

# Introduction

## *Border Experiences in East Asia and Europe Some Theoretical and Conceptual Thoughts*

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### Introduction

This is a book that seeks to compare border experiences in East Asia and Europe in a number of thematic clusters, ranging from economics, tourism and food production to ethnicity, migration and conquest. It thus seems appropriate to start with a chapter that reflects on the meaning of borders more generally. For many years now the discipline of border studies has been developing in highly transdisciplinary and interesting ways, and there are now a number of introductions, handbooks and encyclopaedias that provide excellent overviews of the wealth of theoretical approaches, disciplinary perspectives and empirical research that has been carried out in this field of study.<sup>1</sup> Research centres have been appearing, such as the Centre for International Border Research at Queens University in Belfast,<sup>2</sup> the Center for Inter-American and Border Studies at the University of Texas in El Paso,<sup>3</sup> the Centre for Border Research in Nijmegen<sup>4</sup> and the Eurasia Unit for Border Research at Hokkaido University in Sapporo.<sup>5</sup> Journals such as the *Journal of Borderland Studies* have been established and linked to associations, in this case the Association of Borderland Studies.<sup>6</sup> In a brief chapter, I cannot possibly discuss all aspects in which diverse bodies of research have illuminated border experiences in recent years.

However, I would like to start with some reflections on definitions, demarcations and agendas that have been influential in border studies and that should be of interest to historians, to whom this volume is, above all, addressed. As this volume underlines, historians have much to learn from border studies, and as the articles in this collection show, they benefit enormously from taking into account the multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary nature of border studies.<sup>7</sup> Many articles in our volume are about state borders, which is why I want to discuss briefly the role of borders in state-centred territorial orders. Here, I highlight the necessarily peripheral nature of border regions and the development of border identities that are often different from state identities. In trans-state conglomerations, such as the European Union (EU), border regions often play an influential role in underpinning their legitimacy, as is clear from the EU's 'Europe of the regions' concept. Finally, I would like to draw attention to the importance of exclaves and enclaves for border experiences. Overall, the chapter is supposed to work as a very short introduction to the study of borders in historical perspective, which will contextualize the field more generally before we embark on a series of detailed case studies comparing East Asian and European borders over a wide thematic spectrum.

## **What Is in a Border?**

While in everyday usage it might be perfectly clear to people using the term 'border' what they mean in conversation,<sup>8</sup> scholarly definitions of what a border actually is are highly contested. One of the leading theorists in the field of border studies, Anssi Paasi, has described political borders as processes and institutions that are moulded over time by boundary-creating practices and discourses. They are often the result of political contestation, conflict and negotiation. To what extent competing practices and discourses materialized and were symbolized differed from place to place, and also changed over time.<sup>9</sup> Material borders, such as the Cold War border between East and West Germany, can be differentiated from conceptual or symbolical borders, such as the 'white sausage border' that demarcates southern from northern Germany.<sup>10</sup> Hard borders can turn into soft borders and vice versa. The Franco-German border in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century was one of the most contested in Europe. Yet in the second half of the twentieth century it became, in the context of the development of the European Union, one of the softest borders – to the extent that the border region of Alsace, once at the heart of three wars between the two countries within a seventy-year time period, now prides itself on being an in-between space.<sup>11</sup> The

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fluidity of borders is emphasized by the relational quality of territories that are often bounded by specific borders only for a limited amount of time.<sup>12</sup> Much research has emphasized the performative nature of borders, which draws attention to various agents who perform the border in very different ways.<sup>13</sup> The very fluidity of borders has led some researchers to talk about the ‘territorial trap’ in relation to desires to draw firm borders around territories.<sup>14</sup> Others have referred to ‘cartographic anxieties’ in relation to the same fixation with making borders stable and less porous.<sup>15</sup> Given the impossibility of fixing borders, Paasi has suggested to abandon any attempts to develop an overarching theory of borders. Instead he champions a multiplicity of perspectives, borrowing from diverse bodies of theory depending on what aspects of borders are being studied.<sup>16</sup>

