They are repeatedly the last ones to determine on which lands they will be located. The author contrasts the immobility of refugees with the “hypermobility of capital” coming through the international humanitarian aid organizations.


**ABSTRACT**

In this article, I employ the concept of repossession to analyze the politics of memory in the rural country of Yongjing, northwest China. I focus on an innovative social movement that works toward community recovery from the devastating impacts of forced resettlement and farmland destruction. I suggest why this movement should be considered a social process by which memories of trauma were transformed into a political discourse that holds a powerful state bureaucracy accountable for multiple injuries inflicted in the name of economic development. The concept of repossession, strictly defined within the context of collective actions,
refers to the attempts of displaced and disenfranchised peasants to regain a politically silenced voice of resentment, reestablish a material base of village life, and reconstruct a ruined landscape of popular religion.

SUMMARY

Since 1949 forced resettlement programs due to dam construction in China have displaced 10.2 million peasants. (The Three Gorges Dam project will displace another (1.2 million). Although the national average for those living below the poverty level is 9%, disproportionately 70% of the 10.2 million resettled peasants live below poverty standards. Those displaced during the Maoist Regime sought compensation for their resettlement onto lands that were agriculturally unworkable. They also sought recognition for the difficulties that resettlement had caused in the marriages of their children and the loss of tombs of their ancestors. These peasants began to use the custom of "speaking bitterness" in public, a practice begun under the Communist Regime to embarrass and degrade pre-communist regimes. Stories became concretized over time, becoming generalized representatives of the specific ills these people had suffered. In this fashion (as well as by building village temples as to reconstruct lineage and as memorial "texts," the second generation of displaced people continue to take up their parents claims that the government owes them compensation for the loss of their lands and poorly executed resettlement.

After years of repressing those who claimed their rights were not being respected, the Chinese government eventually began to compensate those who had been resettled in the previous half century. This was directly related to the continued attempts of the peasants to receive recognition from the Communist regime. “(C)onsciousness of rights came from traditional notions regarding interpersonal and state-society relations…. The memorial movement in Yongjing had the effect of publicly invalidating the politically engineered notion of people's indebtedness to the Party.” (6)


ABSTRACT

Challenging the idea that all refugees need to reestablish a new home in their country of refuge in order to avoid social disorganization and collective losses of identity and self-worth, this article shows that Bosnian Muslim families in Israel maintain family cohesion and their ethnic national identity while they live in limbo. This limbo, however, is relatively secure and stable, and due to the policies of the Israeli government, is family and work oriented, enduring that Bosnian family heads can provide for their children, maintain gender complimentarity within the household, and play out their hope that the war will end soon. Unlike their counterparts in refugee camps, Bosnian refugees in Israel have not become dependent or typified by the malaise and social disorganization that often accompanies displacement. This article ends by suggesting that the policy of creating limbo, rather than forcing long-term commitment to a new country, may indeed prevent cultural clashes and social problems, especially among war-torn refugees.
SUMMARY

To find a home—a feeling of belonging in a known social geographic space—is often reported as the prime yearning of refugees and immigrants. [127]

Refugees, by nature, inhabit a liminal space—figuratively and literally. They are no longer in their homeland, living lifestyles full of familiar faces and practices. Instead they are forced to alter their daily habits, aligning their practices with the new conditions present in the place where they are refugees. This sense of liminality, being between places and states of being, is compounded by the sense of indefinite temporal designations.

In an unusual case, a small refugee group of Bosnian Muslims are living on a Kibbutz in Israel where they have jobs and housing. Some of the refugees work locally for the national park system as well. They are able to continue to eat familiar foods and spend time together with their immediate families. They do not, however, have their own lands to work, nor are their extended families close by. This reduces the time they would normally devote to food and family and so most men in the families have second jobs. Although they participate in the kibbutz activities, they continue to consider themselves as temporary residents.


