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Yael Navaro-Yashin

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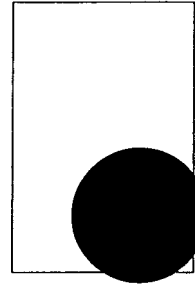
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Make-believe papers, legal forms and the counterfeit

Affective interactions between documents
and people in Britain and Cyprus

Yael Navaro-Yashin
University of Cambridge, UK

Abstract

This article studies the affects retained, carried, and effected by documents, as they are produced, exchanged, transformed, and transacted among their users. I study the interactions which Turkish-Cypriots (in Britain and on either side of the border in Cyprus) forge with documents, especially those used for identity verification and travel. For those who juggle documents manufactured by several complexes of law and statecraft (including the ‘illegal’ Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus), documents generate differential and politically charged affectivities. Bringing anthropological literature on law, policy, and bureaucracy, as well as Actor Network Theory, into dialogue with psychoanalytic work on affect, this article charts a new terrain for the study of affect (in the domain of documents as objects) and explores emotive dimensions previously unattended by scholars of bureaucracy.

Key Words

affect • borders • bureaucracy • documentary practices • law • the state

This article is about the affective interaction which a group with a specific history has fashioned with various complexes of law and statecraft. I study Turkish-Cypriots as they relate to and transact documents produced by several different administrative structures and practices. The focus on Turkish-Cypriots is significant, as they have been subjects and ‘citizens’, since 1983, of an unrecognized state, the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC), which is considered illegal under international law.¹ Documents produced by this ‘state’ for identity verification and travel, then, form a centrepiece of my enquiry here, where I explore what it means, affectively, to deal with internationally unrecognized forms of certification. Identity cards and passports issued by the ‘TRNC’ are technically not recognized anywhere outside Northern Cyprus,² and yet there have

been a set of state practices in place whereby people have had to organize their lives whilst verifying it through these documents.

But there is something peculiar about 'TRNC' documents in that they are both real and unreal, present and absent. On the one hand, they exist and there is an administrative practice in place in Northern Cyprus that requires them. On the other hand, these documents mean little once one leaves Northern Cyprus, as they, like the state which manufactures them, are not recognized. Following my Turkish-Cypriot informants who often called their polity a 'make-believe state' (*uyduruk devlet*), I name the papers of the 'TRNC' make-believe papers, with the intention of emphasizing their performative and phantasmatic quality. But through the category of the 'make-believe' I intend to go further analytically than just to describe a context for the making of specific documents, that of an illegal state. In other words, I do not label 'TRNC' papers 'make-believe' simply because they are produced through an unrecognized administrative practice. In the spirit of the work of Begonia Aretxaga, where she challenges social realist ethnographic portrayals of the political, I employ the 'make-believe' as a category to highlight what she called 'fictional reality'.³ Aretxaga studied people's imaginative potentialities as central to the making of their political realities. In both our works 'fantasy' appears as an essential drive in the shaping of politics (also see Navaro-Yashin, 2002). 'Fantasy' is conceived not as antithetical to some hard-core notion of the real, but as part-and-parcel of reality. In other words, fiction is the bread and butter of politics. The notion of the 'make-believe', which I introduce here as an analytical category, furthers this line of thinking. I do not introduce the category of the 'make-believe' just as a device to distinguish the illegal regime in the 'TRNC' away from its legal counterparts, but in order to illuminate the phantasmatic aspect of politics, including those in legal regimes, more generally. People believe in the fictions that they make, or fictions have potency and real effects. Under the 'TRNC', an illegal state, this phantasmatic aspect of politics is only more evident because this state practice is not recognized by the international system: everyone draws attention to the manufactured aspect of reality here. However, my argument is that such 'make-believe' styles can be studied, if with more careful observation, in legal regimes and other administrative practices, too.

