

## ‘Performed Conviviality’: Space, Bordering & Silence in the City<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

Through ethnographic material gathered in Muslim woodworking *mohallas* (neighbourhoods) of a North Indian city, this article attends to ‘performed’ elements of everyday convivial interactions. It builds on work situating conviviality as a normative project aimed at understanding and fostering interaction within urban space that bridges forms of difference. Through descriptive accounts the article illustrates how convivial exchanges can embody degrees of instrumentality and conceal relations of power and marginalisation that act to silence outrage or contestation. This ‘performed conviviality’ is dealt with in a broader context of ‘scale’ that considers how marginalisation and connectedness (the marginal hub) intersect in even the most mundane moments of convivial exchange. By tracing processes of marginalisation, boundary making and bordering within the local, citywide, state and international context, the article follows the production of a marginalised or ‘border’ subjectivity through to the individual level. The subjectivities produced in this context act to enforce degrees of self-imposed silence amongst those subjected to processes of marginalisation. In addition, again attending to scale through an acknowledgement of the connected nature of the *mohallas*, the article also considers the role of conviviality in global chains of supply through the creation and maintenance of bonds and obligations that facilitate production in the city’s wood industry<sup>2</sup>.

This article lays out a theoretical terrain for ‘performed conviviality’ within and beyond a ‘marginal hub’. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in the Muslim dominated woodworking *mohallas* (neighbourhoods) of Saharanpur (North India), the article argues that current theoretical development of ‘conviviality’ as a normative project<sup>3</sup> neglects instrumentality, violence, silence and power that are embedded in everyday convivial interactions. The article moves beyond normative conventions by attending to ‘performed conviviality’, which conceals these concerns but is also a part of what makes conviviality conceptually productive. I tie this in with forms of marginalisation, both socio-economic and subjective, that are a part of *mohalla* life. I also consider the ways in which conviviality within a ‘marginal hub’, and conviviality more generally, are rooted in more than the locale alone. Thus, I scale up and engage with conviviality in the context of labour markets and global supply chains. At the opposite end of the spatial perspective I trace a sense of bordering and marginalisation into the subjective level and explore the ways in which a ‘bordered’ or ‘marginalised’ subjectivity acts to create ‘silence’ in everyday convivial interactions.

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<sup>3</sup> M. Nowicka and S. Vertovec, ‘Introduction. Comparing Convivialities: Dreams and realities of living-with-difference’, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, December 2013, pp. 1–16; A. Wise and S. Velayutham, ‘Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism: Some brief comparisons between Singapore and Sydney’, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, December 2013, pp. 406–430

As with other contributions in this special issue, I bring together ‘marginal hubs’ (marginalised yet connected spatial configurations) and ‘conviviality’, understood as being about ‘normative concerns with how to make spaces more positively interactive, or conversely how spaces might become more convivial through the everyday practices and routines of people inhabiting them’<sup>4</sup>. The ethnography focuses on a relatively ‘informal’ urban context, involving limited state intervention in terms of planning or infrastructure. As such my engagement with conviviality is more concerned with ‘everyday practices and routines’<sup>5</sup>, than with attempts to make space more convivial through interventions. The types of conviviality generated in this context play out within shifting configurations of marginalisation and connectedness shaped by economy, sociality and space. I explore what conviviality does within the everyday. However, I also draw out limitations regarding the ‘potentiality of conviviality’<sup>6</sup>.

The article comprises three sections. The first, engages theoretically with the *mohalla* as a ‘marginal hub’ and begins the process of intersecting this with conviviality. This sets the scene for following ethnographic sections. The first of these details the woodworking industry. It illustrates the ways in which instrumentality is both present within, and producing of, degrees of conviviality. It illuminates how the economic and social configurations of the *mohallas* foster convivial relations but argues that conviviality acts not only to bridge degrees of difference but also feeds global supply chains and sustains production by fermenting obligation and connectedness. The final section moves from the ‘global’ to the ‘subjective’. Here, I situate marginalisation as rooted in the subjectivities of those experiencing it, as opposed to relative ‘distance’ from the nation state. In this context, conviviality intersects with marginality and power to produce degrees of ‘silence’ within mundane convivial interactions.

### **Locating the *Mohalla*: Between Marginalisation & Connectedness**

With much work on colonial and post-colonial spaces focusing on nodal metropolises, such as Mumbai and Calcutta, or new metro centres, such as Bangalore or Gurgaon, provincial cities have remained peripheral within discussions of urban space in South Asia<sup>7</sup>. Often ‘...bypassed by the official fixation on new modernist cities and the anthropological predisposition towards the village’<sup>8</sup>, this absence of attention leads Ajay Gandhi to term India’s provincial urban centres as ‘black cities’. Whilst some work has now attended to these spaces<sup>9</sup>, they remain ‘grey areas’ of which our understanding and empirical engagements are limited. Situated on the geographical, economic and political margin, Saharanpur is a city of 703,345<sup>10</sup>, in the

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<sup>4</sup> Nowicka and Vertovec, p. 10

<sup>5</sup> Nowicka and Vertovec, p. 10

<sup>6</sup> A. Gandhi and L. Hoek, ‘Introduction to crowds and conviviality: Ethnographies of the South Asian city’, *Ethnography*, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 2012, pp. 3-11; P. Gilroy, *After empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?*, Routledge, London, 2014; H. Shaftoe, H. *Convivial urban spaces: Creating effective public places*, Earthscan, London, 2012

<sup>7</sup> H. Donner and G. De Neve (Eds.) *The meaning of the local: politics of place in urban India*, London, Routledge, 2007

<sup>8</sup> A. Gandhi, (2011). Crowds, congestion, conviviality: The enduring life of the old city, in A Companion to the Anthropology of India, I. Clark-Decès (ed), Wiley, Chichester, pp. 202-222 (p. 207)

<sup>9</sup> H. Donner and G. De Neve (Eds.) *The meaning of the local: politics of place in urban India*; L. Gayer and C. Jaffrelot, *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*, Columbia University Press, Columbia, 2013; C. Jeffrey, *Timepass: Youth, class, and the politics of waiting in India*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Saharanpur Religion Census 2011, May 2011, <http://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/district/503-saharanpur.html> [Accessed 12<sup>th</sup> April 2017]

northwest of Uttar Pradesh. Its Muslim population comprises around 45%<sup>11</sup> and it is often referred to as ‘little Pakistan’ by Hindus and others from neighbouring regions. Within nationalist discourses the Muslim neighbourhoods Saharanpur and similar cities are often presented as dangerous, dirty, ungoverned and uneducated – the ‘danger and demonic character of the Muslim other’<sup>12</sup>. This blends with representations of Indian Muslims defined through subtler means. For example, discourse around food may take on ‘cosmological meanings’<sup>13</sup> where consumption of meat can be presented as symbolising violence, pollution or dangerous sexuality<sup>14</sup>. In Saharanpur, this imaginary was often applied to the *mohallas* and in scales beyond the city to the level of national and international discourse.