The purpose of this paper is to spin out, through the telling of the story in Wheatland and its aftermath, a socio-theoretical analysis of the production of landscape. More specifically, I will show the central role played by the state (or state apparatuses) in landscape production. Both traditional landscape theories (the “Berkeley School”) and more recent theoretical developments concerning the metaphor of “landscape as text” have paid little attention to how the state is centrally implicated in landscape production in the modern world. As the story of Wheatland and one state agency, the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, will show, the state apparatuses may operate in important ways to shape the morphology of the material landscape. Behind the specific story of the Wheatland riot and its reaction, this paper is about developing a theory of how and why state apparatuses (and more generally the state) intervene in landscape production.[92]

SUMMARY

In 1913, in the midst of the hops harvest, 200 out of 3000 workers staged a wildcat strike on a sizable rural farm in CA. They were responding to unfulfilled promises by the farm's owners for comparable wages and decent living and labor conditions. When the two farm owners scoffed at the demands of the workers, the IWW inspired strikers gathered to sing songs and hold a peaceable strike. Members of the nearby town formed a posse and arrived with a district attorney and several deputies. After one deputy fired a shot into the air, mayhem broke loose and a general riot in which four people were killed and many injured, ensued.

This riot inspired the state of California to research and codify new standards for labor conditions for rural migrant workers and recent urban immigrants. According to the state’s California’s
Commission for Immigration and Housing (CCIH), the conditions on the Durst farm were nothing unusual. For 3000 workers there were between 8 to 11 open pit toilets, two wells for all water needs (both of which were contaminated), no drinking waters in the picking fields, poorly constructed sleeping structures and too few weight pickers, which forced people to stand in lines for up to four hours in order to have their harvested hops weighed. These poor standards were based on many years of over-supply of labor. The labor force stunted their expectations for decent labor conditions based on a labor-glutted market. The employers, taking advantage of this over supply of labor and corresponding low demand of the workers themselves, maintained poor conditions as the norm. For both employers and labor force, these conditions had become the norm.

Appalling environmental conditions, in other words, were the result of social relations as they had “naturally” developed between workers and employers. They reflected the development of a culture of production. Now these relations were changing and both workers and employers would have to adapt the habits they had developed. [96]

Humanitarian concerns were not the only issue at the heart of CCIW’s response to the IWW and to the Wheatland Riot. They were also responding to the need to maintain a steady labor force not interrupted by organized revolt. The CCIH considered the potential for labor unrest a potential hazard for a stable local economy that relied most heavily on agriculture.

By including a review of several theoretical approaches to the notion of “landscape,” Mitchell puts forward the idea that landscape is “constructed” by social and ecological factors and events. The arena for action is always in the context of power relations. California’s early agriculture landscape was created through the labor relations, the mistreatment of workers by agricultural employers, the eventual revolt of workers to those conditions and the response of the state to control and normalize conditions provided by employers, their relations with workers. This led to more stable economic conditions for the state and it’s residents. Mitchell emphasizes that the state takes it upon itself “to ensure reproduction of society as a whole.” He quotes Gramsci in making the point that the state is “…adapting ‘civilization’ and the morality of the broadest popular masses to the apparatus of production…” (Mitchell 103). The state does this through the manufacturing of consent, thus reducing the risk of revolt.


ABSTRACT

Post-1967 Jewish settlement activities in the occupied territories are described in light of the historical development of the Zionist settlement process, and in light of data from a field survey conducted in August 1985. The paper considers the implications of these settlement activities for Israel’s settlement structure as a whole, for the social geography of Israeli-Palestinian relations, and for previous attempts to build a theoretical framework for a study on the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

SUMMARY

At the end of the European Middle Ages, Jewish communities ceased to be segregated from
other sectors of the population. In general, Jews came to be more accepted as a group. Oddly enough their incorporation into society posed a challenge to Jews who did not want to lose their identity as a people. Since nationalism was replacing feudalism as the “generative” process of social organization, this challenge drove Jews to seek some sort of territorial homeland. Their status in “Israel” was as a minority population (in comparison to the Muslim population) co-governed by British authority. Without an actual designated territory, Jews in the territory now called Israel concentrated on creating a powerful market and consumption base, thus creating communities (such as kibbutz) in rural agricultural areas. This gave them independence from the Muslim markets for supply and marketing of goods as well as reestablishing a sense of self-sufficient community.