Having identified the historicity and specificity of the documents with which Turkish-Cypriots have had to negotiate their lives under an illegal regime, I am then interested in contrasting these documents with forms and papers produced by three other administrative entities with which Turkish-Cypriots interact in the contemporary period. These are: Britain, where they have travelled as immigrants or asylum-seekers; the Republic of Cyprus, from where they have recently been reclaiming their rights, as citizens, to obtain legally recognized identity cards and passports; and the underground passport mafia in which Turkish-Cypriots are involved, along with others, where they produce and sell forged documentation and passports to citizens of Turkey or others who would otherwise be blocked from access to the European Union. I study documentary practices under these apparently different regimes under the guise of 'administrative practices' because I would argue that administration (or bureaucracy) is not only to be observed under the dominion of legally recognized states (see Navaro-Yashin, 2006); the underground passport mafia, like the illegal state, employs what could be called 'modes of administration', too. As a heuristic device, I tentatively label British and Republic of

Cyprus documents as 'legal forms' and in the narrative which follows I trace and study the affects which documents from these two different legal state bodies generate among Turkish-Cypriots. Finally, I refer to the counterfeit passports case, involving Turkish-Cypriot dealers, as I am interested in comparing the affects transmitted by forged documents with that produced by what I have called the 'make-believe' documents of the 'TRNC'.

This article, then, studies Turkish-Cypriot subjectivities as they interact with 'make-believe', 'legal' and 'counterfeit' documentary practices. However, though I have suggested labels for the different administrative practices that I study here, I intend these only as framing devices for an analysis where I deconstruct them. For example, against the connotations which the term 'legal' might invoke, documentary practices in Britain do not entice affects of calm, security and quietude among Turkish-Cypriots. In other words, the legal procedures and regulations of western Europe, or the European Union more broadly, incite affectivities among those at its margins, which are not represented or imagined in formal portrayals of 'the law' in Europe. In turn, what I have called the 'make-believe' documents of the illegal state in Northern Cyprus, against what the category 'illegal' might imply, bring out feelings of familiarity among Turkish-Cypriots in the vein of what Michael Herzfeld (1997) has called 'cultural intimacy'. In this article, I query the distinctions between what I have tentatively called 'make-believe', 'legal' and 'counterfeit' documents by way of focusing on the affects they engender among Turkish-Cypriots who make use of them. Here I intend to push beyond simple distinctions between the 'authentic' and the 'counterfeit', the 'legal' and the 'illegal', the 'real' and the 'make-believe' (also see Navaro-Yashin, 2003).

Documents have already been identified as anthropological objects of analysis. Significantly, as one among several approaches, Annelise Riles (2000) has studied international legal documents in ways in which anthropologists construe cultural objects.⁴ Here I propose that documents be studied as affectively loaded phenomena. In studying interactions between people and documents, I am not interested in asking how people in specific contexts and with distinct political subjectivities project their affective energies onto documents. This would be a social constructionist argument as well as one which would take the subjective self as the central or only locus of agency. Instead, following on from the insights of the anthropology of things and Actor Network Theory (e.g. Gell, 1998; Latour, 1993; Strathern, 1999), I study documents, or the material objects of law and governance, as capable of carrying, containing, or inciting affective energies when transacted or put to use in specific webs of social relation. This is not to argue that documents, or artefacts, have a subjectivity (or that they are capable of feeling), but to suggest, following the work of Marilyn Strathern (1999), that, when placed in specific social relations with persons, documents have the potentiality to discharge affective energies which are felt or experienced by persons. My argument, then, is not that documents maintain autonomous or self-contained affectivities, but that they are perceived or experienced as affectively charged phenomena when produced and transacted in specific contexts of social relation. Documents, then, are phantasmatic objects with affective energies which are experienced as real.

LEGAL FORMS: BRITAIN

legal connected with the law . . . allowed or required by law . . .

lawful allowed or recognized by law . . .