The city’s large Muslim population are, along with many Indian Muslims, often treated as marginal and defined as ‘marginalised’ by both state and civil society actors. However, the construction of such spaces as ‘marginal’ leaves little room for their theorisation as ‘hubs’. A focus on connections resituates the city’s wood *mohallas*. The Muslim identity of craft workers gives access certain networks based on sociality, shared religiosity and complex historical connections. Craft economies may exist at the margins. However, the margin itself is often a space of cultural mingling and conviviality where flexibility and the necessity for physical movement require network building as fundamental to economic survival. Whilst remaining relatively enclaved in terms of religiosity and place based identity, networks of work and migration utilised by the city’s craft workers now extend across India and, increasingly, to the Gulf<sup>15</sup>. As such they also feed into global networks of production, labour migration and wealth extraction as well as intersecting with Islamic circulations and discourses. In every sense, then, the wood *mohallas* can be simultaneously theorised as ‘marginal’ and as a ‘hub’.

Working across the dialectic of ‘marginalisation’ and ‘connectedness’ requires the ethnographic material to straddle the ‘global’ and ‘local’. Here, I follow Anna Tsing<sup>16</sup> in arguing that this allows attention to be paid to ‘hidden relations of production’ and enables an understanding of the movement of objects, capital and people whilst simultaneously grounding the ‘local’ as a site where ‘global flows fragment and are transformed into something place bound and particular’<sup>17</sup>. In this framework, ‘place’ can be as much a centre, or ‘hub’, for national and global connections as it can be an end. It is, Saskia Sassen<sup>18</sup> argues, the urban realm that offers greatest potential to explore connections of local and global. The Asian city, even small or provincial cities, are highly networked spaces. As Shail Mayaram<sup>19</sup> indicates, South Asian cities link to webs of interconnection stretching from South East Asia to the Middle East, and embody forms of cosmopolitanism which are in constant process and regularly intersected or incorporated via economic flows, trade, religion or state and non-state

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<sup>11</sup> Saharanpur Religion Census, 2011

<sup>12</sup> T. B. Hansen, *The saffron wave: Democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1999

<sup>13</sup> N. Mookherjee, ‘Culinary boundaries and the making of place in Bangladesh’, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, April 2008, pp. 56-75. (p. 58)

<sup>14</sup> S. Chigateri, ‘“Glory to the Cow”: Cultural Difference and Social Justice in the Food Hierarchy in India’ *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, April 2008, pp. 10-35.

<sup>15</sup> T. Chambers, *Continuity in Mind: Imagination and Migration in India and the Gulf*, *Modern Asian Studies*, in press.

<sup>16</sup> A. Tsing, ‘The global situation’, *Cultural Anthropology*. Vol. 15, No. 3, August 2000, pp. 327-360.

<sup>17</sup> Tsing, p. 338

<sup>18</sup> S. Sassen, *Losing control? Sovereignty in an age of globalisation*. Columbia University Press, Columbia, 1996

<sup>19</sup> S. Mayaram (Ed.), *The other global city*, Abingdon; Routledge, 2009

actors. Given conviviality's rootedness in normative projects of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism<sup>20</sup>, Mayaram's point proves particularly salient.

Despite its marginality, Saharanpur has long-established trading connections with the Middle East, Malaysia, Singapore and Japan as well as religious links to the centre of the Islamic world and beyond. *Mohallas* are not relics of the past or devoid of change. Rather, old craft industries, that form the economic backbone of places like Saharanpur, Meerut, Moradabad and Bijnor, have been reconfigured through engagement with global markets. Growing populations and increasing, if highly unequal, affluence drive patterns of consumption, style, religiosity and festivities<sup>21</sup>. These mini-metropolises are the heart of contemporary Indian development and thus reflect not only local but also national aspirations and insecurities. Yet there is much about *mohalla* life that makes every day experiences of 'place' and 'belonging' different from that of other spatial configurations in urban arenas across the subcontinent. Christophe Jaffrelot and Laurent Gayer<sup>22</sup> emphasise the importance of attending to the 'trajectories of marginalisation' experienced by Indian Muslims, arguing this is most keenly felt in old cities of the north where partition heralded a loss of Muslim influence and post-independence has seen persistent and deliberate marginalisation by the state. However, experiences of marginalisation are not shaped through a single trajectory or felt identically by all residents of the *mohallas*. As Raj Chandavarkar<sup>23</sup> argues, communalism and the structuring of urban space in the Indian context must be understood 'in terms of the racialisation of social, especially religious, difference [but...] it cannot be grasped as religious conflict in isolation from caste and class, language and 'ethnicity'<sup>24</sup>.

This pushes us to engage with the *mohalla*'s residents, not only as victims but as active in defining, shaping, negotiating and contesting boundaries. Atreyee Sen<sup>25</sup> describes the agglomeration of various *mohallas* into the sprawling slum of Sultanpur in Hyderabad. Sen's ethnographic material illustrates how the configuration of Sultanpur is also shaped through spatial claim making by residents. Sen focuses on *mohalla mardangi* (male pride), among young men and boys who exert youthful authority in defence of the Muslim neighbourhood, and police its spatial definitions, in particular female engagement with the public sphere. As with Sen's descriptions of Sultanpur the public spaces of the wood *mohallas* were dominated by men and boys. Yet, my experience was not constituted in the same stark spatial context that Sen conjures. Rather the male sociality of the public sphere constituted a set of convivial relations which transverse certain boundaries, in particular those of *biraderi*<sup>26</sup> (caste/community) and class. Thus, the *mohallas* can be represented not only through communalism but also as realms for connection and community building, a duality Chandavarkar illuminated in earlier material<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> A. Wise and G. Noble, 'Convivialities: An Orientation', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 5, August 2016, pp. 423-431.

