

# The Borders of Integration



# The Borders of Integration:

## *Empowered Bodies and Social Cohesion*

Edited and Introduced by

Bianca Maria Pirani

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## PREFACE

# ARISTOTLE, FOREIGNERS AND HOST COUNTRY'S COMMUNITY: A LESSON FROM THE PAST

LUIGI M. SOLIVETTI

When dealing with immigration and the problems revolving around it, most of us are inclined to think that such issues are part of only the contemporary world, or at least of only the modern epoch. However, this is not true, and some important lessons can be learned from the past.

Around 350 B.C., Aristotle was discussing issues very similar to those we are today discussing in Europe.

In the third book of his celebrated volume commonly called *Politics*, Aristotle asked himself a few important questions, i.e., who is a citizen and what distinguishes a citizen from a foreigner; and, even more important, how can a foreigner become a citizen.

Aristotle, to start with, posited that some traits are not enough to characterize a citizen. First of all, the fact of living in the country is not enough because this trait characterizes also the country's visitors. It is not enough to work in the country, either, because working in the country is a state common to a variety of subjects and not a specific trait of citizens. It is also not enough to have some rights, such as the right to having recourse to justice, because it might be the consequence of a covenant with other states. We would like to draw the readers' attention to the fact that the abovementioned rights can be considered the equivalent of present-day *human rights*, which are regarded as universal although, ultimately, they really depend upon inter-state agreements.

So, if all this is not enough, which trait would really distinguish a citizen from a stranger? According to Aristotle, what distinguishes them is the fact that a citizen is someone contributing to the functioning of the society in which he is living: "functioning" meaning the organization and the administration of the society in its everyday life.

Having said that, we can now better understand what Aristotle thought about the requirements for a foreigner to become a citizen. Some of us would probably appreciate that Aristotle did not agree with Gorgias from Leontini, who stated that as a pot is made by a pot maker, a citizen is made by a citizen maker, i.e., someone who is already a citizen of the state. This very conservative point of view – to say the least – was definitely rejected by Aristotle, who said that Gorgias' statement is unsound; it is not tenable in terms of syllogistic logic as it cannot explain who was, at the very beginning, the citizen maker of the first citizen.

Aristotle was in favour of granting citizenship to foreigners and therefore, as a matter of principle, he was not hostile to immigration. However, according to him, foreigners could be granted citizenship only when they had contributed to the functioning of the society of which they wanted to become citizens. And making such a contribution implied not only vocational integration but also assimilation of the values of the host society and the practice of those values, because the required integration was a comprehensive one.

This is an important difference between the ancient Greek world and the present-time European societies. The democratic society of ancient Greece did not distinguish between community and society, and between community and state. Ancient Greeks could not imagine a separation between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and even less a separation between community and state. So, to become a citizen of the host society, one was expected to participate actively in the community's life. One had to be recognized as a member of the community by its other members. One was obliged to demonstrate possession of *civil virtues*, i.e., a willingness to subordinate one's interests to the greater public good; the civil virtues Machiavelli was thinking and dreaming of, and we are today laboriously trying to recover by emphasizing the need for *social capital* to avoid the falling apart of social fabric.

On the contrary, modern European societies distinguish between community and state. These societies have handed over to the state the decision about dealing with foreign immigrants. However, state decisions are inevitably based on formal aspects. For instance, foreigners are granted a permit-of-stay and later host country's citizenship because they are refugees, which is a status *in se* and does not regard the quality of the relationship between them and the host country's community. Many immigrants who entered the host country illegally or overstayed their permit, remain there because they have lived there a long time or they need help, or it is difficult to send them back, and so on and so forth.

None of these reasons have anything to do with the assimilation of a host country's values, the practice of such values and comprehensive integration in the local community. As a consequence, local communities are increasingly rejecting the formal decisions made by the state about immigrants.

All over Europe, from Brexit Britain to Merkel's Germany, from Holland to Switzerland, from France to Italy, in association with the sexual harassment of women in Cologne or with the soaring number of terrorist attacks, with immigrant crime or with the Muslim burka, a conflict is brewing between local communities and the state over immigration and the public policies managing it. A large, and increasing, number of Europeans are demanding that – as in the ancient, democratic Greek world – greater attention be paid to the problems of immigrant assimilation of host country's values and the comprehensive integration in the local community.

