

## Summaries

**Benedikt Korf & Conrad Schetter: Spaces of Exception: Carl Schmitt's Philosophy of Space, Frontiers and Ungoverned Territories.** Although the social sciences have experienced a spatial turn, the philosophy of space pertinent in the work of Carl Schmitt has largely been absent in this agenda. Through critically reviewing Schmitt's theory of space and its subsequent elaboration in the work of Giorgio Agamben, we investigate contested spaces as empirical sites where "spaces of exception" manifest themselves in specific forms of (de-)territorialisation. Looking specifically at the example of state-supported land appropriation in the Somali frontier in Ethiopia and spatial imaginations of ungoverned territories in Afghanistan pertinent in US think tanks, we come to argue that both empirical sites are characterized by a geographical imagination of space, or what Carl Schmitt termed "herrenloses Land" (space without a ruler). "Frontier" and "ungoverned territories" as spatial imaginations and spatial practices (of states, of occupying forces) nevertheless trigger diverging formations of territorialization. While spatial practices are still territorial ("Landnahme") in the case of the (Somali) frontier, spatial imaginations of ungoverned territories legitimate localized, network-based and temporary impositions of control. Theoretically, these different formations of territorialization are reflected in the different conceptualizations of the "state of exception" that Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben propose; thus, while for Schmitt, the state of exception is topographic (containerized in time and space), for Agamben it is topological, and, therefore, it escapes such defined boundaries.

**Nikolai Roskamm: Reflecting on the "Spatial Turn": Objectives, Determinism and "Space as a Social Construction".** Everybody is talking about space. In fact, for some time now scholars in the social and cultural sciences have been giving particular attention to space and space theory. The starting point of this paper is the proclamation of a "spatial turn" in American radical geography in the late 1980s. After a critical reconstruction of the history of the "spatial turn" two main scholars come under observation: Henry Lefebvre and Michel Foucault. This paper shows the construction of these scholars as references of the "spatial turn". Looking specifically at the core of the criticism of the spatial turn – the reproach of determinism – this paper discusses and analyses the most popular spatial turn claim: the argument that there is no danger of determinism because of the nature of space as a "social construction". The aim of the paper is to explore the meanings of these positions and assess why they are still important for current discourses.

**Bernd Belina & Judith Miggelbrink: Space, Law and Indigeneity – On Indigenous Peoples' Struggles over Land Rights, the Example of the Saami in Finland.** This paper discusses the relationship between space, law and indigeneity by building on the Lefebvrian conceptualization of the social production of space, a materialist understanding of law and critical theories of nationalism and indigeneity. We argue that in Western nation-states indigeneity is seen as an important strategy and resource used by indigenous groups to legitimize their land claim rights. More specifically,

the text looks at a conflict between Saami reindeer herders, on the one side, and *Metsähallitus*, the Finnish government agency and wood manufacturers, on the other, in which some herders used their indigeneity strategically in an international campaign. We discuss three ways in which (the discourse on) socially produced space was relevant in the conflict: first, how, in the light of definitions of indigeneity in international law, the claims to a specifically indigenous production of space through reindeer herding was disputed; second, how current regionalization affects reindeer herding and Saami rights; and, third, how continuing reindeer herding is necessary as a basis for Saami land claim rights. As demonstrated by the case study of Saami reindeer herders, we conclude by arguing that using indigeneity as a strategy results in messy disputes over history and identity that can have counter-productive effects for those using the strategy.

**Ulrike Schultz: “Juba is our place” – The Politics of Place in the New South Sudan.** The history of the politics of place in South(ern) Sudan, in which certain places have been assigned to specific groups of people, is long and has been accompanied by ethnicized violence. Starting with the colonial ethnic classification system, the post-colonial politics of place were reinforced by the policies of repatriation, which were implemented by International Organizations after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. Refugees and displaced people have been assigned to specific places to which they are supposed to return. Accordingly South(ern) Sudanese living in the city of Khartoum have been constructed as displaced people – as people who are “out of place” and need to be “put in place”. The assumption that people belong to certain places is reflected in the debate on Juba, the capital of the new South Sudan state. Different groups are claiming that “Juba is our place” and, thereby, are referring to different forms of belonging. Based on fieldwork conducted in Khartoum, Juba and Kakuma from 2006-2012, this paper takes the case of the Bari people. By highlighting different forms of belonging, this paper argues that there are different ways of imagining Juba. Juba is conceptualized as the place of the Bari people but it is also the place where the nation of South Sudan is imagined. Furthermore, places are not only places of identification but also physical locations in which people have experiences, create social relations and make memories. In the context of South Sudan, the different ways in which Juba is perceived are often contradicting. Finally, it can be observed that daily experiences within concrete places often become invisible and are superimposed by powerful discourses on belonging.