Yet we can differentiate between different types of borders.<sup>17</sup> For a start, borders of nation states remain the most studied borders. However, next to them, there are cultural borders that may divide nation states or cut across them.<sup>18</sup> The same is true for ethnic and religious borders. Constructions of a ‘Christian Europe’,<sup>19</sup> for example, are made for exclusionary practices, denying belonging to non-Christian groups, or they could be made to push a bordered Europe in the direction of adopting particular values and norms. Borderlands that contain different ethnicities from the dominant ethnicity in the nation state have drawn particular attention.<sup>20</sup> We have linguistic borders – within nation states and transcending them.<sup>21</sup> The old saying that a language is just another dialect, but with an army, also points to linguistic diversity even within the same language group, and to the power that constitutes what might develop into a language. Then there are social borders – between different classes or groups of people constructed as being somehow socially different.<sup>22</sup> And, of course, we also have economic borders: customs unions and free trade zones are all about getting rid of borders.<sup>23</sup> Nation states sometimes create special economic zones in order to promote economic development. In all of these bordering processes, spatial and non-spatial alike, questions of power are very much to the fore in explaining why some constructions of borders are more successful than others. Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are vital in the construction of borders. These may have repercussions in law or they may operate at a more social level. What should be clear by now is that borders are multiscalar: they have not only different qualities but different spatial scales; indeed, they create spatialities and territorialities.<sup>24</sup>

Researchers have paid special attention to the gendering of borders. They have shown how gender ideologies have shaped lived experiences in borderlands, but they have also underlined that borderlands could play a vital role in contesting dominant gender ideologies. Borderlands have often been places of empowerment and opportunities for women, who have

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been powerful border creators but also important in facilitating contacts and communication across borders. As economic migrants have crossed borders, gender research on borderlands has focused on gendered labour markets on both sides of the border. Migration and assimilation theory has been put to good use in understanding how travelling gender ideologies on both sides of the border have influenced gender regimes at the border. Women have been highly symbolic border guards. They have been seen, through their role as mothers, educators and ‘homemakers’, as safeguarding the border against perceived enemies on the other side. At the same time, they have been represented as being particularly vulnerable to aggressions coming from the other side of the border and in need of special protection. Researchers have been particularly interested in exploring the diverse ways in which gender has intersected with class, race, ethnicity, religion and other constructions of identity at the border.<sup>25</sup>

Borders are constructed and implemented to demarcate and separate, yet in practice border regions often become contact zones where people on both sides of the border collaborate, cooperate and interact in manifold ways. The tensions created by interlinking processes of separation and interaction at the border lead to manifold ambiguities and practices.<sup>26</sup> The specific constellations that we find at the border depend to a large extent on the management of borders though a variety of state and non-state actors. In other words: what kind of border crossings are possible depends considerably on the ways in which the border in question is managed.<sup>27</sup> Scholars in border studies have therefore been moving the discipline away from a ‘line in the sand’ approach. Instead, they have successfully decentred studies on borders from being transfixed by lines on maps.<sup>28</sup> Studying alternative border imaginaries highlights the extent to which borders have been and continue to be contested. Rather than talking about ‘the border’, scholars are increasingly referring to ‘bordering practices’, as this allows them to focus on activities that constitute, sustain and modify borders. These bordering practices are moving targets, highly dynamic and fluid, strongly choreographed and often to be understood as a theatre spectacle. Given the labour that goes into constructing, maintaining and imaging borders, some scholars have also talked about ‘borderwork’.<sup>29</sup>

## **Glocalization and Trans-Border Experiences**

It is by no means a coincidence that border studies have been a booming field since the last decade of the twentieth century, as they benefitted from accelerated processes of globalization that have been a characteristic of the post-Cold War world emerging in the 1990s. The migration of