I hope we are not going to ignore this message. To regard it as the message of authoritarian populism is not going to solve the problem. On the contrary, it is probably going to make it worse, widening the gap between community and state.

This book represents an attempt to develop the knowledge of these issues in the perspective of finding new and more balanced lines of approach to the problem of immigrant integration. The amount of work that has gone into its organization and publishing has undoubtedly required a great quantity and quality of energies.



## FOREWORD

ROBERTO CIPRIANI

One need only scan the pages of this book, dwelling on a passage here and there, to realise that we are in the presence not of a *simple book* but a careful documented analysis of a reality that is plain for all to see: the phenomenon of migration as it continues its often lethal march through many of the earth's territories – from Africa to Europe, from Iran to Belgium, from India to Italy, from China and Turkey to Germany, from China to Russia, from the Caribbean to England, from Mexico to the United States.

The planetary proportions of the phenomenon are accompanied by a series of problems of considerable sociological interest, centred on the body; that is, on what we always and anyhow are, regardless of all ideological positions, of all social, political and religious membership. We are all mentally and physically anchored in our bodies, from infancy to adolescence and from adulthood to old age; in short, from birth to death.

In the course of its existence, the body faces a series of ordeals, but at the same time it crosses time and space, changing and adapting, winning and losing challenges, indelible traces of which remain in the psyche and the soma (leaving irremediable wounds the remembering mind cannot cure and permanent scars in the debilitated flesh).

In all of this we discern an interacting cluster of concepts that the authors of the articles in the book re-examine from territorial and cultural, economic and legal, attitudinal and behavioural points of view, in contributions that range from the body as such to its different and multiple declensions, which are explicitly emblematic with regard to international migratory movements, giving rise to integrative and/or cohesive consequences, while constantly taking into account the barriers of borders and boundaries and the burden of the memory of our more or less recent past. In other words, departing from the body we arrive at the process of migration, which, in turn, involves encounters/clashes with national-geographical limits, with frontiers, therefore, beyond which lie crucial issues of integration and/or cohesion, usually governed by the ebb and flow of the remembrance of a time that was, of a space that is no more.

The two parts of the volume do not, however, fully cover some of the other transverse issues dealt with in the texts they contain, like a more focused view, for instance, of the implications of the body as such, as in the case of Sieglin's account of hypertension in a female Mexican university professor, of Conti's article on second-generation-immigrant athletes in Italy, of Del Re's report concerning the integrity and control of the bodies of migrants and Maniglio's on the role of globalising policies in Ecuador.

To tell the truth, there are at least two other views that concern the essays collected here: Firstly, the general migration-related discourse veining Coppola's articles on transnationally mobile bodies with particular reference to gay migrants, Guia's on the criminalisation of flows towards Europe and Umberto Melotti's on the possibility of resorting to a critical kind of education in order to solve issues of migration in general; and secondly, a specific discussion on concrete situations in arrival and host countries with a view to examining various problems, from the Chinese who arrived and were assimilated in Germany though they failed to integrate (Huang) to the presence of people of Afro-Caribbean origin in England – examined through their newspaper *The Voice* – (Forlenza), from the Chinese in Russia, in particular in Vladivostok and Nakhodka as well as in Saint Petersburg (Borodkina and Amirkhanian) to the dual nationality now tolerated by the Turkish government (Ünsal), from issues of gender, religion and colour concerning Iranian migrants in Belgium (Rahbari) to the trade and exploitation of human beings, in particular of Punjabi Indians, in the Italian province of Latina (Omizzolo).

The methodology upon which the whole book rests is *transversal* as it associates the bodies of social actors – discussed in each of its different chapters – with the “translation policies” (Clarke, Bainton, Lendvai, Stubbs, 2015: 33-38) that regulate them. The heterogeneity of the contents of the book might be considered a weakness. Yet, it is this very characteristic that *empowers* it. Each chapter is linked to the next in a sequential order that leads, step by step, to the final outcome: an “order of limit”, according to classic sociology; that is, *transition* from the collective effervescency of the event that generated it (the International Conference “The Challenge of Global Migrant”, hosted by the RC54 of the ISA on 19-20 January 2017 at the Italian Parliament/ Refectory Hall) to its current function within a lacerated social reality.