<sup>21</sup> See also: A. Gandhi, *Crowds, congestion, conviviality: The enduring life of the old city*

<sup>22</sup> Gayer and Jaffrelot, *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*.

<sup>23</sup> R. Chandavarkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009

<sup>24</sup> Chandavarkar, p. 111

<sup>25</sup> A. Sen, 'Exist, endure, erase the city' (Sheher mein jiye, is ko sahe, ya ise mitaye?): Child vigilantes and micro-cultures of urban violence in a riot-affected Hyderabad slum', *Ethnography*, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 2012, pp. 71-86.

<sup>26</sup> Usually seen as looser than Hindu caste.

<sup>27</sup> R. Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business strategies and the Working Class in Bombay, 1900-1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994

These contributions to understanding the Indian *mohalla* have resonances with work on other marginalised spaces, including some dealing with conviviality. In their recent article Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham<sup>28</sup> detail the Muslim enclave of Lakemba, in Sydney and an apartment block in Singapore comprising a diverse Asian population. They focus on ‘transversal enablers’, those who actively seek to build connections across difference, forms of intercultural gift exchange and, what they term, ‘intercultural habitus’, a habitus built slowly over generations and through encounters beginning in childhood which enables negotiation and accommodation of difference. In Singapore they describe how, within a context of extended coexistence between those of Indian, Malay, Chinese and other origins, a tacit knowledge and respect for each other’s practices and rituals has developed. As with the gullies of Saharanpur’s *mohallas*, Wise and Velayutham’s descriptions of corridors in the Singaporean apartment block echo a sense of ‘thrown togetherness’ and remind us that both informal and formal design can create contexts that embody the potentiality for conviviality, whether actively intended by the designer or not. They also ask us to think beyond long discussed notions of civility by attending to ‘embodied, habitual, sensuous and affective’<sup>29</sup> factors that give conviviality duration beyond place and moment.

Their article makes an effective case for focus on everyday forms of multiculturalism and conviviality. However, the following ethnographic section picks up, not from these more theoretical contributions, but from their description of the role of those engaging in ‘bridging and connecting work’. In Sydney’s Lakemba district they cite the case of Mrs Nazar, an Indonesian restaurant owner. For the authors, Mrs Nazar is the ideal embodiment of a convivial bridge builder and ‘cultural representative’:

[She is one of those...] charismatic individuals who make people feel welcome, start conversations and build connections. In other words, there are both cultural and personal dimensions to her bridging work. On the one hand, it is the space of her restaurant that brings diverse people together. [...] Mrs Nazar’s vocal presence knits her customers together into something more collective and convivial, and she explicitly works at reducing tensions and bridging difference<sup>30</sup>.

What the authors miss from their descriptions of Mrs Nazar’s convivial nature is the ‘performed’ element. It is, after all, in her vested interests to ensure that her customers feel welcome and experience a convivial atmosphere so that they continue to frequent her establishment. As well as not dealing with degrees of instrumentality, the focus is also drawn away from the economic context within which everyday lives in marginal urban spaces are bound. The city, and its associated forms of conviviality, do not sit within a clearly segregated spatial context of city, neighbourhood and private sphere. Rather, as with urban scale itself, spaces of everyday conviviality are part of a broader fabric which interconnects individual mundane forms of interaction to the national, the global and to the international<sup>31</sup>. It is to these dualities inherent within conviviality, particularly in its ‘performed’ form, along with detail regarding the specific historical context and vernacular understandings of conviviality, which the following ethnographic section now turns.

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<sup>28</sup> Wise and Velayutham, ‘Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism: Some brief comparisons between Singapore and Sydney’

<sup>29</sup> Wise and Velayutham, p. 425

<sup>30</sup> Wise and Velayutham, p. 12

<sup>31</sup> N. Brenner, ‘The urban question as a scale question: reflections on Henri Lefebvre, urban theory and the politics of scale’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 24, No. 2, June 2000, pp. 361–378.

### Saharanpur's *Mohallas*: From Everyday Conviviality to International Supply Chain

Saharanpur is a city of two halves, defined through spatial and social segmentation. The main railway line, running through the centre, provides a divide between the two. Court Road and the neighbourhoods to the south present a relatively 'formal' and affluent face. Government enclaves and offices are located here and the thoroughfares are lined by shop fronts donned with corporate imagery and glass facades. Streets are well maintained and encroachments by shop owners and others kept in check. These neighbourhoods contain few of the city's Muslims. The area immediately to the north of the railway line consists a more mixed environment where Masjids, Temples and Gurdwaras sit in close proximity. It also tends to be the primary site of conflict when tensions arise, often around struggles for space. In July of 2014, during a return visit to the city, one such incident occurred. The Singh Sabha Gurdwara, located close to the railway station, had purchased some land to expand its facilities. However, a former MLA claimed that the land was in fact owned by the *Waqf* board of a local *Masjid* (Mosque). On July 26<sup>th</sup> violence erupted and both parties engaged in clashes across the city, three people died. During an earlier period of fieldwork colour thrown at a *Masjid* during the Hindu festival of *Holi* triggered another period of communal trouble. Such moments may be ignited by specific flash points. However, they are also resultant of a deeper set of tensions that reside under the surface of everyday life in the city. This is bound up in a long history of communal tension and, most significantly, the events of partition. However, there was also a sense among many of the *mohalla*'s residents, particularly older individuals, of decline and nostalgia for a lost 'golden age', an *affective* sense that has been documented in many of North India's Muslim craft industries<sup>32</sup>.

The north of the city is the location for the city's Muslim *mohallas*. These neighbourhoods stand in stark contrast to those in the south and see little of the infrastructure investment and state presence of other areas. The *mohallas* are also home to the city's large wood working industry which ranges across production sites from large factories to small workshops, individual craft workers and homeworkers. It is this space, and its associated *mohalla* of *Hasan Nager*<sup>33</sup>, that provides the location for much of the ethnographic material presented in this article. Like so many others in Saharanpur, the gully was filled with constant tapping from the chisels and hammers of carvers and carpenters. This was layered against the drone of cutting and buffing machines which filled the air with noise and sawdust. The gullies were regularly interspersed with *masjids* from which the call to prayer provided the only cessation to the otherwise continuous soundscape of production. The entrance to *Hasan Nager* was dominated by the showrooms of wholesalers and exporters who, along with some large factories, linked into multifaceted domestic and international supply chains. The shop fronts of the workplaces that supplied them opened onto the street and a glance in revealed the various stages of production in which each specialised. These highly interconnected workspaces formed a social realm in which informal relations were built as tea and conversation was shared.