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tens of millions of people worldwide fleeing across a variety of different borders, as well as phenomena such as war, violence and economic misery, smuggling across borders, security concerns at the border and questions of assimilation policies vis-à-vis minorities in borderlands, are just some of the issues that have had strong contemporary relevance over recent decades, thereby contributing to the popularity of border studies.<sup>30</sup> All of these developments have highlighted the increasing porosity of the borders of nation states, where more and more decisions are no longer taken at the nation-state level. This is particularly true for the European Union, where a trans-nation-state level of decision-making is at the heart of efforts of closer integration of policy processes across the Union – a process not without its problems and resistances, as the exit of the United Kingdom from the EU underlines. Not only are decisions no longer taken exclusively at the level of the nation state, it has also been increasingly difficult for nation states to control their borders – in terms of movement of people as well as goods. In Europe but also globally, transnational organizations and institutions are becoming more important: Free Trade Agreement zones, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and Mercosur are just some examples of trans-nation-state institutions that have come more and more to the fore over recent decades. At the same time, however, we should not underestimate the resilience of the nation state as a category of identification and a meaningful reference point for many people in a rapidly globalizing world. The recent rise of right-wing populisms around the globe – from the US to India, and from Brazil to France – is directly related to the strength of national feeling in most parts of the world. Worldwide we have more than two hundred nation states with more than three hundred land borders. Furthermore, there are, according to different estimates, between six hundred and eight hundred nations that are still struggling to establish statehood – a clear indication that it would be premature to see the nation state as a thing of the past. For many decades now, not only in border studies but also in memory studies and various other transdisciplinary fields, the emphasis has been on transnational networks and links and on avoiding ‘methodological nationalism’.<sup>31</sup> This has had many beneficial effects on the disciplines in question, yet one has to be careful not to throw out the baby with the bathwater. Only 3 per cent of the world’s population in the early 2000s were living outside the borders of the states into which they were born.<sup>32</sup> For many of them, the nation state still represents an anchor in a deep and dangerous sea represented by globalization.

In this complex process of globalization and national resilience that has often been described in terms of ‘glocalization’, where do border regions stand? Historically, it is interesting to observe that many nationalists emerged

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from border areas.<sup>33</sup> At the border, nationalism, both state-promoted and arising from the midst of civil society, has often been particularly strong, as it has seemed necessary to fight an alleged or real threat to national belonging that was located just on the other side of the border. One of the chief ideologues of National Socialist Germany, Alfred Rosenberg, was a Baltic German. In his espousal of German nationalism he drew heavily from his experiences in the multicultural and multi-ethnic borderland territories of the Baltic.<sup>34</sup> Under conditions of glocalization since the 1990s, processes of deterritorialization are intricately bound up with processes of reterritorialization, leading to contested imaginaries of borders. Thus, for example, the language of Brexit in the UK was intricately bound up with reimagining the borders of the UK. The Channel was constructed as a firmer border – with Britain appearing as a global power with a global past, and a global future that allegedly could build on that past. Thus, in a lead editorial published by the *Daily Telegraph* on the day the British exit letter was delivered to Brussels, Boris Johnson outlined this future vision.<sup>35</sup>

## The Multidisciplinary Nature of Border Studies

It should be clear by now that the study of borders and borderlands necessitates at the very least a multidisciplinary approach. As we often find strong geopolitical tensions around borders, for instance around struggles for natural resources in sea waters claimed by Russia, China and Japan in the Far East, an international relations perspective on borders is often invaluable.<sup>36</sup> As wars have frequently been fought in and about borderlands, a military and strategic perspective is necessary to understand this.<sup>37</sup> The contestedness of borderlands has frequently led to strenuous attempts to integrate these borderlands firmly into the economic structures of the state to which they belong. At the same time, the borderlands themselves have had a strong interest in retaining beneficial economic links with regions that lay on the other side of the state border, and this could conflict with the political wishes of the state government. Hence, complex negotiations between borderland regions and central or regional forms of governments often followed. Economic expertise in one way or another has been central to issues relevant to the development of borderlands. Where the latter were underdeveloped, states have looked to economic means to support the borderlands economically in order to tie them closer to the state. Understanding how borderland societies have been working necessitates the skills of social scientists, who can tell us about how diverse social groups in borderlands interact and how they are represented by various social actors.<sup>38</sup> Given that borderlands have often been meeting points