## References

Clarke J., Bainton D., Lendvai N. and Stubbs P. (2015). *Making Policy Move: Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage*. Bristol-Chicago: Policy Press.





# INTRODUCTION

BIANCA MARIA PIRANI

This book arises from the 14 keynote papers presented at the ISA RC54 International Conference “The Challenge of the Global Migrant: Bodies on the Move and Cultural Differences”, which was held on January 19 and 20, 2017 in Rome, at the Refettorio Hall of the Italian Parliament. Each chapter is authored by an acknowledged author in the field. The book focuses on the body as the *vector of social cohesion policies* in the awareness that cohesion revolves around the ability of all people – not just migrants – to *manage conflict and change*.

Therefore, the aim of the book is:

- to introduce sociological knowledge in the social reality, in fields that are especially significant for Southern European societies, such as education, migration, social cohesion and political participation;
- to provide the general public with an understanding of the new and radical challenges that Europe has been called on to face, and to complement academic research with new uses of sociology aiming at solving social public problems in specific territorial contexts.

In today’s world, the question of empowerment crosses borders, not only geographic but also cognitive, linguistic and cultural ones.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the *empowered body* is suggested as a means able to build up the *timescales of memory* as *time-windows* open to the *ethic boundaries of human life*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cultural and human understandings of borders and border crossings grow from the research of ethnographic particularities on one hand, and of culturally expressed human experiences of borders and border crossings (however culturally expressed), on the other.

<sup>2</sup> The American neuroscientists N.V. Kukushkin and T.J. Carew (2017) clearly showed that “the ability to detect and respond to temporally structured information underlies the nervous system’s capacity to encode and store a memory at molecular, cellular, synaptic, and circuit levels”.

## What is an empowered body?

An *empowered body* is a body that *is alive and in control* because it is *able to rule the synchronism between body and social clocks*.

The body is at the intersection of nature and culture, of the individual and society, of space and time, of corporeality and mind. As such, it is subject to social control but is also the seat of individuality, the material substrate of our physical existence, thoughts and social relations. Postmodern conditions have created a situation where individuality is thought to be maintained by and through the public presentation of the body, and the virtual body has been made possible by the spread of digital technologies. While the natural rhythm of the body – from birth to death – includes a *time sequence*, the “virtual body” does not. It is, indeed, immortal, but not in the sense of the immortality of the soul, or bodily resurrection, as many religions believe. The virtual body can be rejuvenated, moved around on the time scale, in the best tradition of science fiction. This illusion can, and often does, create confusion about the nature of the real body and its limitations. The body and its embodiment are, indeed, a *basic condition* of social existence. The classics paid attention to human beings’ bodily existence but considered it rather a prerequisite for, or influenced by, society. The Research Committee 54’s “The Body in the Social Sciences” was developed at the International Sociological Association with the aim of recognizing how the *body on the move* is a *key to memory*. We proceeded under the assumption that the sensory-motor body is a core domain for research on social communication in terms of the exploration, location and spatial orientation of the individual as well as in terms of the activities of adjacent social groups.<sup>3</sup>

This “turn to the body” focuses on corporeal embodiment as a product of the complex interaction between biology and culture. As was observed by Goldberg (2016: X-XI), “The question of how cultural diversity translates into the diversity of neural processes is of paramount importance, and ripe with philosophical, scientific, and practical implications”. The concept of culture covers a much wider diversity, which also includes the cultural diversity that is the result of differences in living conditions, lifestyles, needs and affinities based on variables such as age, gender, socio-

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<sup>3</sup> The quoted methodology has been built up as a whole in progress of “recognition patterns” (Goldberg, 2009: 136), up to today constituted by the seven books that the RC54 has published (six collective ones and one by the editor of the present new collection). Because of this “order in sequence”, we allowed ourselves to mention in this venue the most opportune ones for the considered item of migrations and social cohesion.

economic classes, socio-cultural life, education and profession, sexual orientation, state of health, physical and mental resources, faith and religion, political beliefs etc.

