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Introducing *Security Blurs*

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In my neighbourhood[1] in Southern Tel Aviv, white cars can be seen patrolling the streets, with blue and yellow markings, looking very much like regular Israeli police cars. I have learnt to distinguish them, though, by their yellow and blue lights, as opposed to the blue and white lights of a "real" national police vehicle. The neighbourhood is known for its poverty, crime, prostitution and, more recently, for the many African refugees who have found shelter in the small houses around the market. The city of Tel Aviv has neglected this "backyard" of its shiny sea front. In reaction to the increasingly "dangerous" situation in this neighbourhood and others like it, the municipality has initiated a combined "Urban Security Patrol" (Sayeret L'Bitachon Ironi or SELA): security cars belonging to the municipality are staffed with municipality security personnel and police officers. Both actors wear similar dark uniforms with comparable emblems on their arms, and often both are armed and carry handcuffs and other security equipment. According to the official site of the municipality, the units are formed to prevent criminality and terror acts, to aid the police in securing the city and its citizens and to protect the city's property.[2]

* * *

This illustration of a specific type of security provision in the first author's everyday life is comprised of what we shall call different *security blurs*: performances aimed at providing a sense of (perceived) safety that includes numerous and different actors, roles, objects and aesthetical appearances that overlap, and through this overlapping, create various forms of blurriness. Such occurrences raise questions about what security is, who is providing it, whom it is provided for, and how it can be interpreted by the actors involved. In this case from South Tel Aviv, we could examine the relationship between the different actors – the municipality security personnel and the police officers – and their motivations and goals during these patrols, or we could focus on the materialities and aesthetics, such as their uniforms and vehicles, in order to uncover and understand what type of security we are observing. More importantly, we could question what such performances

of security teach us about sovereignty, power and the legitimacy of actors in the eyes of the public and of themselves? What social problems can such multi-faceted patrols encounter and produce? What political dynamics are at play that define how such security work targets specific neighbourhoods and populations?

In this volume, we want to explore such questions in order to better make sense of the various security acts and performances observed across the globe that are based on an intermixing of actors, objects, goals and roles, and through this intermixing, create new and different ideas and interpretations of what security is, or can be. We propose to do so by introducing the concept of *security blurs* and showing the complexities that are overlooked when focussing on isolated actors and their activities alone. The idea of "blurs" is often used to indicate ways of obscuring, of producing uncertain and unclear phenomena. Rather, we use it here to show how within security acts (as defined emically by many of the relevant actors), there is a multitude of interrelated dimensions and meanings that are intertwined. Firstly, we use "blurs" as a noun, to refer to the visible and identifiable manifestations of security that constitute multiple, overlapping set of actors, roles, motivations, values, materialities and power dynamics in their inception and performance. Secondly, we use "blurs" as a verb, to refer to the performative and effective characteristic of security performances, namely that through its enactment, a performance of security itself changes and with that our understanding of it. Security blurs are thus identifiable phenomena, like the patrol in Tel Aviv, but also have an effect that blurs our interpretations and understandings of power and social order.

By advancing the concept of security blurs, we aim to present a new anthropological approach to security by explicitly addressing the overlap and entanglement of the practices and discourses of state and non-state security providers, and the associated forms of cooperation and conflict that permit an analysis of these actors' activities as increasingly "blurred". These blurs and the way they come into being are deeply political, with the state/non-state boundary negotiated, crossed and defended according to the underlying interests of the actors involved. The past couple of decades have seen a proliferation of anthropological research on policing, which discusses the range of security providers that include formal state institutions, such as the police and the military, but also non-state actors such as gangs, community policing organisations, vigilante organisations and private security companies. Furthermore, this body of work has highlighted the pluralisation and hybridisation of security provision (Albrecht 2016; Albrecht and Kyed 2015; Colona and Jaffe 2016; Diphoorn 2016; Diphoorn and Kyed 2016), thereby demonstrating that policing and security are inherently relational and processual. Yet, at the same, most of the studies tend to zoom in on the daily security practices of one of these actors as the prime focus of analysis. This edited volume makes an important new contribution to anthropological work on security by going beyond previous research that

considers security actors in (relative) isolation and by specifically engaging with the ways in which practices, ideas and objects are entangled and result in diverse forms of blurring.