When the British mandated a territorial coexistence with Palestinian Muslims, Jews then had a physical space in which they could locate their nationality. Urban areas were created without a corresponding material base, reversing the norm in which the urban areas hold more economic draw than the rural areas. In the case of Jewish territories, the rural areas had a longer history of community and the ability to satisfy supply and demand. Maps and charts diagram the migration of both men and women throughout Israel for labor purposes, exemplifying the impact of satisfying material needs on the construction of the nation of Israel.
Maps are powerful tools often mistakenly imagined to be purely factual representations of geography, resources, territorial divisions and land holdings. Mapping is a practice, not only informational in nature, but also instrumental to the garnering and use of power as well as the creation, adoption and refortification of identities. Maps reflect political positions. They point out who has the power to determine spatial boundaries and their use. Ethnic conflicts, conflicts of resource use, understandings and boundaries of “property,” the space in which one is allowed and one is not are all reflected in the creation and use of maps.

More and more, maps are constituting an arena of contestation. As various NGOs are educating local populations and community organizations in the arts of GIS and map-making, there is a force of counter mapping in which less powerful constituents are learning to use one form of the “vocabulary” of power, maps. These readings show the diverse ways in which maps are used and the ways that maps reflect perspectives on and of nationality, land rights and traditional versus private holdings. Maps are a very clear example of a practice being both constituting and constituted. In other words, maps are the products of people who already have a particular perspective. But maps are also used to create perspective, to create a reality such as a land holding or an ethnic border. In this way, maps must always be seen as a practice which serves some particular purpose and creates a particular reality which can be contested just as readily as it can be accepted.


ABSTRACT

International diplomacy has been one of a number of practices which have performatively constituted “Bosnia” as a particular place with specific people, so that it could be rendered as a problem requiring a particular solution. Even when, as in the case if the Dayton accords, negotiators claim they have desired the reintegration of Bosnia, their reliance on a powerful set of assumptions about identity, territoriality and politics—a particular political anthropology—has meant the ethnic partition of a complex and heterogeneous society is the common product of the international community’s efforts. Paying attention to the role of cartography, this paper explores the apartheid-like logic of international diplomacy’s political anthropology, the way this logic overrode non-nationalist options and legitimized exclusivist projects during the war, and considers the conundrum this bequeaths Bosnia in the post-Dayton period as a number of significant local forces seek to overcome division.

This article is accompanied by a website which presents the relevant maps from the periods of international diplomacy discussed here, along with further commentary. Referred to in the article as Campbell (1999), this website can be accessed at http://www.newcastle.ac.uk/~npol/maps/bosnia.

SUMMARY

The question taken up in this article is one of partition and/or reintegration of Bosnian,
Serbian and Croatian populations in a single territory. At the heart of this question are conceptual assumptions about ethnicity and nationalism and mapping practices as they provide “information” in the debate concerning homogeneity vs. heterogeneity of the populations. The conflation of ethnicity and nationalism contribute to an apartheid being instituted in Europe at the same time it was being dismantled in South Africa. Proposals were made and continue to be made that, in the case of the former Yugoslavia, separate territories should be maintained for each “nationality” which is understood to contain a homogeneous ethnic group. The census of 1991 provides the basis for an ethno-graphic mapping of the area. The Dayton agreement followed a policy of multi-ethnicity that was in reality an “enclave ethnicity” proposing assigning different “ethnicities” to their own territory within a single nation.

This is a case in which identity politics, tied to territorial claims, is at the center of diplomatic negotiations. This author criticizes diplomats for not seeking enough advice and perspective from academics who might have suggested ways to maintain plurality within the same territory. A different understanding of possible solutions would be based in the “problematization of identity and the power relations which affected the division in the first place.” (427)

This article focuses on the viewpoint of international diplomats and politicians in trying to rectify the difficulties in Bosnia along ethnic and nationalist lines. The author does not address the ways in which the various populations, Bosnians, Serbs and Croatians “imagine” themselves “ethnically” or “nationally.”