The *mohallas* are both fostering of conviviality, a result of spatial arrangements that ferment intense forms of (gendered) sociality, and are themselves shaped through convivial relations. Nigel Thrift<sup>34</sup> situates conviviality as being about the emotional and *affective* makeup of urban space, shaped through rhythms and patterns of the everyday, as a pose to being expressly about

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<sup>32</sup> i.e. N. Kumar, *The Artisans of Banaras: Popular Culture and Identity, 1880-1986*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1998; M. Mohsini, *The Rise and Fall of Glitter: Craft, Modernity and the Zardozi of Old Delhi*. PHD Thesis (School of Oriental and African Studies), 2010

<sup>33</sup> Pseudonym

<sup>34</sup> N. Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory. Space, Politics, Affect*, Routledge, London, 2008

‘multicultural otherness’<sup>35</sup>. The narrow gullies that made up most of *Hasan Nager*, were filled not just with the wood workshops but also *chai* stalls, small eateries, general provision stores, small shops, *masjids* and an ever-increasing proliferation of gyms. The occupants of the workshops tended to coalesce into groups who shared similar interests, spaces of sociality and convivial exchange. Workshop owners, middlemen, wholesalers and exporters all utilised conviviality not just to get on with those of differing status or position but also as means to cement relations of production which were built, not just on trust and reciprocity, but also obligation and duty. A convivial and apparently social exchange, may often be as much to do with forging a connection through which production is enabled, ensuring the completion of an order or the payment of outstanding money as about bridging or civility building work.

This is not to situate the gullies as a utopic ideal free of tension, as Nowicka & Vertovec<sup>36</sup> suggest “conviviality and conflict lie close to each other”<sup>37</sup>. Tensions could flare up and convivial relations between friends, neighbours and others could erupt into moments of aggression and even violence. Yet there was a sense of what Doreen Massey<sup>38</sup> terms ‘thrown togetherness’. This ‘thrown togetherness’ is deeply rooted in the history of the city and in spatial pressures that have pushed somewhat disparate groups of Muslims together within the *mohallas*. The city was seen as something of a safe-haven during 1947 and saw an influx of Muslim refugees of various classes, *biraderis* and backgrounds from other areas of the country, as well as Hindus from Pakistani Punjab. Faisal<sup>39</sup>, an old friend in the *Hasan Nager* recalls:

My father and uncle came to Saharanpur from Yamuna Nagar. At that time the Yamuna River was full and they came by swimming. My uncle and father lived in the forest on the river bank of the Yamuna as they were fearful. They had no relatives or link in Saharanpur. They met some people who told them ‘let’s go to Saharanpur as there are many Muslims there, you will be safe’. They met in Yamuna Nagar and they told them to come as Saharanpur was safe for Muslims. Finally, my father and uncle arrived here and many Muslims helped them. Some gave food and others clothes, many helped them and my father and uncle also married in Saharanpur<sup>40</sup>.

Saharanpur became a safe-haven in part due to its location as a major rail junction on route to newly partitioned Pakistan but also as the city, unlike some others in the region, retained much of its native Muslim population. Here, a scholar of nearby Deoband Madrassa, Maulana Husain Ahmed, played a crucial role. Having travelled from Deoband he gave a famous speech at the city’s Jamma Masjid declaring ‘Do not go! This our country... we are safe here!’<sup>41</sup>. The influence of the Maulana of Deoband was such that many who had been preparing to depart changed their minds, ensuring sufficient security to attract others fleeing the bloodshed and provide sustenance and shelter to the influx of Muslim refugees. The compassion shown to those arriving in Saharanpur by existing Muslim residents was often mentioned in accounts of partition I collected. It was also very much a part of contemporary thinking on what defines a *Sharīf* (honourable) person and how *mehman* (guests/others) should be treated. The mass of refugees, who constituted those of various classes and *biraderis* from artisans and labourers to the educated middle classes, initially took up residence in roadsides and empty grounds but gradually became more integrated with the local population.

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<sup>35</sup> Nowicka and Vertovec, ‘Comparing Convivialities: Dreams and realities of living-with-difference’

<sup>36</sup> ...

<sup>37</sup> Nowicka and Vertovec, p. 6

<sup>38</sup> D. Massey, *For Space*, Sage, London, 2005

<sup>39</sup> All names changed.

<sup>40</sup> Faisal (September 2010)

<sup>41</sup> As recalled by an elderly informant who was at the Masjid as a child. No transcript of the speech exists.

Attending to this historical context also steers us towards a consideration of the *affective* terrain of the *mohalla* in more vernacular terms. Convivial translates roughly into *Urdu* as *milansaar* (affable/sociable/amiable/neighbourly/courteous). However, understanding the *affective* context requires more than a crude translation. Margrit Pernau's seminal work detailing the 'history of emotions' among North Indian Muslims provides a foundation for beginning to unpack the nature of conviviality in Saharanpur's *mohallas*. In a recent piece<sup>42</sup>, Pernau reflects on an article published in 1880 in the *Tahzibu-l Akhlaq*<sup>43</sup>, which begins with the question as to the nature of Allah's gift which gives '...men an enthusiasm (*josh*) for meeting others and establishing bonds?'<sup>44</sup>. The author, Pernau continues, draws on both Islamic and Enlightenment traditions to locate this within *affective* notions of love and compassion (*muhabbat/hamdardī*), emotions which, whilst naturally produced, must also be cultivated to 'form the basis of civilisation'<sup>45</sup>. Whilst not identical in conceptualisation to the notions of conviviality, which takes space rather than the individual as its starting point, it is a pertinent reminder that attempts to cultivate certain forms of relatedness, ways of bridging difference and building community are not confined to the Euro/American context.