A conclusion backed by research in the biological sciences is that a basic characteristic of all living beings is *rhythm*, and this is true no matter the level of organism, tissue or cell. Biological rhythms are marked by both continuous and periodic variations, and have evolved, enabling the individual to adapt to the environment. The biological clock is involved in many aspects of our complex physiology.<sup>4</sup> It regulates critical functions such as behaviour, hormone levels, sleep, body temperature and metabolism. In effect, the entire biological utility of memory relies on the existence of many dimensions of *homeostasis*, some shorter-term and some longer-term. The many timescales of memory constitute many *timescales of past experience* and must be simultaneously available to the organism to be useful.

Like all living organisms, the human body is organized according to a specific *time structure*, where all vital functions show a temporal variability which can be described by periodic functions ranging in the length of their cycle from milliseconds to months, years, or even decades. Extensive mapping of the time structure of humans is presently underway as a preliminary step for the detection of the earliest changes associated with health and disease.<sup>5</sup> In human bodies, biological clocks keep track of seconds, minutes, days, months and years. In humans, as well as in less cognitively sophisticated organisms, many biological rhythms follow the frequencies of periodical environmental inputs while others are determined by internal “timekeepers” independent of any known environmental counterparts. External influences are always present but they are not simply superimposed on the endogenous rhythms generated by our

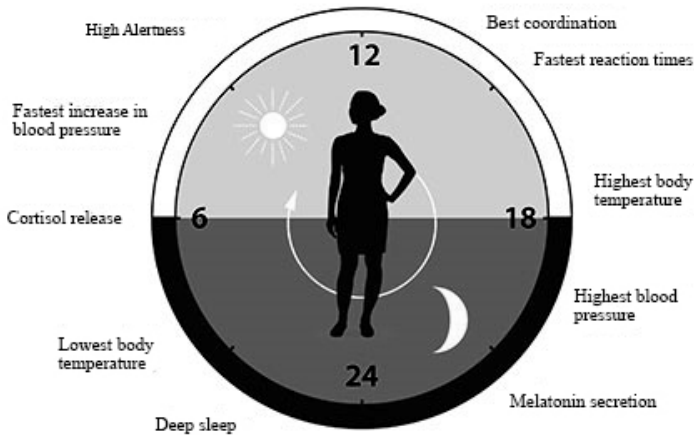
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<sup>4</sup> We now know that all multicellular organisms, including humans, utilize a similar mechanism to control circadian rhythms. A large proportion of our genes are regulated by our biological clock and, consequently, a carefully calibrated circadian rhythm adapts our physiology to the different phases of the day. With exquisite precision, our inner clock adapts our physiology to the dramatically different phases of the day (see G. Russell Foster and Leon Kreitzman 2005).

<sup>5</sup> In 2017 the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine was awarded jointly to Jeffrey C. Hall, Michael Rosbash and Michael W. Young for their discoveries of molecular mechanisms controlling circadian rhythms. Since their seminal discoveries, circadian biology has developed into a vast and highly dynamic research field, with implications for our health and wellbeing, feeding behaviour, hormone release, blood pressure and body temperature.

biological “timekeepers”.<sup>6</sup> Instead, these influences are modulated by them, a process which is essential to the most sophisticated tasks the brain and body perform.

Figure 1: The Circadian Clock anticipates and adapts our physiology to the different phases of the day (<https://www.nobelprize.org/>)



By empowered body we mean, thus, a body able to locate its experiences in the *periodic change*, which determines the *when*, *where* and *how* of social space. In harmony with Henry Lefebvre (2007: 422), we observe:

on the horizon, then, at the furthest edge of the possible, it is a matter of producing the space of the human species – the collective work of the species – on the model of what used to be called “art”; indeed, it is still so called, but art no longer has any meaning at the level of an “object” isolated by and for the individual.