(*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2004: 734, 727)

I begin my story of the affective life of documents through an account of my memory of a beautiful visit with Begoña Aretxaga in London in 2001. At the time, I was conducting research in neighbourhoods of London inhabited by Turkish-Cypriots for the bigger project of which this article forms a part. Our conversations crystallized in a little Bengali restaurant on Brick Lane, East London. Walking through the streets of Hackney earlier that day, I had been telling Begoña the story of a Turkish-Cypriot man, Fuat, who felt fear and panic whenever he received a letter in the post from a local British administrative body. He would not open the envelopes on his own; rather, he attended one of the community centres where Turkish translators would decipher for him the contents of the letter. Most of the time, the contents would be mundane: a reminder to renew a parking permit from the local council or a blank form from the Inland Revenue asking about the ages of children in the household in order to provide child tax credit. In a rush of anxiety, Fuat would go to the Cypriot community centre in Hackney, where a Turkish-speaking social worker would, through the act of translating, mediate between the British state apparatus and the local Turkish-Cypriot community. There was nothing more piercing in Fuat's psychical experience of the political than those moments of enforced accountability to the apparently rationalized structure of the British welfare state. The translating social workers would sit, in rooms full of forms, files, tea and smoke, beside immigrants from Cyprus and would go through the steps and procedures of filling out an official form. 'We come here to have our forms filled out', Fuat had explained on the day I met him in the Cypriot community centre. Shoulders curled up and sitting in a coiled fashion, he communicated, in cryptic form, how tortuous was his experience of interaction with bodies of the British state. He said he felt rushes of panic each time he had to fill out another document or write another letter to a British authority. He did not fill in the forms, nor did he learn to write letters the way a 'proper' British citizen would learn to do. He asked the translators to do this for him in periodic attempts to contain his anxiety. The letters to the local authorities would be posted straight from the community centre and the original correspondence would be kept in a file under Fuat's name in a filing cabinet at the centre. Those pieces of paper produced, as if by magic, such powerful psychical effects in Fuat's subjective experience of the British state apparatus that he did not dare bring them back home. Filed away in the community centre to pacify their phantasmatic power were all of Fuat's correspondence with the Home Office, social benefit forms, as well as household electricity, gas and water bills, all kept for him by the translators in a safe box.

For Begoña it was thrilling to hear, from another west European context, a story that reminded her of her experience and work in Northern Ireland and the Basque country. My story of Fuat resonated for Begoña with the stories of the characters who filled her writings. At the time of our conversations, she was writing about a young man whom she had named 'Anuk'. Anuk was a young Basque radical who had disappeared, and then reappeared a few hours later without being able to recall where he had been in the

meantime. Begoña interpreted the meaning of this incident from the point of view of the political imaginary of Basque radicals who were convinced that Anuk was drugged by the local Basque police force. If Anuk's letter, written after his reappearance, had delirious qualities, for Basque radicals this seeming delirium, according to Begoña, was not unreal or fictive, but the reality of the Basque police's uses of torture. Like Fuat's panic at the sight of state documents, Begoña said Anuk felt he was being followed by the police, that, in a rush of panic, he went from place to place to find a hiding place. I vividly remember Begoña recalling Anuk's own Kafkaesque image: having survived surveillance and interrogation, he believed he had microphones inserted in his stomach.⁵

Our conversations reached a climax as we discussed Fuat and Anuk's rushes of panic. As we searched for what to call the similar phenomena we were studying, we thought of the framing 'panic and political haunting'. In both the situations we were studying, west European institutions incited feelings of panic among those who interacted with them from specific positionalities, as well as the imaginary of being haunted. If in Anuk's case the image of the *cipayos* (the Basque police) evoked anxiety, in Fuat's, it was the letter from the Home Office or another British administrative body which transmitted an affect of surveillance and nervousness. If documents seem more benign than the police, I would argue that from the point of view of the affects they generate amongst those who deal with them, especially from marginal positions, they are not.

In this comparative study of documentary practices, what is important to observe, having taken the British example on board, is the psychical and phantasmatic quality of documents as they are used and exchanged in west European contexts. Correspondence with state bodies through the means of letters in the post, the practice of letter-writing in itself, as well as the filing and saving of such documents for future reference may appear like a neutral, mundane, as well as benign activity from the point of view of those acculturated within the domains of west European complexes of law and statecraft. It may even appear that nothing could be more removed from the spectrum of affect than the clerical side of statecraft.⁶ Scholarly works on bureaucracy would have it as such as well, crafting portraits of rationalized western administrative apparatuses, leaving no space for the study of affect. For example, in recent anthropological work on policy documents and their implementations, organizations, 'networks' and 'audit cultures', administrative procedures in west European and other contexts are studied as emergent forms of rationalized practice (see Riles, 2000; Shore and Wright, 1997; Strathern, 2000; Wright, 1994).