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This commentary outlines some of the basic questions that arise around the idea of a “philosophy-free” mapping system. The question is posed whether or not spatial practices can be neutral in social affairs. The writers question if there can be a return to positivism which sees rationality as a serum for the disease of relativity. They quote Newman as saying, “for many of us, the concept of a value-free science does not exist in our vocabulary.” (3) The point being that GIS should be regarded as a tool that reflects or bolsters certain values and interests. All “sides,” states, private organizations, groups (whether based on ethnic/tribal affiliations or some sort of community organization) and individuals are able to utilize GIS information for their interests.

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ABSTRACT

Through a close reading of a land dispute in northeastern Nepal, I examine broader shifts in local-national political relations as Nepal is transformed from a kingdom to a nation-state. In addition to documenting the shift from a customary to a private system of land tenure, this case raises broader questions about the relationship between identity, politics, and place, and the impact of globalization on these relations.
SUMMARY

Does the globalization of culture cause the detachment of identity from place, or does the weakening of national boundaries allow for a resurgence of local identities attached to local places? “I argue that ultimately the porousness of boundaries is less important than the agency of actors seeking to attach their boundaries to the cultural, political and physical landscape.” (116-117)

Until the 1990s under the traditional kipat system of land tenure in Nepal, property boundaries were left unmarked and unrecorded. Land claims were made orally as opposed to physical demarcation (boundary lines) or official legal claims with the government. Land disputes were argued primarily through stories, and, the author argues, “clever stories make good fences.” (118) Stories often traced acquisition as far back as four or five generations. Taxation is based on the history of the land and not just on who is the current owner. This informal system of land holding and disputes of holdings is now becoming more formalized with greater governmental involvement.

In the recent 40 years, the settlement of land disputes has increasingly moved from face-to-face oral negotiations to state-run in court disputes. “In practice, an individual's acceptance of another's claim to the land depends on the intersection between what the government declares to be legal and what a given community believes to be a legitimate claim to the land at any point.” (121) The affects of ostricization in a small village based on what others believe to be unfair land claims can be just as powerful as what courts decide. However, once a governmental court maps a property, this serves as the legal basis for further disputes. This shift indicates that the local characterization of history (as related to land holdings) is currently in active dialogue with a more nationalist reading of identity reflected in state determinations of land holdings. As the nation-state has become more powerful, the traditional forms of land acquisition and ownership have weakened. “The issue was not how or whether kipat lands were divided. What mattered...was who did the dividing.” (133)


SUMMARY

In this paper, I aim to critically analyze the ways in which these meanings for ‘self-determination’ have been constructed, in particular aspects of government policy that have been defined and pursued within the state's own ideological framework, contrary to the holistic and diverse nature of indigenous empowerment strategies....I hope to show in this paper how the Australian nation-state legitimates Aboriginal self-determination by confining it to structures and maps of the non-Aboriginal realm—attempting to contain the “Other” and its attempts to 'implement alternative practices based on...vision[s] of local identity, specific knowledges, and cultural systems...I seek to go beyond the specificity of this Australian case study, contributing to the on-going rewriting of the field of geopolitics, most notably in relation to the theories of sovereignty, the nation-state and the colonial map. (Gibson: 47, 48)

Gibson makes the argument that there has been a rise in international attention given to indigenous groups around the globe. It is no coincidence that this coincides with many nations rethinking their colonial histories thanks to the discourses and practices of civil rights movements, subaltern
studies, human rights movements and a variety of other social and civic movements. Oddly enough, the form of indigenous rights movements and the discourses making claims to lands, resources, rights of sand is sovereignty and self-governance are modeled after to norms and rights established in the “first world.”

Issues of land—ownership, land title, use—are resulting in the reevaluation of an unequal power relationship. Issues of land are calling for a reconsideration of indigenous peoples place and rights in modern nation states which causes and is caused by nation states reconsidering their (hegemonic) relationship with lower or “non’ classes. Human rights agendas, tied both to the left and to the neoliberal agenda, are forcing states to account for their ‘colonial” and “domineering” selves. It is almost as if they have to reify themselves in order to combat larger forces.

The phrase “self-determination” used both by governmental figures and laws and by indigenous groups should not be assumed to represent a monolithic concept. Within each group, the government and the Aborigines, what it means to self-determine. The differences in conceptualization are witnessed when dealing with land rights issues of indigenous peoples with the state. The state continues to function as a colonial system which dominates the native system in terms of prominence of its laws and rights over any of those existing before and during the establishment and maintenance of the colonial state in Australia.