Since human bodies are the instruments that both discover and make decisions about self, others and the worlds of nature and cultural traditions, the empowered body is concerned with the interface between body and society, the ways in which the physical organism constrains patterns of social interaction and inventions of culture.

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<sup>6</sup> See Pirani and Smith, 2013: 2. Also see <http://tsigeto.info/isa14/isa14sessioncfps.txt>.

### The tourist's dream

Tourism has become a major cultural force in contemporary Western life. It is recognized as such, and is sometimes even seen as an epitome of its displacement and orientation.<sup>7</sup> Spending time outdoors is the ultimate way to de-stress. People experience tension, are moulded by biological clocks and encounter multiple competing forms of time that lead them to less sustainable travel choices. Time is an issue that needs to be taken into account in order to bring about more sustainable mobility.

The opposition of *tourist places* and *home places* (Urry 1990; Cohen 2004) hails from the *disease of time* governing modern culture, at least from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As we will argue, it is a manifestation of the precarious position of the individual both in modern and postmodern societies. In enlightening the metaphorical character of postmodern culture, the contrast “places–non places” (Augier 1995) clearly shows the fracture between rhythms of the bodies and rhythms of the cities, from which the “sociality on the move of tourist travel” (Larsen 2008) emerged as an “extraordinary escape” from the everyday life: the same illusive “earthly paradise” (Eliade, 1972) in which modern and post-modern thought located “the body and the liminal” (Langman 2008: 55).

According to Cresswell (2006: 9), Bryson (1997) calls “to open up dance scholarship and consider it as one instance of socially structured human mobility, where movement is made meaningful within the conventions and institutions that authorize meaning”. Yet, “to thoroughly comprehend this transformation between *emergent* and *residual* senses of movement, social kinetics requires that we see a form of movement, such as dance, as symptomatic of wider changes in the sense of movement” (Bryson, quoted by Cresswell 2006: 9–10). “One of the principal ways of thinking about mobility, in the modern Western thought, is to see it as a *disorder in the system*, a thing to control. This lies at the heart of the classic observation that modern states have taken care of ordering and disciplining mobile people” (Bryson 1997: 76–7).

Think of the role of the outsider in modern life, a constant source of anxiety with a whiff of “*elsewhere*” about them. The drifter, the shiftless, the refugee and the asylum seeker have been inscribed with immoral intent. Thus, also the traveling salesman, the gypsy traveler and the so-called wandering Jew have been portrayed as figures of mobile threat in need of straightening out and discipline.

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<sup>7</sup> The still usual formulation as “a sum of phenomena and relationships” (McIntosh and Goeldner 1995:10) indicates the magnitude and complexity of this economic, social and environmental aspect of contemporary society.

“Even when it is the centre of geographical attention, mobility has been conceptualized through *the lens of fixity as an ideal*” (Cresswell 2006: 26). The spatial dimension has been, indeed, taken for granted too many times and has not been recognized as a *crucial area* in social sciences; in particular, in sociology. The key to understanding this concept lies in Cartesian thought. Being an “object” juxtaposed with a “subject”, and a *res extensa* juxtaposed with a *res cogitans*, the Cartesian concept of “space” was the container of all meanings and all bodies.<sup>8</sup> According to Renaissance vision, the quintessential human feature is “not having a nature” or, more precisely, the fact that its nature, externalized in technical instruments, has no stability, nothing that can ascribe it to a past or fixed origin. The living and the artificial, the internal and the external, are becoming progressively indistinguishable to the point of being diluted into the temporal *lacunae* and discontinuities moulding as the “gardens of remembrance” that affect, today, individual and collective memory. The privileged actor of these *lacunae* is the *dream displacement* lived by the common citizen as an alternative to the urban life-course.

The “tourist body-field” (Wang 2003: 129) has been seen, indeed, as a “permissive” one and the tourist’s body as a potentially natural body compared to the extremely socialized body of the urbanization process. Seas, beaches, dunes, promenades, harbours, polders and attractions; above all, *their rhythmic bodies moving in harmony with the context*: the “last island” or “earthly paradise” that Sheller researches in *Demobilizing and Remobilizing Caribbean Paradise* (2004) has punctually enlightened the framework of a perspective of mobility.