The account provided by Pernau is primarily focused on forging compassion and civility amongst Indian Muslims that bridge divides of class, status or hierarchy and counter the perceived decline of Muslim influence following British colonialism and the failed uprising of 1847. However, there are also interventions aimed more specifically at bridging beyond the Muslim community. During a speech given in Delhi in 1938 Maulana Husain Ahmed, who had appealed to the crowd to remain in Saharanpur, argued for the idea of Islam in India being compatible with 'composite nationalism', a concept which envisioned a united and independent India that embodied within the fabric of the State ideas of co-dependency and conviviality between various faiths. Whilst recognising certain problematic areas Maulana argued that:

...The assumption that Islam and its adherents cannot confederate and interact with any other system is unacceptable. Although Islamic jurisdiction and sharia contains written views on several matters, there remain uncountable things that are allowed, and in which each person is free to act upon as per his own expediency. Among these are kingdoms, their ordinances and organisations [...the British] do not want Muslims to participate in composite nationalism and become a united force in launching the freedom struggle that may prove the catalyst in overthrowing the British government<sup>46</sup>.

Both these narratives are present today and can be witnessed and *felt* through ethnographic engagement with the *mohalla* and its residents. However, just as with Mrs Nazar in Sydney, both the local history of scholarly intervention and current everyday forms of conviviality are not disconnected from more instrumental concerns, intersections with the socio-economic position of North Indian Muslims, or the impact of global supply chains which have become pervasively embedded in the *mohalla*. As Margrit Pernau points out regarding 'compassion', [...it] is a social emotion but not necessarily an unequivocally benign emotion. It serves to construct a community and to negotiate boundaries, but it is also a tool of exclusion and helps fortifying the communities' internal hierarchies'<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> M. Pernau, 'Love and compassion for the community: Emotions and practices among North Indian Muslims, c. 1870–1930', *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*. January 2017, Vol. 54 No. 1, pp. 21-42.

<sup>43</sup> Pernau states that the author's name is missing but suggests it is likely Saiyid Ahmad Khan

<sup>44</sup> Pernau, p. 21

<sup>45</sup> Pernau, p. 22

<sup>46</sup> A. M. Husain, *Composite nationalism and Islam (Muttahida qaumiyat aur Islam)* translated by Mohammad Anwer Hussain, 1938 [2005], p. 133-134

<sup>47</sup> Pernau, p. 21

Whilst this history forms an important part of unpacking conviviality amongst the *mohalla*'s Muslim residents, there is also significant bridge building work that takes place beyond the Muslim community. As with the everyday conviviality of the *mohalla*, this too was layered within a broader context of business, production and network building. In the summer of 2011 Faisal, whose father had come to Saharanpur along the river from Yamuna Nager during partition, and I sat in his small rented room above a workshop. Outside his children played while his wife and eldest daughter ate, having served us a meal of mutton korma and roti some time before. Faisal explained that his son, Yusuf, had been working in the house of Sushil, a well-off Hindu who lived in the Court Road neighbourhood across the railway line. He was keen that we made the trip across the city to see him and explained that he had been telling Sushil about me and that Sushil wanted to meet me. I was a little unwilling, having barely recovered from a trip back from Delhi, but eventually agreed to drive us on my motorbike. The visit would lead to a series of convivial exchanges. Faisal and I would make the journey across the city and enjoy the hospitality and food provided by Sushil and his wife. Likewise, Sushil made trips to visit us in the *mohallas*. Bano, Faisal's wife, prepared vegetarian food which Sushil was happy to eat despite Brahmin rules of pollution. Faisal, always keen to have guests in the house, was pleased with the developing relationship. The trips took us across lines of demarcation that intersected the city and bridged bounds of religion, class and caste.

In the years following fieldwork I often returned to stay with Faisal and his family. On one occasion Sushil took both of us to visit his large farm 30km beyond the city. For Faisal, the visit to the village left him in a somewhat contradictory position. On the one hand, he was there as a guest and recipient of the conviviality offered by Sushil but was unsure of negotiating cultural norms of status and caste that were deeply engrained within both social and spatial aspects of the village context. He hovered at the door as we entered the house and was hesitant as to whether to sit on the sofa or squat nearby. Conviviality had been enabling in bridge building across difference but power and hierarchy were still patently present. For Faisal, too, there was more to this relationship than conviviality alone. Faisal's own goals were not necessarily that of the bridge builder seeking inter-religious solidarity but were also tied up with economic networking to access work in the more affluent neighbourhoods. Faisal was frank about these intentions and expressed his gratitude that he had been able to utilise my presence to establish links into an area where access would usually have been limited<sup>48</sup>.

Whilst the *mohallas* were ostensibly Muslim, there were also some Hindu families in amongst the gullies and workshops. In the neighbourhood of *Ali-ki-chungi* I met Gurmeet. Originating from Gujarat, her family had lived in the neighbourhood since before partition. The family had been successful in establishing a wholesale business drawing on the skills and labour of their Muslim neighbours to enable manufacturing. As with men in more public areas of the bazaar, maintaining networks of production required constant reinforcement through convivial acts. I spent some weeks working with women in a neighbouring house who supplied Gurmeet. The matriarch, Faiza, was a headstrong woman in her late 50s, who in turn ran a network of various other Muslim women in the neighbourhood. In the run-up to Eid, Gurmeet was careful to convey her best wishes and reinforce the sense of connectedness between the two houses through sending sweets for the breaking of *roza* (fast). The public spaces of the gully, and other 'tools of conviviality'<sup>49,50</sup>, acted as locations that enabled the "interweaving of

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<sup>48</sup> Worth noting the potentiality of the researcher to act as a 'convivial bridge builder'.

<sup>49</sup> I. Illich and A. Lang (1973). *Tools for conviviality*, 1973, [http://o500.org/books/ivan\\_illich\\_tools\\_for\\_conviviality.pdf](http://o500.org/books/ivan_illich_tools_for_conviviality.pdf) [accessed 25th September, 2016]

<sup>50</sup> Particularly mobile phones.

ethnically different private spheres”<sup>51</sup>. Yet there were distinct limits to this, limits that continued to be defined by religious difference and contrasted with the constant toing and froing between the Muslim households of the gully, as Gurmeet described:

I have a fixed lady for my work (Faiza). I cannot go directly in their homes but I just call her on the phone and ask her to come and take the work. Not just one person can complete one box, it is a big procedure and one box goes in many hands for work. Only after this will it be complete. Some people cut the box, some finish it and some pack it. Faiza is very important for me as she can organise all the Muslim women in the gully and ensure the work is completed on time<sup>52</sup>.