Thus, this volume focuses on the indistinct boundaries that characterise the entire spectrum of security providers as it aims to understand how such boundaries and their blurring are inherently political processes and concern issues of sovereignty and power. By doing so, we seek to problematise the use of dichotomies such as "formal" versus "informal", "state" versus "non-state", and "illegal" versus "legal" in our understanding of security. Negotiations over cooperation between different security providers – whether this will occur, and if so how and to what end – and the security act itself always involve (competing) claims of authority and control. Understanding the diverse meanings of such political processes requires detailed ethnographic studies of everyday security practices across a range of cultural and national contexts, which this volume aims to provide.

By focusing on the blur itself, i.e. the point at which blurring comes to the fore and is visible, and on the process of blurring to understand its effects, this volume concentrates on the power struggles and uncertainties that emerge from these entanglements and overlaps between security providers. Drawing on different cases from across the world, this collective work demonstrates how blurriness between security actors and practices involves contestations that (re)produce ambiguities for ordinary citizens and for security actors themselves. Security blurs emerge when different actors interact, thereby reconfiguring security ideas, logics and practices. However, security blurs should not be equated with instances of collaboration or competition; rather, we should understand the negotiation of boundaries – state/non-state, formal/informal, human/non-human and corporate/voluntary – as central to political practice. By elaborating this approach, and by focusing on the everyday encounters through which new understandings and enactments of security develop, this volume provides a novel and critical analysis of security realities across the globe and moves beyond existing concepts such as pluralisation.

Each contribution in this volume explicitly takes a "security blur" as the starting point of its analysis and shows how they come into being by exploring how and why the entanglement between different security actors, materialities or responsibilities occurs in a specific context, and what larger politics this reflects. In the opening chapter, Jeremy Siegman focuses on military/civilian blurring and how security blurs emerge in Super-Israel, a supermarket in an Israeli settlement in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. In the following chapter, Moritz Schuberth analyses the multiplicity of armed groups in Haiti and shows how security blurs emerge in the process of labelling such actors. Also focusing on the assortment of various local security providers, Laurens Bakker investigates the blurs that arise when *ormas* (societal organisations) provide informal security activities within their communities in Indonesia. In the fourth chapter that takes us to Mumbai, Atreyee Sen

analyses how security blurs emerge through militant moral policing practices that are simultaneously performed by a range of actors (low-ranked policemen, security guards, and lower class female civilians) and are shaped by notions of morality, violence, religion and sovereignty. Claims to sovereignty also lie at the heart of Helene Maria Kyed's chapter on Maputo. Kyed analyses the entanglements between civilian and state policing and how both policing actors and police practices produce security blurs. Also focusing on community practices, Line Jakobsen and Lars Buur's chapter on La Paz portrays the entanglements between community policing and vigilante-like practices that result in "blurred (in)securities". And in the last chapter on the Copenhagen airport, Perle Møhl describes the continuous blurring of responsibilities, decision-making and ongoing negotiations between the various human actors, and between human and non-human ones in the process of determining risks.

   This volume thus comprises diverse case studies that approach security blurs from different perspectives, even as they all draw on rich, in-depth ethnographic fieldwork. And through this data, they are able to: 1) unravel the complex processes of boundary manipulation and negotiation in relation to national, territorial and economic interests, 2) address the ambiguities of security and uncover the power struggles that lie at the core of processes of blurring and 3) demonstrate how blurs impact the daily lives of ordinary citizens. By unpacking both the similarities and disparities across different cultural, political and geographical contexts, this volume addresses the globally urgent topic of security, demonstrating the range of security performances and their centrality to political contestation.