The beach is a privileged place and in fact, not by chance, attention has been paid to the beach in several studies, having superseded the contempt for the components of the “unholy quartet” of the four Ss. The beach is a scene for holiday life, where the traditional hierarchies in the bodies seem to disappear, in a liminal situation similar to carnival effervescence. The force that drives vacationers to the beaches of their little holiday happiness is immense. It is, indeed, the force of the self that records and pigeonholes the experiences of alterity. These are the *heralds of eternity*, suggested by Lord Byron upon seeing the ancient ruins of the Greek Parthenon, “*heralds of eternity; spirits of the sibyls of the future*”.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See Pirani B.M. and Varga I. ed. (2010), *Acting Bodies and Social Networks: A Bridge between Technology and Working Memory*, University Press of America, pp. xxviii-xxxix.

<sup>9</sup> We should identify this displacement if we consider the pictorial images that form the well-known poem by Lord George Byron, *The Dream*: “Heralds of eternity;

On beaches, the dreaming bodies of tourists meet the necessary bodies of migrants and refugees. Let's study the following surprising scene that Carlos Sanz filmed while on holiday. This is the moment a boatload of migrants disembarked on a packed Spanish beach and ran up the sand, stunning holiday-makers.

Figure 2: Dozens of migrants land on the Spanish beach of Zahara de los Atunes, Aug. 9, 2017 (courtesy of the Washington Post)



Tourists on the beach of Zahara de los Atunes in the south of Spain were shocked when a boat carrying dozens of African migrants landed in front of them.<sup>10</sup> The landing took place on August 10, 2017 near Cádiz, 7.7 miles from the coast of north Africa. Footage shows the migrants jumping out of a black inflatable dinghy and running across the beach after crossing the Strait of Gibraltar. By the time the authorities arrived, the group had dispersed and left the beach. “Migrants do not usually disembark on Spanish beaches but it has happened before, especially near the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, close to Morocco.” The main question arising from the “tourist body-fields” – such as the beaches – is about the *social construction of Western time*, especially if it is referring to the local time of mobilities and settlements, identities and strangeness. Time is a basic element for both individual and social memory. The temporal aspect of memory is a principal regulating factor, both for individuals and societies.

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spirits of the sibyls of the future”. According to Byron, a dream is a “slumbering thought, is capable of years, and curdles a long life into one hour.”

<sup>10</sup> See [www.interalex.net/2017/08/migrants-in-spain-news-aug-09-2017.html](http://www.interalex.net/2017/08/migrants-in-spain-news-aug-09-2017.html)

## **“Memory takes time”**

How do the maps of experience influence the capacity to learn and use past events and to modify present behaviour? How do they determine the complex biological structures that make up the human brain? Finally, how do they shape spatial and temporal concepts that support the acquisition of culture and sociality?

Goldberg (2004) defines the association between past experience and the acting one as a “recognition pattern”, meaning “the powerful capacity to transmit through culture the repertory of these models from an individual to another, and from generation to generation”. In agreement with this definition, we consider culture as the capacity to synchronize biological rhythms with environmental changes by generating nets of symbols that structure the collective experience through temporal scales which are totally different from one another. According to Lévi-Strauss (1970: 42), it is indeed “the consecration of chance that supports the enactment”. The American neuroscientists Carew and Kukulshkin consider memory as an adaptation to particular temporal properties of past events,<sup>11</sup> such as the frequency of occurrence of a stimulus or the coincidence of multiple stimuli. These scholars note that the brains of living organisms—as diverse as sea slugs and humans—have the capacity to re-create experience on many timescales, simultaneously recalling events occurring over years, hours and milliseconds. They add in their analysis (2017) that the manner by which short-term memories evolve into long-term memories is akin to how we process sound, and remark:

Much like sound is broken down by the auditory system into many discrete bins of frequencies that are perceived simultaneously, an experience as a whole is parsed by the brain into many “time windows” that collectively represent the past.