Whilst convivial acts of gift exchange underscored the relationship between the two women, conviviality constantly intermingled with work, labour and production. It is critical, then, to move beyond an examination of conviviality that remains overly grounded in the ‘local’ and thus risks becoming prematurely celebratory. In the context of the *mohallas*, everyday forms of conviviality not only contain degrees of instrumentality but also feed into global chains of supply and act to mediate control over labour by establishing forms of obligation and mutual interdependence. At times these tensions become exposed. Just as Gurmeet engaged in convivial exchanges to maintain her connection to Faiza, so Faiza constantly reinforced her connections to other Muslim households in the gully to cement her own position as an informal supervisor of production. However, there was an awareness amongst those receiving her convivial approaches that her interests were bound up in instrumental concerns. Bano, a nearby resident, recalls the moment when her relationship with Faiza broke down:

I have left her work as we have to do 100 boxes in a day and get just 10 rupees for that. ‘Hamara wasta kahtam’ [our relationship is finished]. Why should we do hard work for only 10rs? [...] She is also very poor and has many problems, we know this. She is the senior lady in this area and is head in the gully. She is a very clever lady and when she has lots of work she comes in our house and says that she has lots of urgent orders [...]but] she gets the benefit and is making a fool of our family.

Significant for re-iterating vernacular understandings of conviviality, is Bano’s use of the term *wasta*. Drawn from Arabic but widely used in *Urdu*, *wasta* describes trust and reciprocity based networks ‘reinforced by Islam’s emphasis on family, social solidarity [...] and mutual assistance’<sup>53</sup>. It is about being connected in order to get things done and involves building social networks that are as much about long-term investment as they are about more immediate forms of reciprocity. However, it also acknowledges that sociality, civility and conviviality are bound up with power, influence, and forms of social capital<sup>54</sup>. Even in relations where conviviality and compassion should be most ‘easily’ or ‘naturally’ occurring, (kin and friends, for example) there are still forms of obligation, instrumentality and economy present. These may or may not be seen as a problem, *wasta* merely recognises their presence but does not judge the morality of a diverse set consequences. Thus, it was not just a convivial, social or business relationship that Bano had terminated but also a set of obligations and power-laden reciprocity that are recognised as being embedded in all social relations.

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<sup>51</sup> Wise and Velayutham ‘Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism: Some brief comparisons between Singapore and Sydney’

<sup>52</sup> Gurmeet (November, 2011)

<sup>53</sup> H, El-Said and J. Harrigan, “‘You Reap What You Plant’: Social Networks in the Arab World—The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan’, *World Development*, Vol. 37, No. 7, July 2009, pp. 1235-1249. (p. 1238)

<sup>54</sup> K. Hutchings and D. Weir, ‘Guanxi and wasta: A comparison’, *Thunderbird International Business Review*, Vol 48, No. 1, January 2006, pp. 141-56.

The informal *mohalla* neighbourhoods, the sense of ‘thrown togetherness’<sup>55</sup>, and the intense forms of sociality shaped within this spatial context, actively produced relations of conviviality reflective of those found in more normative renderings. Types of ‘bridging work’ were also present, extending across difference both within the *mohalla* and beyond real or imagined ‘borders’. However, just as with Wise and Velayutham’s account of Mrs Nazar, Faisal, Faiza, Gurmeet and others were also ‘performing conviviality’ to further interests that act to bridge across difference but may not be explicitly be intended to do so by the bridger themselves. The salience and strength of conviviality is produced in a non-bounded context intersected not only by the social but also the economic and instrumental. However, the ‘performed element’ of convivial exchange is not limited to self-interest alone. Conviviality, as a means of negotiating difference, inherently involves unequal relations of power and can be key to maintaining ‘internal hierarchies’<sup>56</sup>. In the following section I push my theorisation of ‘performed elements’ of conviviality further through attending to the subjective level and subtler forms of ‘performance’ which become embodied as much in what is ‘not said’ and what is ‘not enacted’ as it does within what is ‘said and done’. To do so I begin with spatial conceptualisations of the margin and trace this through to a ‘border’ or ‘marginalised subjectivity’. This, I argue, intersects at the level of everyday interaction to produce forms of silence which add another layer of ‘performance’ to conviviality.

### **‘Bordering’ the *Mohalla*: From the State to the Subjective**

The ‘margin’, as a conceptual space, can be conceived as composing areas on the fringes of the nation state<sup>57</sup>, spaces and places “situated at the margins of the political order”<sup>58</sup>. Margins can be seen as constituted of the ‘non-privileged’ with such groups often seeking salvation in ‘non-state’ sources<sup>59</sup> or more ‘traditional’ or ‘charismatic’ forms of authority. Margins may also provide a place of refuge, self-governance and progressive forms of anarchic social organisation<sup>60</sup>. However, Veena Das and Deborah Poole<sup>61</sup> illustrate the blurred nature of ‘margins’ where informal actors at times perform outside the law but also appeal to the law. In degrees, the *mohallas* embody this ‘greyness’. They provide a sense of security from a potentially threatening ‘other’ and from a ‘Hindustani’<sup>62</sup> state often seen as dubious or even hostile. Simultaneously, however, the state provides the main source of claim-making and is regularly appealed to for interventions, welfare and security.

None the less there remains a sense of distancing from the state. At times this could be explicit, but also played out in subtler ways. Islam was a neighbour of Faisal. As with Faisal and many others in the *mohalla* he regularly migrated to other parts of the country for work. Whenever he left, Islam was sure to take his *Pehchan Patra* (voting card) which was essential not just to vote but also as an identity card<sup>63</sup>. In part, he took it to facilitate practical concerns.

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<sup>55</sup> Massey, *For Space*

<sup>56</sup> Pernau, p. 21

<sup>57</sup> V. Das and D. Poole, *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. SAR Press, Santa Fe, 2004

<sup>58</sup> G. Agamben, *State of exception*. *Nova srpska politička misao*, Vol. 12, No. 1+4, pp. 135-145. (p. 6)

<sup>59</sup> i.e. Max Weber’s emphasises on the role of religion.

<sup>60</sup> J. C. Scott, *The art of not being governed. An anarchist History of upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University, Yale, 2009

<sup>61</sup> Das and Poole, *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*.

<sup>62</sup> Meaning ‘land of the Hindu’, it evokes a sense of living in a nation of and for ‘the other’. It was widely used by Muhammad Ali Jinnah (founder of Pakistan) to evoke the idea of Pakistan (‘land of the pure’).