   After a brief discussion of the anthropological focus on security, we will show how we use the concept of "security blurs" through a three-dimensional approach and how these dimensions are discussed throughout the various chapters. We end with a note on the key role that ethnographic fieldwork – a core component of an anthropological approach – plays in identifying and unravelling security blurs.

Anthropology of security

Anthropologists have engaged with issues that could be categorised as security and insecurity for a long time, yet only in the last few decades has the idea of an "anthropology of security" emerged as a potential focus within the discipline whereby security is regarded as "a critical object of study in its own right" (Glück and Low 2017, 283). In a useful overview, Limor Samimian-Darash and Meg Stalcup (2016) divide the existing scholarly work into four main fields. The first focuses on "violence and state terror" and primarily includes work conducted in the 1990s and 2000s that dealt with both urban insecurity and armed conflict (see Feldman 1991; Nordstrom and Robben 1995; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004; Caldeira 2000; Low 2013). These studies show the complexity of violence and its structural and

everyday nature. They mostly take the individual as focus point and hence overlook the collectivity of feelings of (in) security. The second field consists of works on "military, militarisation, and militarism", where a new focus was found in perpetrators and the organisational aspects of state induced violence. Most studies focused on the military (Ben-Ari 1998; Grassiani 2013; Winslow 1997) and more recently, on state police forces (Denyer Willis 2015; Fassin 2013, 2017; Garriot 2013; Jauregui 2016; Karpiak 2010).

The third field includes work on "para-state securitisation" and security produced "outside" the state, for example, by gangs (Jensen 2008; Rodgers 2006; Van Stapele 2015), vigilante organisations (Bakker 2015; Buur 2006; Pratten and Sen 2007), community policing initiatives (Kyed 2009; Ruteere and Pommerolle 2003), and private security companies (Diphoorn 2016; Grassiani and Volinz 2016; Larkins 2017; Mynster Christensen 2017; Higate and Utas 2017). The influential work by Goldstein (2010) also belongs to this field, in which he calls for a critical anthropology of security and encourages researchers to further reveal the "multiple ways in which security is configured and deployed – not only by states and authorised speakers but by communities, groups and individuals – in their engagements with other local actors and with arms of the state itself" (2010, 492). In line with Goldstein's call, a growing body of work has come into existence, including edited volumes (Maguire et al. 2014; Pedersen and Holbraad 2013; Hurtado and Ercolani 2013) and several special issues in journals such as *Etnofoor* (2015), *Conflict and Society* (2017), *Qualitative Sociology* (2017) and *Anthropological Theory* (2017). In this last issue, Zoltán Glück and Setha Low (2017) introduce a sociospatial framework for the anthropology of security. This framework includes looking at how security is produced through various forces and how "*security operates as a productive process*" (281, italics in original) on its own. With this framework, the authors claim that we can better understand the contradictions and ambiguities that define what they refer to as "states of security".

The last and fourth field that Samimian-Darash and Stalcup (2016) discuss is the one they propose and advocate for; namely the assemblage approach to security that includes "objects, concepts, and rationalities related to different security forms of action as well as the ethical mode of the anthropologist" (12). Abrahamsen and Williams (2009) already promoted such an approach earlier, and we understand that such a comprehensive approach seems both useful and attractive, as it specifically focuses on security actions and includes the various factors that define them, like we intend to do. However, because of its all-encompassing nature, the assemblage approach is, as we have argued elsewhere, too broad to act as a useful analytical tool to understand security practices in depth (Diphoorn and Grassiani 2016). Furthermore, an assemblage approach does not always adequately convey the ambiguities that emerge from policing. In contrast, the idea of security blurs aims to act as an analytical tool that emphasises the various opacities that are inherent to security practices.