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of different cultures, religions and ethnicities, producing both multiple synergies and tensions, cultural studies perspectives are also extremely useful in border studies. Postcolonial studies are often concerned with the borderlines between colonial and postcolonial societies and between the colonizers and the colonized. As at least some borderlands have been semi-colonial spaces, the theoretical arsenal of postcolonialism is invaluable to understanding those borderland societies. In particular, Homi Bhabha's notion of 'mimicry' as a technique employed by the colonized to mark out a space of their own vis-à-vis the colonizers has been very useful in understanding the relationship between borderlands and centres.<sup>39</sup> As several borderlands have been home to minority languages, linguistics has been a very important discipline in understanding the strong interplay between language and identity in many borderlands.<sup>40</sup> Finally, to avoid the curse of presentism, historians have been vital in presenting a longer-term perspective on borderlands, their existence and workings in previous times and their longer-term development, including the manifold changes that borders and borderlands have undergone over the course of time. Arguably, the field of border studies would benefit from being less present-centred and more historically minded, in order to understand the importance of historical path trajectories for explaining the workings of present-day borders and borderlands.<sup>41</sup> It would be easy to go on, as in particular geographers, ethnologists, anthropologists, archaeologists and literary scholars have all been working very productively in the field of border studies.

The various disciplines have studied borders and borderlands in a variety of different ways. One of the most central concerns in this multitude of themes has been the place of borders and borderlands for the principle of territorial integrity of nation states. This principle has been the backbone of the territorial order in Europe from the Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years War in 1648 until today. Borderlands were a challenge for the desire of the modern post-1648 state to homogenize its territories. The states, in their fixation on territorial integrity, implemented policies that attempted to fix and essentialize as well as naturalize borders, so as to hide their constructive, arbitrary and fluid nature. From the perspective of central state agencies, borderlands have been dangerous peripheries in need of tight supervision and integration. However, from the perspective of the borderlands, their function was not restricted to being barriers against possible enemies or filters of foreign influences. Borderlands were contact zones and meeting points, zones of cultural exchanges and transfers. The relational nature of borderlands on each side of the border creates multiple disjunctures, affective, identificatory, structural, organizational and territorial.<sup>42</sup> This complex positioning of borderlands has led researchers to call

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for examining ‘border landscapes’<sup>43</sup> and their fluidity over time – with peripheral regions becoming more central and, vice versa, central regions becoming peripheral.<sup>44</sup>

Arguably no border has been studied more than the Mexican–US border, where processes of migration and economic asymmetries on both sides have attracted particular attention.<sup>45</sup> For various themes it is often seen as a paradigmatic case and a benchmark for other studies on borders elsewhere in the world. Thus, at one level, it is a border at which a nation state, the US, seeks to defend its territorial integrity against unwanted in-migration. Therefore, a national ‘us’ is ‘defending’ itself against another ‘them’, here in the form of Mexican or Latin American migrants. Borders have played a crucial role in establishing the modern ‘regimes of territoriality’.<sup>46</sup> Yet the identity constructs at the border are not easily contained within such ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomies. Instead we find complex layers of local, regional, national and transnational identifications that interact with diverse social, religious, linguistic, cultural, ethnic and gender identities – many of which cannot be contained or restricted to one side of the border. Identity politics at the border are thus particularly contested and hot issues. If we take the example of the Chinese–Russian border, we see on the Chinese side a very uneasy construction of the border.<sup>47</sup> On the one hand we have museums celebrating the Russian–Chinese alliance in defeating Imperial Japan in the Second World War. On the other hand we have museums, such as the Aihui Historical Museum dedicated to Russian imperialism vis-à-vis China in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, where Russians appear as a highly antagonistic enemy. In this museum, there are also lessons to be learned for contemporary China from this traumatic border history: ‘Building strong national strength, consolidating national defense, and strong military is to guarantee the dignity of the state’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and the security of life and property.’<sup>48</sup> Given the central role of the Communist state in all expression of history politics in China, the views represented in museums tend to be, in most cases, very much in line with the Communist Party perspective, so we do not know to what extent such representations coincide with sentiments on the ground in the borderland, where Russian consumer items in shops appear to be very popular with Chinese consumers.<sup>49</sup>

The study of border identities is today very widely based on a constructivist consensus that space is socially and culturally constructed. The drawing of territorial boundaries has been and continues to be connected to the construction of those social and cultural identities.<sup>50</sup> This construction takes place both from above and from below. More recently there has been a definite shift to studying the agents that are active on the level of civil society, with many scholars focusing on the everyday life and culture