**Alke Jenss: Displacement as Policy: Land Conflicts in Colombia.** Rural land conflicts in Colombia are typical of such conflicts in Latin American, but Colombia is, at the same time, an exception: nowhere else has the violent displacement of people from regions with promising agro-industrial or mining projects, and the outsourcing of violence to paramilitary groups, been so systematic. Out of a total population of approximately 44 million, the United Nations now estimates between 3.6 and 5.2 million internally displaced Colombians. This article analyses the violent reconfiguration of rural Colombia. It does not just look at the actual conflicts but

also at the relations of domination which, in turn, influence these conflicts and the production of space. Neil Brenner's (2004) approach allows for a critical analysis of the developments in Colombia – most notably how state strategies have radically restructured rural spaces from the 1980s onwards and how they more or less constituted a coherent state-spatial project during Álvaro Uribe Vélez's two presidential terms from 2002-2010. More than other space-theoretical approaches, Brenner combines the process of spatial structuring with the question of the driving forces at different institutional scales for the remaking of state space. Doing this, Brenner adds a spatial perspective to Bob Jessop's (2008) strategic-relational approach to state theory and enables a differentiated analysis of processes in sub-national spaces and institutional scales, the modalities employed and the relation to subaltern spatial strategies. This makes this approach extremely interesting and helpful to better understand the complex landscape of rural conflicts in Colombia.

**Stephanie Schütze: “Demandando un trato digno, de iguales”. Demanding Equal Political Rights in Transnational Space.** This article analyzes how Mexican migrants in the United States create transnational spaces of political participation in-between localities, regions and the two nations – the U.S. and Mexico. Their fight for political rights at various levels is a reflection of, and an answer to, the multidimensional inequalities that they experience on both sides of the border. By analyzing the political interaction between members and organizations of local communities in the Mexican state of Michoacán and migrant activists in Chicago, the article delineates how Mexican migrants fight for equal rights in different political spaces and how these spaces are connected transnationally. It shows how Mexican migrants first gained voice in their home communities and regions through participation in transnational infrastructure projects and how this empowerment at the local and regional levels then encouraged them to fight for their political rights at the national level in both Mexico and in the U.S. Finally, by connecting the different spheres and levels of political participation, the article offers a way of conceptualizing the complexity and multidimensionality of transnational political spaces.

**Miriam Bishokarma: Imaginative Geographies as Strategies in the Struggle for “Gorkhaland”.** In addition to notions that movements for new states in India (and elsewhere) mainly rely on identity- or development-based rhetoric, I argue that geography itself also plays an essential role in struggles over space. Specifically, strategic imaginative geographies based on selective presentations of the contested space's characteristics and history form important elements in the processes through which regions are constructed and through which different actors legitimize their conflicting demands. In conjunction with ethno-national resources, such as shared memories of a rich ethno-history or a “golden age”, belief in ethnic election and the belonging to an “ancestral homeland” create “ethnoscapes” that foster regional identity while at the same time reproducing the territorial logic of the nation-state in a post-colonial context. I illustrate these processes by focusing on the district of

Darjeeling and its adjoining areas of Terai and Dooars in North West Bengal/India where the so called “Gorkhas” are demanding a separate Union state “Gorkhaland”.

**Markus V. Höhne: Governance and Order beyond the State in Somalia.** This article provides an overview of the most important institutions and actors that have played a role in delivering a minimum of political order and governance in various parts of Somalia since 1991, sometimes simultaneously. Among them are traditional authorities, shari’a courts, warlords, businessmen/women, local NGOs, Islamist militias and diasporic groups. The main argument is that statelessness does not equal lack of rule and anarchy. Instead, alternative political orders strive in the absence of functioning state institutions and these orders can acquire a substantial degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the concerned (local and transnational) populations. The external interventions that have characterized the international approach to Somalia since 1991 have aimed to rebuild formal statehood. These interventions have largely been counter-productive as they have ignored or even fought against most of the existing and emerging alternative political orders, with the exception of the warlords. This has added to the continuation of war and statelessness. The examples of Somaliland and Puntland, two state-like entities in northern Somalia that are based on a hybrid political system, illustrate that stability and peace are more likely to be reached in the absence of external interventions.