Essentially, many of the contributions in this volume could use the security assemblage framework to analyse how various actors, objects, networks and rationalities come together to provide and/or create a sense of security (and Møhl explicitly uses this approach in her chapter). However, in this volume, we regard the assemblage as a prior assumption and go a step further by fleshing out the blurriness that defines so many security practices across the globe and that are observed within the assemblage approach, but not always investigated in detail. This means that we are not only interested in analysing the ways in which security assemblages emerge and exist, but that we are particularly attentive to the blurriness of its context, performance and effects as we will explain further below. In this way this book draws from all of the different bodies of work mentioned above, bringing forth dimensions of violence, militarism and non-state policing, and examines them in more depth through the security blurs that are intrinsically a part of them.

Security blurs

As hinted to in the previous section, we approach security as a performance; as an act that is identified, both by the actors doing it and those affected by it, as a form of "doing security". We want to stay away from defining security as an objective state of being that one can achieve (or does not manage to) and that carries a specific value in society. In fact, we share much of the critique (e.g. Neocleous and Rigakos 2011) against the habitual ways in which "security" has come to equate any form of (perceived) threat and thereby conjures sentiments of fear and uncertainty. We do not intend to reproduce such conventions of security. Yet despite this critique, many people across the globe identify themselves as security providers, as individuals who are involved in "doing" security and we cannot ignore this self-labelling. In the various case studies examined in this volume, individuals use security as a form of self-identification, for example, security actors who are making things, people and places safer. Security is thus very much an emic term that is used by our interlocutors, and conveys different meanings in various parts of the world. We therefore use the idea of security not to refer to an objective state that can be achieved, but as a subjective and self-identified label and act. And within these acts, towards some kind of subjective safe state of being for different actors, blurs emerge and occur – as both a process and as a state of being.

We define security blurs as manifestations of security that are visible and identifiable, yet in their inception and performance, they are constructed and made up of myriad overlapping sets of actors, roles, motivations, values, materialities and power dynamics. If we revisit the example from Tel Aviv, it is clear that security is being enacted; yet the different dynamics, relationships and constituents behind this enactment remain unclear at first sight. The security performance itself is therefore visible and recognisable,

as something that has the aim of providing a sense of safety for a specific group of people, yet the processes and dynamics around the performance demand further investigation.

In order to further unravel such cases, we propose to employ a three-dimensional approach to analyse security blurs by focusing on three different, yet interrelated, simultaneous and fluid layers: the structural, the performative, and the effective. This entails that a blur emerges at its inception due to complex social structures and political dynamics (structural); continues through its performance by different actors, roles and objects (performative); and works through in the effect of its performance, namely on and through different audiences (effective). In each of the contributions to this volume, these three layers are present, yet some layers emerge more prominently in certain chapters than in others. In the following section, we will further discuss these layers by examining how they materialise throughout the chapters.

The structural layer

The structural layer refers to the larger context in which the security performance takes place. This includes the presence of various institutions (both formal and informal), legal frameworks, political and historical trajectories of power and domination, economic structures of power that define matters of class and financial opportunities and social conditions, such as race, ethnicity and gender, to name but a few, that determine the environment in which the security blur manifests itself. In the introductory example from Tel Aviv, for example, the structural layer of the performance refers to the existence of various institutions that are part of this patrolling initiative (the Tel Aviv municipality, the Israeli police and the private security company that provides guards for the patrols); the legal frameworks within which the patrol, the actors, and their duties and rights are embedded in and defined by, such as the laws determining firearm use and ownership and the extensive regulation system of the private security industry. Furthermore, it can include issues of inequalities surrounding the patrols in Israel in general, which only municipalities with certain financial capacities can afford.[3] We can even extend the analysis further by incorporating the larger geo-political context of Israel, and thereby include the occupation of Palestinian land and accompanying ideas about Palestinian (Arab) others and, for example, the thousands of African refugees who do not receive asylum and as such are exposed to inhumane conditions in Southern Tel Aviv. Combined, all of these dimensions and facets constitute the structural layer.