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in borderlands. Ethnographic approaches have been particularly prominent here.<sup>51</sup> Actor-centred approaches to borderland studies have increased our understanding of how meaning has been given to specific territories. The interaction of different actors, both in discursive processes and in social practices, ultimately defines forever unstable and shifting understandings of borders and borderlands. The importance of narratives for collective memory has been usefully applied to the memory landscapes in borderlands. The cultural productions of the meanings of memory through various media and other genres of memory production are relational and hardly ever unitary or consensual.<sup>52</sup> The contested nature of ‘mindscapes’<sup>53</sup> and memorial landscapes at the border raises the question of what kind of memory regimes dominate in borderlands. Here the differentiation between antagonistic, cosmopolitan and agonistic memory, introduced by Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen, might be an interesting tool with which to analyse these memory-scapes.<sup>54</sup> Studying how borderland memories have been meaningfully connected to the present will reveal the extent to which such memory work is not so much about acts of reliving the past or of resuscitating or reproducing experiences of it, but rather about analysing the acts of construction, reworking, reconfiguring and reinterpreting of that past.<sup>55</sup> Such memorial processes actively construct bordering processes.<sup>56</sup> In doing so, they also have, at times, the capability to challenge hegemonic discourses within the wider nation states.

## **Antagonism and Cosmopolitanism and Their Impact on Border Experiences**

One of the big differences between the two regions of the world that are the focus of this volume is that in East Asia we have highly antagonistic national memorial cultures, which have a huge impact on perceptions of borders and borderland. In contrast, the formation of the European Union after the Second World War and its remarkable development since then has been accompanied by the development of cosmopolitan memory frames that seek to overcome previous antagonisms between the different nation states in Europe. In this context, borders within the EU are de-emphasized, and borderlands become areas where memory discourses are keen to underline contact zones and cooperation rather than hostilities.<sup>57</sup> In particular, the popular idea of a ‘Europe of the regions’ seeks to deflect from the importance of nation states and instead highlight a level below that of the nation state, partly as such emphasis on regional identities will avoid the question of national antagonisms of the past. The EU has thus encouraged borderlands to celebrate their existence as

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meeting points of diverse cultures and ethnicities, thereby contributing to the diffusion and travelling of national ideas from one national space to another in an attempt to move towards a meaningful Europeanization of culture. The plurality of identities at the border thus almost foreshadows the ‘unity in diversity’ idea underpinning the dominant rationale of the EU today.<sup>58</sup> It is interesting that such conceptualizations of contemporary Europe almost seek to revive the spectre of a lost Europe, where, in the nineteenth century, especially in East Central and Eastern Europe, many regions were highly multicultural, multi-ethnic and multilingual in outlook. Much of this was lost in the ‘bloodlands’ of the twentieth century.<sup>59</sup> If we look, for example, at the presentation of the history of Europe in the House of European History in Brussels, we encounter a master narrative that presents the first half of the twentieth century as the dark foil against which a brighter future develops, first in Western Europe after 1945, and, after the fall of Communism around 1990, also in Eastern Europe. While the musealization of Europe has been based on diverse attempts to forge master narratives, it has often failed to go beyond the ‘Europe of the regions’ and the ‘unity of diversity’ narratives.<sup>60</sup> These are the ones that seek to provide a future perspective in which ‘ever closer integration’ is combined with notions of multiculturalism, in which borderland regions play a special role. It is part and parcel of the making of a new, complex geosociology of political identities, where local, regional, national and transnational overlap and form unstable and manifold identities across time and space, with varying political connotations.<sup>61</sup>

This political vision of Europe, promoted above all by the EU, has resulted, among other things, in a range of EU-funded projects on the border that have been, generally speaking, in line with the ideas of promoting the Europe of the regions, in which borderlands have played a special role as mediators and agents of political and cultural transfer. Scientific research was to underpin the construction of these new European identities. The vision of a post-national Europe overcoming the past antagonisms of European nation states could be strengthened through highlighting the positive contribution of borderlands to such a post-national future.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, projects have also paid attention to the EU’s external borders, seeking to avoid the construction of hard exterior borders and instead promoting cross-border contacts with Europe’s neighbours.<sup>63</sup> Yet those more fluent and cosmopolitan identities that have been in the making in the EU have recently been challenged by Eurosceptic and vernacular nationalist voices.<sup>64</sup> Borderlands have within those discourses re-emerged as zones of conflict, highlighting once again how borders are processes rather than products. Europe has not been the only place where transnational institutions and organizations have been studied in order to assess

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their potential for overcoming antagonistic forms of nationalism. In South America, the Mercosur has received considerable attention.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, the North American Free Trade Agreement area has been studied.<sup>66</sup> In East Asia there have been few internal attempts to move to transnational alliances. Everywhere where they have come into being, these transnational institutions have provoked, like in Europe, a vernacular nationalist backlash.