<sup>63</sup> Gradually being replaced by the biometric Aadhaar Card.

However, for Islam and other migrants from the *mohallas*, the card carried additional meaning beyond enabling modalities of migration. It was as much associated with showing ‘who you were not’ as it was with showing ‘who you were’. A Muslim without ID in India quickly becomes suspicious, a point Islam emphasised: ‘If the police catch any Muslim and he does not have all cards, then they will say "he is a terrorist". But if a Hindu is arrested they will never say this’<sup>64</sup>. Here subtler forms of marginality play out. Regarding *mohalla* neighbourhoods in Varanasi, Philippa Williams<sup>65</sup> suggests that whilst an absent or inaccessible state allows us to situate ‘margins’ in relation to the state, we should also examine a more emotive level constituted through “feelings of alienation and of being at the edge of the politics that mattered”<sup>66</sup>.

Similar debates have been core to literature on ‘borders’. Hastings Donnan & Dieter Haller<sup>67</sup>, for example, argue that border populations, whilst geographically marginal to ‘the centre’, are through their very locality on the fringes of nations, active in shaping and defining states themselves. Yet, here too, a sense of ‘being marginal’ persists. As with the *mohallas*, spatial exclusion and socio-economic or political marginalisation are often experienced by those living close to, on, or across borders. Jason Cons<sup>68</sup> focuses on a border enclave, or *chhitmahal*, which is constituted as Bangladeshi territory but surrounded on all sides by land belonging to India. Those residing in the enclave found themselves in a permanent ‘state of exception’ as they were simultaneously unable to access the legal and citizenship rights of Bangladesh or India, thus rendering them vulnerable to exploitation and violence perpetrated either by the Indian state or local Indian citizenry.

Whilst assigning a permanent ‘state of exception’ to the *mohallas*, within the terms defined by Cons or Agamben, would obscure forms of citizenship enacted by residents, there are degrees of exception present. The notion of being apart yet within, as with Cons’s *chhitmahal*, is often articulated within the community. Cons’s informants saw the border as a divide between nations but also ‘imagined’ the border as more, specifically as a divide between Hindu and Muslim. However, ethnographic work has revealed how borders, including those that separate nation states, are not necessarily rigid, fixed entities but are also constituted through everyday performances of power, observation (as either observer or observed), security and governance<sup>69</sup> which are engaged with, contested and shaped by agentive local actors in various ways<sup>70</sup>.

In the context of the Line of Control (LoC) between Ladakh (India) and Pakistan, Ravina Aggarwal<sup>71</sup> has described the processes that underpin and maintain borders as being constituted through the emergence of a "border subjectivity" which is not only created by the material

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<sup>64</sup> Islam (August, 2015)

<sup>65</sup> P. Williams, (2011). ‘An absent presence: experiences of the ‘welfare state’ in an Indian Muslim mohallā’. *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 263-280.

<sup>66</sup> Williams, p. 227

<sup>67</sup> H. Donnan and D. Haller, ‘Liminal no More’. *Ethnologia Europaea*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2000, pp. 7-22.

<sup>68</sup> J. Cons, ‘Narrating boundaries: Framing and contesting suffering, community, and belonging in enclaves along the India–Bangladesh border’, *Political Geography*, Vol. 35, July 2013, pp. 37-46.

<sup>69</sup> R. Aggarwal, *Beyond lines of control: Performance and politics on the disputed borders of Ladakh, India*. Duke University Press, New York, 2004

<sup>70</sup> Donnan and Haller, ‘Liminal no More’; M. Gerwin, and C. Bergmann, ‘Geopolitical relations and regional restructuring: the case of the Kumaon Himalaya, India’, *Erdkunde*, April 2012, pp. 91-107.

<sup>71</sup> Aggarwal, *Beyond lines of control*

construct – the border – but also through every day performances. Here, the border becomes a constant frame of reference within language, cultural practice and even religious ceremony:

...the state repeatedly exerts physical and symbolic authority over its citizens, particularly over hybrid zones and migrant bodies that contaminate dominant notions of purity and unsettle orderliness [...] because border crossings and lines of purity are carefully screened and tightly regimented, citizens of these interstitial spaces can become even more disenfranchised from the mainstream or else totalitarian in their defence of it<sup>72</sup>.

This notion of the border beyond the border, a sense of ‘border-ness’ has been discussed elsewhere. Olga Demetriou<sup>73</sup> traces the border between Turkey and Greece into the Muslim minority community within Greece whom she sees as a ‘bordered population’, a population who are confined through governmental technologies but who are also involved in forms of ‘counter-conduct’. Consequently, the border exists in a constant process of construction and contestation. It is made and remade ‘...rendering its ‘border-ness’ not an essence, but rather a quality [...] Counter-conduct stemming from the state’s processes of producing difference [...], is what destabilises the border so that we may see it analytically as more than just a line’<sup>74</sup>. Within this article the focus is less how state policy, practice and technologies of governmentality produce ‘border subjectivities’ but rather to explore how a ‘border subjectivity’ is negotiated within everyday conviviality across axis of difference.

In Saharanpur, there are concrete forms of border making conducted by non-state actors, although these entangle with state processes. On the edge of *Hasan Nager*, sits a small fenced public park with some scrappy grass and a child’s playground. The amenity was put in as a wealthier, primarily Hindu, neighbourhood began to develop on land adjoining the *mohalla*. Whilst spaces such as parks, roadsides and markets may enable conviviality, they also contain multiple potentialities for ‘danger and pleasure, segregation and communitas, sincerity and irreverence’<sup>75</sup>. For some years the park was utilised by both communities but in the spring of 2016 a resident’s committee in the adjoining neighbourhood began campaigning to have those residing in *Hasan Nager* excluded. Familiar articulations of othering were evoked: Unruly behaviour and the threat posed by the oversexualised Muslim ‘other’ to women and girls whose modesty and chastity must be protected formed the primary argument. In turn this act of border making was contested by residents of the *mohalla*.