A chapter of this volume that highlights the structural layer is Jeremy Siegman's chapter on the blurring of civilian/military life. In his analysis of Super-Israel, a supermarket in an Israeli settlement in the occupied West Bank, he analyses the co-presence of violent military occupation and setter-colonialism that define Israel's militarised security and counter-terror

apparatus, and he portrays how these political structures shape two blurred processes at the supermarket: the militarisation and civilianisation of security. Through his insightful ethnographic data, he portrays how private forms of security are used to not only normalise the Israeli occupation in everyday life, but also the settler presence that is part of it, even as the Israeli military apparatus comes into full view at times. Although Siegman's chapter is focused on everyday life, it nonetheless highlights the structural layer in a particular way: his operationalisation of terms such as "settler colonialism" and "military occupation" draw continued attention to how everyday life is shaped by these dominant structures, more bluntly than some of the other authors. Nonetheless, in their own ways, all the chapters demonstrate the importance of considering the wider context within which security performances take place.

The performative layer

With the performative layer, we are referring to the security act itself: to the performance of actual practices which includes the actors (state and non-state, armed and non-armed, formal and informal), their motivations and perceptions, and the various materialities that constitute the performance, such as cars, weapons, uniforms, documents and technologies. If we look again at the introductory example, we can identify the various actors involved in the performance; private guards employed by the municipality and police officers. We further recognise the role of the aesthetics of the vehicles, as the municipality patrol car closely resembles a regular police vehicle, and we can see how the uniforms of the different actors are almost similar. The role of the weapon is also important in this example; both actors can carry a weapon (in the case of the guards, this depends on their specific clearance by police and the ministry of defence), but they face different regulations concerning its use. The daily interactions between the dissimilar actors, the different sponsors they have (state and municipality), their use or disuse of specific objects, the way they use these objects and the negotiations surrounding their daily work can all be analysed as blurs.

Most of the contributions of this volume flesh out the security blurs at this performative layer, and portray how they occur across the various actors involved who habitually trespass across so-called borders of state versus non-state and informal versus formal. The chapter where blurs between security providers is most prevalent is that by Moritz Schuberth, who explicitly discusses the blurriness between various armed groups in Haiti. In addition to highlighting the problematic process by which these actors are labelled, which is often done by external actors, Schuberth shows the blurring between providers of security and providers of insecurity, who are often one and the same. He therefore proposes to shift our focus to the sponsors, rather than the producers of security, as this provides more insight into their motivations and makes it possible to discern security blurs.

In Perle Møhl's chapter on border security at Copenhagen airport, she describes the various actors and technologies operating at the airport as an unstable security assemblage and portrays the blurring of responsibilities, decision-making and ongoing negotiations between the human actors, and between human and non-human ones. She distinguishes between two types of blurs. The first occur on a structural level and this refers to the conflicting agendas and interests of the various actors, which appear coherent on the surface, but are in fact blurred and unclear. The second are blurs that occur in the particular instances where control authority is allocated and when decisions are made by the various actors. Combined, this chapter depicts how the presence of numerous actors and the overlapping and intermixing of roles, motivations, responsibilities and practices produce various forms of blurs.

Similarly, in Atreyee Sen's chapter, security blurs also merge through the co-production of (informal) policing activities, this time by resident women with strong Hindu nationalist sympathies, policemen and security guards in an effort to combat "loose girls" and the indecency they bring to the neighbourhoods. Sen shows how issues of responsibilisation become important within the community around questions about who is responsible of "security" and how is security defined (and by whom). In this case, the community members use the moral argument, as they believe that "immoral" behaviour of women will attract criminals, paedophiles and the like. In this chapter we do therefore not necessarily see a blurring among actors, but a blurring of their motivations and goals, making it unclear to identify who is steering policing practices and who will benefit from them in terms of (perceived) safety or status for example.

Sen's chapter also uncovers the crucial role of urban space in defining security blurs by comparing militant moral policing practices conducted in two different spaces – a bridge and a park. Through this analysis, she shows how violence and security are embodied and experienced in everyday urban space and how they impact spatio-temporal milieus that eventually develop gendered geographies of urban fear. The prominence of space is also crucial in areas that can be defined as frontier-like or as in-between settings, which often act as sites of power struggles between the state and non-state security actors working to keep certain groups out and civilians who either are rejected or embraced by the state. In Møhl's chapter, for example, the specific setting of the airport determines that the decision-making processes concerning access to the airport is tricky and unpredictable and that the threshold for facial recognition becomes blurry when machines take over the tasks of humans.