## **Enclaves/Exclaves as Borderlands**

Caught in between the conflicting desires of reducing the importance of borders as dividing lines and keeping those divisions as an important anchor of identity are the enclaves and exclaves that we can find around the world today. Scholars have distinguished between different types of enclaves and exclaves: first, independent enclaves such as the Vatican state or San Marino; secondly, hard territorial enclaves with firm physical borders; thirdly, non-territorial ‘soft’ enclaves, such as language, economic, cultural, ethnic or religious enclaves; and, fourthly, semi-enclaves that share at least one border, which may be a sea border, with the ‘motherland’. These different types of enclaves and exclaves face different types of conflict. Some are about sovereignty, often involving the surrounding ‘foreign’ state and the ‘motherland’. There are also many specific issues concerning enclaves and exclaves that can result in conflict between the enclave or exclave and the surrounding territory, but also sometimes the ‘motherland’. These include issues of migration, access, smuggling and the actual fixing of the border. Finally, there are substituting conflicts, where the enclave or exclave is just a pawn in a wider conflict between the surrounding state and the state to which the enclave or exclave belongs.<sup>67</sup> Enclaves and exclaves have been particularly prone to these types of conflict, as they violate the principle of the territorial integrity of nation states and are thus a source of potential instability to them – both those that have to look after the exclave and those that have to deal with an enclave in their midst. They often represent challenges to administrative hierarchies and territorial jurisdictions working within states. This is also why in Europe in the period of nationalism and hyper-nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, most of the hard enclaves and exclaves disappeared from the map. War, annexation, sales, territory swaps – they all contributed to the demise of hard enclaves and exclaves in Europe. Today they are an exception, but in other parts of the world, they are far more common. In the global perspective, colonialism and imperialism had a major impact on the formation of enclaves and exclaves, such as Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Macao, Ceuta and Melilla.

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One fascinating example that demonstrates how many of the issues affecting borderland studies also affect the study of enclaves and exclaves is the case of Kaliningrad.<sup>68</sup> Before the end of the Second World War it was known as the city of Königsberg and was located in the region of Eastern Prussia that belonged to Imperial Germany between 1871 and 1918. It was a multicultural and multi-ethnic space, but was dominated by German culture. In the interwar period, as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty and the resurfacing of the Polish nation state that had been eradicated from the map of Europe by the imperial alliances of Prussia, the Habsburg and the Romanov empires, Königsberg and parts of Eastern Prussia became a German exclave and a Polish enclave. The National Socialist conquest of Europe reunited Eastern Prussia temporarily with Germany, but the defeat of Germany in the Second World War saw a western shift of Poland and Königsberg, and the area around it, alongside the three Baltic republics, became part of the Soviet Union. It was now renamed Kaliningrad. It was strategically important to the Soviet Union as the only ice-free harbour for the Soviet navy. The Soviet plan for the city and region was to build the new Communist ‘city beautiful’, in which the German past played no role. After the collapse of the Soviet Union it became a Russian exclave, bordering the Baltic republic of Lithuania and Poland. Many of the conflicts surrounding, for example, smuggling, migration, economic cooperation and a range of substitute conflicts surfaced here during the 1990s. Of particular interest has been the discussion surrounding the identity of the city and the oblast of Kaliningrad. In 2005 the city celebrated 750 years of its history, and one year later, in 2006, it celebrated sixty years of Kaliningrad, highlighting the ambiguities inherent in identity discourses in the city and region.<sup>69</sup> In 2005 the city was presented with several gifts from the surrounding nations, including Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Germany, and it was intriguing that every nation gave a present, usually a monument, alluding to the significance of the history of Kaliningrad for the history of their respective nation state. In particular, the German past of the city has been rediscovered from the 1990s onwards, and especially intellectual circles in the city have been speaking up in favour of strengthening the cultural pasts of the city that relate to German culture. In response the Russian state has implemented a range of policies in order to strengthen the Russianness of the exclave. In the museum landscape of the city, conflicting messages about the identitarian anchors of Kaliningrad can be observed, but the history politics of the Russian state has highlighted the links of the city and region to Russia. It is funding visits of all schoolchildren in Kaliningrad to Moscow and the ‘motherland’ of Russia, and the school history curricula teach mainly the local and regional history in relation to Russian history. While inside Kaliningrad, most of the people feel Russian, and while the

