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Beyond Memory: The Crimean Tatars' Deportation and Return by Greta Lynn Uehling

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is similar to what Cecilia Menjívar describes of Salvadorans and Guatemalans in the United States who are caught in a permanent state of “liminal legality” (“Liminal Legality” [AJS, 111 (2006): 999–1037], demonstrating how Calavita’s critique of immigration policy in these two “new immigrant destination” countries extends theoretically to several traditional immigrant-receiving countries as well.

After a critical discussion of the term “integration” and an overview of Spanish and Italian efforts at integrating immigrants, Calavita superbly details the difficulties immigrants have accessing healthcare and housing, connecting them to the difficulties they have accessing work and legal status. Because these factors are interdependent, she shows how they are not only “markers of social exclusion,” but how they also “compound that exclusion” (p. 123). For instance, immigrants’ inadequate housing and spatial segregation not only demonstrate the failure of integration efforts in Spain and Italy but “reproduce that marginality” by confining immigrants to certain geographic spaces and confirming locals’ racialized fears about the negative impacts immigrants will have on their host societies (p. 117). In healthcare, Calavita’s emphasis on the use and misuse of *bureaucratic* or *administrative discretion* is paramount. Whether or not an immigrant can cut through the red tape to access health care depends largely on which bureaucrats he encounters along the way; some bureaucrats discriminate against immigrants outright, denying them services to which they are legally entitled, while others demonstrate goodwill and may even go to great lengths to assist immigrants. This creates bureaucratic variation in immigrants’ access to services, a finding worthy of greater attention in these countries and others.

The book ends with a discussion of how immigrants in Spain and Italy are racialized. As cheap and flexible labor, they not only occupy menial economic positions but are kept in a precarious legal status by the law. Then, due to the very poverty and outsidership that these conditions produce, they are criminalized “both literally and symbolically” (p. 156). *Immigrants at the Margins* is essential reading for anyone interested in the failure of immigrant integration in post-Fordist economies. Calavita firmly argues that this failure is produced and reproduced *not* by immigrants themselves, but rather by the demands of receiving societies’ economies combined with the laws that their governments enact.

Beyond Memory: The Crimean Tatars’ Deportation and Return. By Greta Lynn Uehling. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. Pp. xii+294. \$75.00 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

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Beyond Memory is a fascinating work that focuses on the understudied social group of Crimean Tatars, who, after having been occupied by the

Germans in 1941, were forcefully deported in 1944 en masse to the Urals and Central Asia by the Soviets under accusations of collaboration. Currently, these people are in the process of repatriation in the post-Soviet era. The author approaches this tragic story very creatively by undertaking “the first ethnographic study of deportation” (p. 246). Based on interviews conducted during 1995–2001, she carefully maps out how “the structures of feeling” of the Tatars transformed within and across generations. In so doing, the author underscores the significance of the performative, interactive approach to memory in opposition to the social constructivist one.

It is indeed this interaction of memory and the sense of history that leads Tatars to repatriate and produce the most interesting sociological puzzle of the book: Can a group be ultimately defined as a minority on their own ancestral lands? While the Tatars now make up 12% of the Crimean population and are considered a minority by the state, they reject this status within the Ukraine, as they consider themselves indigenous people. This political determination of Tatar identity becomes crucial because of the current Tatar vision of political and territorial autonomy. The author’s subsequent 2003 visit to the region, which led to the writing of the sequel at the end of the book, reveals how the Tatar interactions with the local mafias and labor migration mute these Tatar political sentiments.

After an introduction that provides a synopsis of the entire project, the book commences with chapter 1 describing the Tatars as a historic people and the Crimea as their ancestral land. Chapter 2 brings out the Janus-faced nature of public memory surrounding the historical events of the German occupation that led on May 18, 1944, to the mass deportation of the Crimean Tatars to Central Asia and the Ural Mountains; the Tatar counter-memory that developed in opposition to the Russian accounts of betrayal is analyzed in detail. Chapter 3 starts to map out the structure of feelings evoked by this deportation as the Tatars emotionally recall it in a way that provides the basis of their reclamation of the Crimean peninsula at present. Chapter 4 further delineates how the Tatars keep the memories of this forced 1944 deportation alive by employing a variety of styles of transmission, including the treatment of the deportation trauma as a form of intergenerational dialogue and artistic expression. The relationship of this structure of feelings and politics is highlighted in chapter 5, which specifically focuses on how the recollection of the past gets connected to the Crimean Tatar National Movement. The author identifies the significant turning points in Soviet history when the recruitment of memory into politics leads the Tatars to perceive themselves in new ways, especially as a political body. Chapter 6 comments on the boundaries of this connection between sentiments and politics. For the Tatars, the author argues, the ultimate endpoint of the valorization of one’s suffering has been immolation: individual Tatars threatened to set themselves on fire recently when faced with the threat of removal from

the Crimean peninsula. Since some Tatars did indeed kill themselves in this manner, the author carefully studies the impact of that act on Tatar memory. Chapter 7 discusses the political consequences of immolation; that is, the Tatar willingness to die rather than depart from the peninsula. In doing, so, the author considers the variety of strategies whereby the Tatars made claims to land lost in 1944. The sequel that the author has penned after a subsequent visit in 2003 reveals how the Tatar nationalist fervor has subsided as the economic crisis in the region has escalated, especially as the Tatars struggled with the post-Soviet mafia and, in the struggle, became enmeshed in it.

This work is a most welcome contribution to the study of forced migrations. Its methodological employment of chronicling multigenerational structures of feelings about the 1944 forced Tatar deportation in relation to claims of political, social, and geographical space is most innovative. The author's use of theory throughout the work does become complicated and even overwhelming at times, however, which slows down the pace and at times diverts one's attention from the narrative. Another noted lack is that there is little comparison with other similar cases of forced deportation, such as those of the Native Americans in the United States, the Aborigines in Australia, or the Armenians in Turkey. Had there been such comparisons, important insights could have been gained into how and why different societies devise or fail to devise similar strategies of sentiments in dealing with similar historical traumas in their pasts.

Beyond Lines of Control: Performance and Politics on the Disputed Borders of Ladakh, India. By Ravina Aggarwal. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. Pp. ix+305. \$23.95.

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Ravina Aggarwal's *Beyond Lines of Control: Performance and Politics on the Disputed Borders of Ladakh, India* is a richly textured anthropological account of the ways in which different subjectivities are ritually performed and constituted in northern India. Aggarwal analyzes cultural performances as sites for the production and reproduction of collective belonging. The setting for her study is the disputed Indian region of Ladakh, sandwiched between Pakistan to the northwest and China (and Tibet) to the northeast. The international frictions and conflicts historically endemic to this region form the backdrop for the local performance and reproduction—and sometimes rejection and subversion—of caste, class, tribal, ethnic, national, sexual, religious, and other subjectivities. Aggarwal expertly shows how shifting configurations of belonging are arranged and rearranged in the nested and overlapping contexts of international