Most memories last seconds before they are forgotten<sup>12</sup> but some last a lifetime, the authors observe, yet at each given moment both kinds of memory coexist with ongoing experiences on the same terms. For example, a familiar musical piece is experienced simultaneously through

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<sup>11</sup> For basic information, see (in alphabetic order) Bartlett 1932; Baddeley, Eysenck and Fuster 1997; Kandel 2007; Goldberg 2009; Ledoux 2002; Llinas 2002; Schachter 2007.

<sup>12</sup> About the complex processes of remembering and forgetting in collective memory, see Halbwachs 1992; Le Goff 1996; Ricoeur 2004, 2008; Zerubavel 2009.



the short-term memory of the few notes just heard and the long-term memory of listening to the piece in the past. Both retain information about the past, they write, and both shape perception in the present. Less understood among neuroscientists is *how*, *where* and *when* short-term memory becomes long-term. This question raises several considerations: Does the memory move from one brain store to another? Does the short-term memory transform into the long-term memory over time? Is the long-term memory a modified version of the short-term memory or are they independent?

“Each *timescale* corresponds to specific deviations from homeostasis, each with their own time limits. A disturbance in the state of the organism opens a time window that is eventually closed when the state returns to equilibrium” (Kukushkin and Carew, 2017). Neural memory is, indeed, a whole composed of a vast repertoire of interacting time windows. The authors explain:

Changes occurring on the fastest time scales combine with other changes to produce more lasting, emergent changes, creating a “temporal hierarchy” of time windows that collectively alter the state of the brain at each given instant.

“Consequently”, they continue, “memory cannot be restricted to a defined object or state; instead, it is fundamentally structured in the *time domain*”. In fact, they conclude, “Time is the only physical variable that is “inherited” by the brain from the external world” (DOI: 10.1016/j.neuron.2017.05.029).

Thus, memories must be *made of time*, or, more precisely, of temporal relationships between a given *body on the move* and the territorial stimuli. In effect, the entire biological utility of memory relies on the existence of many dimensions of *homeostasis*, some shorter-term and some longer-term. For millennia, architects have been concerned with the *skin-bounded body* and its immediate sensory environment – they have provided shelter, warmth and safety; cast light on the surfaces surrounding it; created conditions for conversation and music; orchestrated the touch of hard and soft and rough and smooth materials.<sup>13</sup> *The brain is embodied and the body is embedded.*

First, the embodiment. All brain activities depend on signals to the brain from the body and from the brain to the body. The brain maps and connections are altered not only by what *you sense* but also by what *you*

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<sup>13</sup> See Bruce 1995; Ekstrom 2004; Doidge 2009.

*move*.<sup>14</sup> Synchronism between the elementary self-consciousness that regulates somatic processes and the interaction taking place is responsible for the unrepeatable activation producing the state of active consciousness.<sup>15</sup> Second, the embeddedness. Your body is *embedded* and *situated* in a particular environment that influences it and is influenced by it. This set of interactions defines your *coniche* as the changeable combination of bodily borders and cultural practices. Bodily space is, indeed, a determining factor in the framing of social interactions and is also reciprocally interconnected in the making of space by those very social interactions that occur in a given context. In the composition of relations or capacities between different bodies, you don't know beforehand what a body or a mind can do in a given encounter, a given combination. Borrowing terms from the Middle Ages and from geography, timescales define a body by *longitude* and *latitude*. According to Deleuze (1988: 112), we call the *longitude* of a body the set of relations of speed and slowness, of motion and rest: what Spinoza called "the simplest bodies". We call *latitude* the set of effects that occupy a body at each moment, i.e., the intensive states of galvanizing force generated by an empowered body in interaction with the territorial, social and geographic context.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, here we suggest that the longitudes and latitudes together constitute the *temporal scales of memories*, as demonstrated in 2017 by Carew and Kukushkin. "They are always variable and are constantly being altered, composed and recomposed by individuals and collectivities." The contribution the body makes to the brain is not limited, indeed, to supporting vital operations, but includes regulating the space and time that organize the contents of a normal mind. There is no bodily existence without or outside the space-time frame. Viewing the body in memory and action makes for a radical change in our approach to the social sciences. This is the *crucial question* that this book tries to answer, in full awareness that "there is more reason in your body than in your best wisdom" (Nietzsche 1999: 62).