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promotion of tourism in the region has strengthened the ties to Russia, the identitarian discourses still tremble in light of the many layers of the past that are present in the memory politics of the city.<sup>70</sup>

## **Towards a Comparative History of Borders and Borderlands**

The studies on Kaliningrad underline the simple fact that most research on enclaves and exclaves, and on borderlands more generally, focuses on local and regional case studies. The field as a whole would therefore greatly benefit from the development of comparative and global frameworks for the study of borders. Conceptually there is an arsenal of interesting concepts available that could be used in such comparisons. Thus, for example, Michael Hechter's notion of 'internal colonialism' could be very helpful in understanding state policies at the border.<sup>71</sup> In this volume we are aiming to compare European and East Asian experiences at and with borders. In this way we are also aiming to contribute towards the decentering of border studies from its current focus on the Americas and Europe. Thus, we start off with Andrea Komlosy's and Kwangmin Kim's chapter on economic processes of integration in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Habsburg and Chinese borderlands. Shizue Osa and Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper subsequently discuss the role of tourism in borderlands of Japan and Poland. In the following chapters by Hiroko Matsuda and by Nobuya Hashimoto and Hiromi Komori, the construction of sea and land borders between Taiwan and Japan on the one hand, and between Estonia and Russia on the other, take centre stage. Thereafter, Loretta Kim and Ilaria Porciani discuss the establishment of food classifications in Chinese and Italian borderlands with a view to establishing the importance of food for regional and national identities. The next tandem of chapters, penned by Takehiro Okabe and Takahiro Yamamoto, analyse the importance of the ethnic gaze in the Russian and Soviet borderlands of the west (with Finland) and the east (with Japan). The penultimate two connected chapters by Seonmin Kim and Balázs Szalontai discuss migration and interethnic conflicts in borderlands in Manchuria and Mongolia. The final two chapters by Elena Campbell and Zhao Xin discuss Russia's far northern and far eastern peripheries, both shaped by imperial endeavours from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Overall, these tandem chapters provide intriguing comparative glimpses into themes that have a special relevance for borderlands, and the editors hope that they might encourage future comparative research into European and Asian borderlands.

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## Notes

1. Wastl-Walter, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*; Wilson and Donnan, *A Companion to Border Studies*; Diener and Hagen, *Borders*; Brunet-Jailly, *Border Disputes*; Nicoll and Townsend-Gault, *Holding the Line*; Michaelsen and Johnson, *Border Theory*. There are even handbooks on specific regions, including those of interest to readers of this volume. See, for example, Horstmann, Saxer and Ripa, *Routledge Handbook of Asian Borderlands*.

2. See <https://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/CentreforInternationalBordersResearch/> (accessed 29 November 2020).

3. See <https://www.utep.edu/liberalarts/cibs/> (accessed 29 November 2020).

4. See <https://www.ru.nl/nsm/imr/vm/research-centres/nijmegen-centre-border-research/> (accessed 29 November 2020).

5. See <http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/ubrij/eng/> (accessed 4 December 2020).

6. See <https://absborderlands.org/> (accessed 29 November 2020).

7. Newman, 'Borders and Bordering', 171–86.

8. On the everyday of border experiences see also Jones and Johnson, *Placing the Border in Everyday Life*.

9. Paasi, *Territories, Boundaries, Consciousness*.

10. On the materiality of borders, see also Demetriou and Dimova, *The Political Materialities of Borders*.

11. Berger, 'Border Regions, Hybridity, and National Identity', 366–81.

12. Amin, Massey and Thrift, *Decentering the Nation*.

13. Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 'Editorial', 1–22.