The role of machines is an example of the prominent role of security technologies in Møhl's chapter, where we cannot underestimate the decisive role that objects, materialities and technologies play in shaping the security blur, especially at the performative layer. We do not only learn more about crucial technologies, such as Automated Border Control (ABC) and algorithmic

thresholds, but also about how individuals interact with such technologies (human and non-human) and how this interaction plays a crucial role in the blurring. Møhl, for example, shows how human agents at times disagree with the decisions of the machine and questions are raised about the qualities of risk assessments.

In addition to machines, other non-human entities that surface in several chapters are weapons: their use and at times the normalisation of their presence. The use of weapons, or the ability of individuals to carry arms, brings us to another important aspect within the performative layer of security acts: the centrality of violence, especially in conjuring and gaining legitimacy and authority. Although various forms of policing and security are non-violent, violence – or the potentiality of it – emerges in all of the chapters, either as physical violence or as more structural as "embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world" (Farmer et al. 2006: 1686).

This is particularly evident in Helene Maria Kyed's chapter on contested sovereignty in Maputo, Mozambique, where she analyses the entanglements between civilian and state policing and how this results in both the blurring of types of policing actors as well as a blurring of community-based and state police practices. By focusing on two empirical examples – the theft of a mobile phone and a police uniform ceremony – she shows how the policing roles of the civilian agents and state police officers constantly blur through mutual interdependencies, entanglements and exchanges, and how these practices are equally infused with ongoing competition over power, benefits and legitimacy. By use of these rich empirical examples, Kyed shows that violence is part of the routinised aspects of everyday policing and plays a crucial role in asserting positions of power and overcoming uncertainty. Here too, we observe the crucial role of materialities: in the police uniform ceremony, she describes how uniforms and batons were first given to civilian agents within the community-policing programme, but were then forbidden, as they would look too similar to "real" police officers. This not only shows the immense symbolic power of the uniform, but also highlights how issues of legitimacy and sovereignty foreground such a blur.

Finally, Line Jakobsen and Lars Buur's chapter also addresses matters of violence and insecurity, this time in urban peripheries in La Paz, Bolivia. In their contribution, they demonstrate how community-policing practices have become entangled with local informal vigilante-like practices of order-making, and how these entanglements are largely shaped by the use of violence. They address the implications of the translation of a global security technology into a local setting and examine how "order-making" takes place and security becomes blurred in this process of implementation. By drawing from numerous interviews with local residents, they show how fear and insecurity reigns in these urban peripheral communities. Therefore, while global community-policing "blueprints" were intended to reduce crime and provide "security", they have morphed into new policing practices and structures which tend to produce more insecurity. This facet reaffirms that

security acts intrinsically have flip sides, and are always produced for *and* against someone, either an individual or collective, and this dimension is largely encapsulated in the third layer – the effective.

The effective layer

The effective layer refers to the effect of the security performance on the various actors involved. This includes the performers themselves (i.e. the security providers), but also the receivers, such as clients, members and citizens; both those that are "protected" and targeted. The main dimension of this effective layer concerns the feelings of safety, security, insecurity and feelings of uncertainty that can accompany security performances. To use the introductory example one last time, here one could investigate the way the public in the low-income neighbourhood perceives this patrol. Do some feel they are being targeted? Do others feel safer because of the visible patrols in the streets? And importantly, how does this work impact the security guards and the police officers accompanying them? Are certain ideas and skills transferred during such patrols? And does the cooperation change the status of the actors or the power relations between them? The answers to such questions are by definition fluid and should be analysed as processual and contextual. Only then, by examining such security blurs in detail, can we understand the security performance in its totality.