## The borders of integration

Refuting the longstanding notion that culture alone is responsible for group behaviour, the contributors of the present collection have confronted the "moving up" and "getting on" (Rutter 2015) that characterizes the

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<sup>14</sup> See Pirani and Smith, 2016:7.

<sup>15</sup> See Draganski, Gaser et al. 2004.

<sup>16</sup> See Pirani and Varga, ed. (2010): xxxv-xxxvi.

current immigration policies, in the Mediterranean area, Europe and, in general, around the world. Already “Europe is facing new and radical challenges that demand extraordinary resilience from EU members, especially in the southern European countries, because of their outlying position and specific social problems.”<sup>17</sup> The authors cogently argue, indeed, that behavioural sciences must first specify *what the notion of culture consists of* in terms of concrete empirical evidence. The way we interact with our bodies determines our place in society. What the authors focus on, therefore, is the current spread of the *borders’ space and time*, reversing the traditional assessments of mobility and settlement, identity and otherness, borders and neighbourhoods. By bringing together an international and multidisciplinary team of scholars, *The Borders of Integration: Empowered Bodies and Social Cohesion* draws on sociology as a useful means of exploring our everyday social and cultural environments and, in doing so, shows the constant need for researchers to be held accountable by the general public. The collection includes research (in order of their place in the book) from Italy, the Mediterranean islands, above all Lampedusa, Macedonia and Turkey, Belgium, the European Union, Iran and Iraq, Mexico, Russia, India, China, Punjab, Afro-American communities, Latin America and Ecuador.

Together, they provide an overview of what is currently being studied about *empowerment* and *social cohesion policies* in disciplines ranging from sociology and anthropology to neurophysiology, experimental psychology and law. With incisive theoretical contributions and empirical works, the first part of the book, “Body and Power: Human Factors, Social Icons and Cultural Bodies”, seeks to shed light on the notion of the “socially constructed body.” By focusing on “social icons of the body”, the contributors suggest a revising or repositioning of the disembodied sense of “vision” that has dominated sociology and much of Western social thought. The disembodied sense of vision may be seen in the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which traditionally has been viewed in term of distance. Accordingly, the second part, “The Wall and the Bond: Migrant Bodies in Search of Place,” attempts to draw a sociological profile of the displaced people, who have one main thing in common: they leave a country ravaged by war, political repression or misery. How and where should a sociology that matters evolve? Original case-studies cross various disciplinary perspectives in order to explain and understand the processes of the making, unmaking and remaking of

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<sup>17</sup> This sentence already appeared in the call to ESA/RN27, Mid-Term Conference, 2017, Cordoba, Spain, 19-21 April 2017.

Europe. The chapters question specifically the way these places modify the relationship between the individual and the group, or the citizen and the community.

As was rightly observed by Clarke, Bainton, Lendvai and Stubbs,

Social scientists, including policy scholars, are particularly prone to identifying the shock of the new. Such claims need to be treated with some caution: there may be a difference between the addition of new elements and the argument that the processes are entirely new. Policy spaces often are more contradictory than this description pretends. (2015: 193-4)

Time and space are mobilized in different ways as policies move. Such understandings appear in narratives that locate policies in relation to failed pasts or promised futures, or identify the icons of “success” that should be followed or imitated in the pursuit of new directions. The present collection attempts to think differently about policy and its movement. Methodologically, all the chapters encompass ideas and observations from an array of social sciences, and pay attention to the powerful connection between individual lives and the historical and socio-economic contexts in which these lives unfold. The brilliant analyses here collected suggest the “borderlands” (Agier 2016: 5) as the *agent making the movement of policy*. Each different chapter should be defined as a musical place led by its author. If we define leaders as those that create the environment so others can be successful, then a leader is a composer and the whole of the book is a *concert*. If we look at the musicians, each is highly skilled in their instrument. *Leadership is creating an environment where other people can be successful*. The environment created by this book has been accomplished according to the basic principle of the Global Awareness Society:

A global citizen has the right to be educated for self enhancement and to contribute as a useful citizen, utilizing one’s knowledge, skills, technology and talent.

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