14. Agnew, 'The Territorial Trap', 53–80.

15. Krishna, 'Cartographic Anxiety', 507–21.

16. Paasi, 'Bounded Spaces in a "Borderless World"', 213–34.

17. An influential attempt to create a typology of borders can be found in Martinez, *Border People*.

18. Ganster and Lorey, *Borders and Border Politics*.

19. Forlenza and Turner, 'Das Abendland', 6–23.

20. Brettell, *Constructing Borders/Crossing Boundaries*.

21. Auer, 'The Construction of Linguistic Borders', 3–31. See also Watt and Llamas, *Language, Borders and Identity*.

22. Ring, 'Borders and Boundaries', chapter 2.

23. van Vilsteren and Wever, *Borders and Economic Behaviour in Europe*.

24. Herrschel, *Borders in Post-Socialist Europe*, especially chapter 3: 'Multi-Level Bordering: Borders, Scale and the "New Regionalism"', 53–74.

25. Aaron, Altink and Weedon, *Gendering Border Studies*. See also Shekhawat and del Re, *Women and Borders*; Kulawik and Kravchenko, *Borderlands in European Gender Studies*.
26. van Houtum, 'The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries', 672–79.
27. Hansen and Papademetriou, *Managing Borders*.
28. Parker and Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Border Studies*.
29. Rumford, *Citizens and Borderwork*.
30. Staudt, *Border Politics in a Global Era*.
31. Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 'Methodological Nationalism and Beyond', 301–34.
32. O'Dowd, 'From a "Borderless World" to a "World of Borders"', 1031–50.
33. Hutchinson, *Nations as Zones of Conflict*.
34. Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg*.
35. Wellings and Gifford, 'The Past in English Euroscepticism', 88–105.
36. Starr and Thomas, 'The Nature of Borders and International Conflict', 123–39.
37. Côté-Boucher, Infantino and Salter, 'Border Security as Practice', 195–208.
38. Donnan and Wilson, *Borderlands*.
39. Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man', 125–33; see also Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.
40. Omoniyi, 'Borders', 123–34.
41. Baud and van Schendel, 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands', 211–42.
42. See already Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*.
43. Prescott, *Political Frontiers and Boundaries*.
44. Horstmann and Wadley, *Centering the Margin*.
45. Lorey, *The US-Mexican Border in the Twentieth Century*.
46. Maier, 'Consigning the Twentieth Century to History', 807–31.
47. Paine, *Imperial Rivals*.
48. Photographed by the author during a visit to the museum in the summer of 2018.
49. In the city of Heihe, Chinese consumers can buy Russian products, but there was not a single bridge connecting the city to the Russian city of Blagoveshchensk, on the other side of the Amur river, when I visited the region in 2018.
50. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.
51. Donnan and Wilson, *Border Approaches*.
52. See, for example, Biniewicz, *Contemporary Identity and Memory*.
53. Smith, 'The Valleys'.
54. Cento Bull and Hansen, 'On Agonistic Memory', 390–404.
55. Cubitt, *History and Memory*.
56. van Houtum and van Naerssen, 'Bordering, Ordering and Othering', 125–36.
57. Calligaro, *Negotiating Europe*.
58. Berezin and Schain, *Europe Without Borders*.
59. Snyder, *Bloodlands*.
60. Kaiser, Krankenhagen and Poehls, *Exhibiting Europe in Museums*.
61. Grundy-Warr and Schofield, 'Reflections on the Relevance of Classic Approaches and Contemporary Priorities', 650–62.
62. Meinhof, *Living (with) Borders*; Kohli and Novak, *Will Europe Work?*
63. Leontidou, 'Exclusion and Difference along the EU Border', 389–407.
64. Brack and Costa, *Euroscepticism within the EU Institutions*.
65. Edler, *Die Integration der südamerikanischen Staaten durch den Mercosur*.
66. Fatemi, *North American Free Trade Agreement*; see also Cunningham and Heyman, 'Introduction', 329–50.
67. Vinokurov, *A Theory of Enclaves*.
68. Berger, *Kaliningrad in Europa*.
69. Berger, 'German Pasts in a Russian City', 196–218.
70. Berger and Holtom, 'Locating Kaliningrad and Königsberg', 15–38.
71. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*.

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