Consider the image of the filing cabinet in the Cypriot community centre holding correspondence with state bodies for Turkish-Cypriots. Such rooms, full of files kept for immigrants who do not know how to engage, in writing, with bodies of British authority, abound in the ghettos of London. They are not, in this case, necessarily specific to Turkish-Cypriots. But the filing cabinet in the community centre, in my analysis, emblemizes a containment and management of explosive affectivity in immigrants' interactions with the complex of British law and statecraft. The Turkish translator, employed as a social worker, endeavours to mediate the relation between the Turkish-Cypriot immigrants and the documents from British state institutions. In the practice of translation by social workers, there is an attempt to pacify and calm the affects transmitted by the documents or the ways in which they are taken in by immigrant subjectivities. The translators assist immigrants in coping with British modes of statecraft by handling their documents for them. The filing cabinet in the community centre, as an

object this time, serves a similar purpose. Its seemingly rationalized appearance, gray and containing boring file documentation, goes against its psychical weight and phantasmatic quality for the immigrants. I therefore propose to bear this file cabinet in mind as an analytical motif, a symbol for the study of contained affectivity in the domains of European statecraft and bureaucracy. Documents produced by this specific complex of west European law, 'legal forms' as I have tentatively labelled them, generate nervous affectivity when they are held and transacted by immigrant Turkish-Cypriots. It is to this 'non-rational' underside of apparently rationalized state functions (see Aretxaga, 2005; Navaro-Yashin, 2002) that I would like, again, to draw attention here.

EPHEMERAL PAPERS: THE 'TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS'

ephemera things that are important or used for only a short period of time: a collection of postcards, tickets and other ephemera

ephemeral lasting or used for only a short period of time: ephemeral pleasures; leaflets, handouts and other ephemeral material

(*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2004: 421)

Like other groups who have to negotiate various complexes of law and statecraft at the same time,⁷ Turkish-Cypriots interact differently with different administrative practices. State apparatuses make themselves apparent in various guises (also see Navaro-Yashin, 2002). In this article, I am tracing them as they appear in the cloak of documents and as they are taken in emotively by Turkish-Cypriots. If the document (or letter) is an emblematic site for the operation of British (and west European) statecraft, so is it in Northern Cyprus where a self-declared 'state' has mimicked the practices of legal states. Documents are among the primary paraphernalia of modern states and legal systems: they are its material culture. A wannabe 'state' would have to produce documents too, in order to look and act like a state. Therefore, in this section, as follows, I trace the affective shape which documents take for Turkish-Cypriots when they interact with papers produced by the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'.

Papers, especially written and official documentation, bear the symbolism of permanence in west European contexts. Printed, hand-written, and/or signed documentation carries the image of proof, stability, and durability. In most legal transactions within the Euro-American paradigm, documents which include writing in them are taken as references for truth or authenticity.⁸ I have suggested elsewhere that the 'TRNC' must be analysed through the analytics used for the study of 'modern' administrations (see Navaro-Yashin, 2006). But because it is unrecognized and considered 'illegal' under international law, there is a peculiarity or difference to documentary practices or transactions under the 'TRNC' which any ethnographic study must specify.

When Begoña was preparing to visit me in Northern Cyprus in 1996, I gave her instructions about arrivals, precisely by referring to the unusual aspect of documentary practices here. 'When you arrive in the Ercan airport', I told her, 'just as you approach the desk of the policeman who checks passports, you will notice a pile of small papers on his stand'. 'What pieces of paper?' said Begoña in astonishment, in her characteristic ironic style emphasizing the peculiarity of everyday life happenings. 'You see', I

explained, 'since this state is not recognized, most people don't want to have a stamp of the "TRNC" on their passports, because with such a stamp on your passport, you could be barred from entering Greece or southern Cyprus if you ever wanted to travel there'. The officials of the 'TRNC' cooperate with passengers through this procedure. They provide visitors with the option or possibility of having a piece of paper stamped, instead of their passports, negating the existence of their 'state', or ironizing it, in the very act of asserting it through their uniforms and entry procedures. 'Don't lose this paper', I instructed Begoña, as she laughed heartily at this process, 'because on departure, you will be asked for it again'. On her arrival we produced further ironic stories about pieces of paper which make an appearance as emblems of statecraft. 'What will I do with that piece of paper afterwards?' Begoña asked me. 'You can throw it away', I said, 'or, if you like, you can keep it as a souvenir'. As I was to find out later through my research, this ironic interaction which Begoña and I fashioned in relation to documents of the 'TRNC' was also felt and produced by Turkish-Cypriots.