Young men and boys, in particular, sought to resist the new boundary. In summer of 2016 Faisal’s son Yusuf and I pulled up by the park on my motorbike to call at his friend’s place. The friend was not home but our conversation quickly turned to the contested space. Yusuf described how a few weeks before some boys from the *mohalla* had been chastised by residents of the neighbouring area for being in the park. That night an unauthorised lock had been placed on the gate by the resident’s committee. However, this only acted to increase the number of boys hanging out in the park after dark. Prior to the incident the park was a space of little interest and *mohalla* boys would only occasionally go. However, the arrival of the padlock had reconfigured the park as a site of contestation and now many climbed the gate at night to resist the new border. The state, then, is active in shaping an imagined border but it is also constituted through everyday politics that posit the ‘civilised’ outside (or inside, as with gated

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<sup>72</sup> Aggarwal, p. 17

<sup>73</sup> O. Demetriou, *Capricious borders: minority, population, and counter-conduct between Greece and Turkey*, Berghahn, Oxford, 2013

<sup>74</sup> Demetriou, p. 10

<sup>75</sup> Gandhi and Hoek, p. 4

communities) against the residents of another space. At the time of writing the resident's committee's appeals to the state to legitimise their bordering practice had gone unheeded and the spatial contestation remained unresolved.

Throughout fieldwork I lived a few doors away from a family, consisting Mehboob, Sabeena and their two sons. They had fallen on hard times after the closure of Mehboob's wood workshop some years before<sup>76</sup>. Mehboob, moved into hosiery but found only a small income. Sabeena had moved to Saharanpur from a hill station for the marriage. I had known the extended family for many years and was close friends with her brothers. Born into tailoring, Sabeena and her two brothers always sought to improve their position and had an ethic of education as a measure of status. However, the move to the city, where spatial segregation and forms of bordering were more intense than in the hills, soon became an obstacle. Sabeena's 'outsider' positionality made her particularly aware of bordering practices. She often reflected on the different '*feeling*' between city and hills, describing more convivial relations between Muslims and Hindus in her previous home. The family had originated in Saharanpur, hence the ongoing connection, only moving to the hills in the 1930s. Despite Sabeena's feelings, it was Saharanpur, as with Faisal's story of his father's swim down river, that provided a haven for the family during partition. Sabeena recalled her father's stories of being taken as an infant by her grandfather as they fled to the city hidden under clothes in a bus.

The family's story, like many, was intertwined with broader histories of communal tension and violence. However, Sabeena's own position was also impacted by her status as a relative 'outsider'. This set Sabeena somewhat apart from other *mohalla* dwellers. It also meant that navigating the complexities of Saharanpur's communal spatial context did not come as easily. Shortly after marriage, during better financial times, the family had attempted to move to a neighbourhood near Court Road hoping that it would offer more opportunities and better schooling. They purchased a property but were confronted by the local resident's association and told that Muslims were not welcome. Eventually they sold the property at a loss and returned to the *mohalla*. Despite this, Sabeena was vociferous in her defence of the need to build cross-community relations and ensured her children respected Hindu holy days and understood their significance. Sabeena, herself, honoured such days with gifts and social calls. She fostered close friendships with Hindu families within and beyond her neighbourhood and encouraged other Muslims to do likewise, a process she saw as key to being a 'modern' Muslim.

This bridging work was carried out despite material forms of bordering and marginalisation. However, there were also subtler ways in which a bordered or marginalised subjectivity played out within otherwise mundane convivial moments. On occasion, I accompanied Sabeena to collect her children from school. Despite the high fees and a journey across town, Sabeena had been determined to send her children to a good school. The Catholic run institution was mainly used by Hindu families and the city's small Christian community. The playground provided a convivial space where parents would chat, share stories and discuss aspirations for their children. On one trip, we sat chatting to Manju, another parent, at the edge of the playground. Manju turned to me and said 'I am glad you know Sabeena; she is a good person. In that area [the *mohallas*] there are so many bad people and many criminals or people making trouble. Only some like Sabeena are good so you must be careful there'. Sabeena smiled, nodded convivially and with an awkward laugh responded 'yes, we try to be good hosts'. Only after returning did she express her frustration at Manju's association of Muslims with violence and

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<sup>76</sup> Account anonymised.

criminality. She had wanted to respond but was forced to remain silent so as not to cause a scene and jeopardise her sons' education. It was a moment in a more complex picture but one that brought together various processes of marginality, bordering, othering and a particular set of power relations. Factors which coalesced to insert silence into a convivial exchange.

Sabeena fits the mould of the idealised convivial actor, a point reinforced by her own articulations of difference in the city as being surmountable, challengeable and bridgeable. However, for Sabeena even mundane moments of conviviality intersected with scales beyond that of immediate spatial concerns. Silence is symbolic of power but it is also an overt form of self-governance. For Demetriou<sup>77</sup> the border wound its ways into the subjectivities of Muslim communities in Greece. As with Demetriou, in Saharanpur 'technologies of governmentality' acted to create a border beyond the border. Even an imagined border has its own forms of materiality which act upon and within people in the everyday. However, Sabeena's interaction in the school playground is illustrative of not just governmental technologies but also more informal forms of bordering that play out within everyday social relations and embed themselves in forms of interaction, both convivial and un-convivial. It was a 'border' or marginalised subjectivity, produced within Sabeena, through these intersecting processes, which led to her 'convivial performance' and rendered her 'silent'.

### Conclusion

This article has explored conviviality and silence in the city through an engagement with everyday life in Saharanpur's Muslim *mohallas*. The article has illustrated the importance of considering conviviality within a context that attends to scale and explores what may be hidden within mundane convivial exchanges. Utilising the notion of 'performed conviviality' the article has done this on two counts. Firstly, it has explored the forms of instrumentality, economy and obligation are embedded in convivial exchanges. The ethnographic material is illustrative of the ways in which these factors are present within, and producing of, degrees of conviviality. In this context, the article has also illustrated the importance of considering conviviality within spatial scales beyond the 'local'. Conviviality can (particularly in contexts where work, labour, production and sociality constantly intermingle) be essential in maintaining labour relations, ensuring production is sustained and supply chains satisfied. Secondly, the ethnography has illuminated the ways in which convivial exchanges may be silencing of underlying tensions. In order to understand the production of silence in conviviality, the article has traced processes of bordering and marginalisation from the spatial to the subjective level. Whilst the article has drawn attention to limitations within the potentiality of conviviality, attending to the 'performed' element has acted to nuance rather than dismiss the convivial by providing a reminder that attention must be paid to broader spatial scales and to political economy as well as the subjective level.

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<sup>77</sup> O. Demetriou, *Capricious borders*