SUMMARY

Although academics studying resistance have expanded their consideration of actual historical, geographical and cultural circumstances of the actors involved, Moore pushes for a further layering of the discussion to include the “polyvalent politics of place.” (346) Grounding his research in current and historical resettlement programs in Zimbabwe’s eastern highlands, Moore criticizes the theoretical oversimplification of resistance represented in the static dichotomy of locations of power (“on-stage”)and locations of resistance (“off-stage”), adding gender, age and ethnicity to the already established consideration of class.


SUMMARY

Any way you draw it, mapping is a political act. Maps are used to indicate the presence of national resources such as timber, waterways and minerals. They are used to indicate the presence of national counterinsurgent forces, biologically diverse or fragile areas, where people are allowed and not allowed to live, where borders exist. Maps have been a tool for powerful forces, representing
space as occupied by certain features and not occupied by others (occupied by usable forests, but omitting the human populations living in the forests, for instance). The appropriation of maps, a “counter-mapping,” by those less powerful is one form of challenging governmental and large business interests. Various maps produced that represent the same geographic space demonstrate the values of various constituents involved in producing the maps. If mapping is considered a sort of elite language, then counter-mapping represents a secularization of that language, allowing more people access to a powerful form of representation.

Peluso mentions that, at the same time, there are some instances in which local populations may actually benefit from their absence of representation on “state” maps. Governmental surveillance indicates some level of governmental involvement, often transforming the dominance of customary law regarding land and resources to the dominance of governmental standards.

Peluso gives both an historic and current perspective on how maps are used by various classes to establish and challenge spatial designations of forest, wood gathering, agricultural and specific ownership. In the specific case of land use in Indonesia, customary laws governing land acquisition and allocation of resources are compared with that of the government’s. Although land is already occupied and customarily “owned” by various ethnic groups, including the Dyaks, the government has ignored these claims and assigned lands to forest reserves and forest concessions. Both national and international non-governmental agencies have provided the technology and skills that provide a picture of land use and ownership that challenges those maps produced by the Indonesian government. The question remains as to whether the governmental will recognize that these maps contain valuable and useful information.

Like maps created by powerful political, social and economic players, the practice of counter-mapping has its own set of questions attached to it. When NGOs provide “counter-maps,” “the key theoretical questions concerning the impacts of counter-mapping on resource control are to what degree new notions of territoriality reflect older ones; how the reinvention of these traditions benefits or works to the detriment of customary practice, law, and resource distribution; and how the intervention of NGOs (whether locally, nationally, or internationally based) affects villagers access to and control over forest resources.” (393) In addition, when customary law takes the form of a map, does this have the effect of codifying what is in practice flexible and dynamic?

Based on a constantly fluctuating set of conditions related to power, wealth and meaning of institutions, social structures and rights, it is important to focus on “process” when studying property relations, environmental change, land tenure in agrarian resources. Just as traditional law and resource use as well as governmental resource practices all change so should the maps that represent them. Maps are one flexible tool among many for exerting power over resources, land and people.
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ELIZABETH DOHERTY is a doctoral candidate at the Center for Folklore and Ethnography at the University of Pennsylvania.
Founded in late 1996, the BERKELEY WORKSHOP ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS emerged from a long-standing commitment to environmental studies on the Berkeley campus and from the presence of a core group of faculty whose research and scholarly interests linked environment, culture, and political economy. The workshop draws together over fifty faculty and doctoral students from San Francisco Bay Area institutions (the University of California campuses at Berkeley, Santa Cruz, and Davis, and Stanford University) who share a common concern with problems that stand at the intersection of the environmental and social sciences, the humanities and law. The Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics has three broad functions:

- to assist graduate training and scholarly research by deepening the theoretical and methodological toolkit appropriate to understanding environmental concerns in an increasingly globalized world;
- to bring together constituencies of local and international scholars, activists, and policy makers for transnational conversations on environmental issues; and,
- to bring community activists and policymakers to Berkeley as Residential Fellows, thus providing synergistic possibilities for developing new learning and research communities.

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