The chapter that addresses the effective layer head-on is the one by Laurens Bakker. In addition to examining the multitude of local security providers and the various roles that they claim and are ascribed, Bakker primarily analyses how such understandings of policing are infused with understandings of national citizenship and belonging. Furthermore, the *ormas* (societal organisations) play a pivotal role in deciding what and who is the "community", and thereby explicitly engage in exclusive practices, and how this results in a stratified form of citizenship. Bakker thus show how security providers are capable of setting conditions in terms of indigeneity, ethnicity, religion and locality, and how these elements impact upon the quality of citizenship of those affected.

In each of the contributions, we can clearly see that security acts prominently shape the lives of people in a multitude of ways. These can be the actual performers of security, such as the community policing agents in Maputo and La Paz, the security guards working at the Copenhagen airport, and the Hindu nationalist women in Mumbai; the citizens that live in neighbourhoods where policing practices are enacted, such as the residents of Maputo, the inhabitants of the *barrios* in La Paz, the people living in and working for non-governmental organisations in Port-au-Prince and of course, those that are specifically targeted by the security performance, such as the Palestinians working in Super-Israel, the "migrants" that are denied access to enter the Schengen area and the couples that are morally disciplined in various public spaces in Mumbai. Whether you are the performer,

receiver, target or bystander of a security performance, it impacts you and this highlights the differentially effective dimension of the security blur.

Another key effect that emerges from most of the chapters and that is particularly well captured by ethnographic research is the production of uncertainty and "not knowing": due to the various forms of blurring, it is often not clear what exactly is happening and who is doing what. This dimension strongly emerges in Møhl's chapter, where it is often unclear who is responsible for the decisions that are made, especially for the users of the airport. Yet this also results in frustration by the providers and the border guards, and features in their interactions with the various objects. This dimension of not knowing who belongs to whom and not being able to identify the political alliances between the different actors is a big factor Schuberth's chapter. This uncertainty is a crucial component of the effective domain of security blurs, and reaffirms the need to unpack them.

A note on ethnography

A final note we wish to make concerns the ethnographic dimension of this volume, which we believe ties all of the chapters together. All of the authors that contributed to this volume conducted in-depth ethnographic fieldwork in their respective localities. This is clearly evident from the rich empirical data that is presented – not only do we see abundant quotes from interviews, but also conversations and discussions between individuals, and extensive notes deriving from participant observation. The thick descriptions that are offered by the authors not only provide in-depth analytical perspectives, but also demonstrate the benefits from longitudinal research visits that are often conducted by anthropologists.

It is not our intention here to equate ethnographic fieldwork with anthropology, or to assume that ethnographic fieldwork is similarly understood and exercised by all of the contributors to this volume. In fact, the diverse forms of data portrayed here point towards the various ways in which we employ certain methods, the type of data that is yielded from such methods, and the way we use, interpret and analyse this data. Furthermore, we also do not wish to claim that an anthropological approach to security solely rests of ethnographic fieldwork.

However, we do want to emphasise that ethnographic fieldwork, in its various forms and styles, acts as a crucial tool in identifying, observing and analysing security blurs. Ethnographic fieldwork is a key dimension to understanding the core of any security performance and fully unravelling how the various layers – structural, performative and effective – take shape and emerge (see Hansen 2018). Some of the key facets that define ethnographic fieldwork are longitudinal stays and re-visits, learning the local language/dialect, understanding tacit elements of people's behaviour, observing and participating with people in their everyday affairs, taking extensive notes of these observations, experiences and emotions, engaging in small talk, and

conducting diverse types of interviews with people. These are all methods and techniques that allow the researcher to actually be present at the security performances and see the blurs come into being with her own eyes. It is primarily for this reason that we hope this volume will assist us in further developing an anthropological approach to security that is also beneficial for scholars outside the discipline.

Notes

1 This is a description by the first author.
2 www.tel-aviv.gov.il/About/Pages/SELA.aspx, accessed May 25 2018.
3 www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3645934,00.html, accessed May 30 2018.

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