In its entry and exit procedures officials of the 'TRNC' mimic other state practitioners. They check the passports or other travel documents of passengers and prepare to stamp on them the logo of the 'TRNC'. But at that very moment of acting to stamp the documents from other states, the 'TRNC' administrative process interrupts or subverts itself by way of producing separate pieces of paper for the stamping of arrivals or departures from Northern Cyprus. I interpret this as evidence of an inbuilt irony, or ability to be unserious about one's self, in this particular complex of administration. For in the very act of asserting or acting out the existence of their 'state', in the practice of passport control, 'TRNC' officials assist in querying or subverting it. This specific documentary practice reflects the precarious nature of this state practice, its provisional status and lack of recognition. An affect of tentativeness and insecurity is reflected and transmitted through its documents.

Similar such pieces of paper are provided by 'TRNC' officers for the use of those crossing at checkpoints which have been opened at several places across the border between north and south Cyprus since 23 April 2003.⁹ Upon reaching the checkpoint on foot or by car, persons crossing to the south from Northern Cyprus have to produce not only their passport or identity card, but also the 'TRNC' brand piece of paper to be stamped by an officer as a signature of exit. These papers are available, for those who do not have them, at the desks for passport control. Crossers write their names, passport number and citizenship on the pieces of paper and these are stamped. Similarly, those who attempt to enter Northern Cyprus by crossing the border from the south have to fill out or produce proof of such pieces of paper. Nobody's actual passport, whatever its origin or affiliation, is stamped. When these pieces of paper are full of stamp marks, having been used to cross several times back and forth across the border, they may be discarded. Sometimes the 'TRNC' officers at the border throw away such overused papers themselves, asking crossers to fill out new papers for stamping.

Turkish-Cypriots who have lived in Northern Cyprus for some time interact with the documentary practices of the 'TRNC' with a degree of nonchalance or indifference. This is because what appears peculiar to anyone not acculturated to this state practice seems normal or familiar to those who are its subjects and live under its sphere of influence.¹⁰ But the same documentary practices arouse the opposite feelings amongst Greek-Cypriots, inciting feelings of anger and frustration. The Republic of Cyprus, now

technically governing south Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriots, does not recognize the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'. In fact, the Republic of Cyprus considers the very name of the 'TRNC', as well as of administrative practices under its name, as an offence. Greek-Cypriots tend to criticize the existence of passport control in checkpoints along the border with Northern Cyprus, arguing that these assert the partition of their country and the existence of another state in Cyprus, which they deem illegitimate. However, numerous Greek-Cypriots have crossed into Northern Cyprus since checkpoints were opened in 2003 and have participated in the very documentary practices of the 'TRNC', the state-system which they would otherwise refuse to recognize. From the point of view of Greek-Cypriot officers on the opposite side of the same checkpoints, the pieces of paper stamped by 'TRNC' officials are invalid. If a crosser accidentally hands these papers to a Republic of Cyprus officer, he will have them returned, with the Greek-Cypriot officer trying to rid his hands of the papers, as if these papers were literally contaminated. However, Greek-Cypriot officers have recently been accepting 'TRNC' identity cards as proof of Turkish-Cypriot background and status. Therefore, as the rejection of the 'TRNC' – the claim of its non-existence – has become a way for the Republic of Cyprus to assert its own positivity or existence, in practical everyday interactions Greek-Cypriot officers actually do, if reluctantly, engage with 'TRNC' documents and accept them to an extent. In other words, Greek-Cypriots, too, are involved in practices which negate or question the organizing principles of their 'state', the Republic of Cyprus, in the very moments when and where they enact its existence. The irony of this situation is appreciated by Cypriots on both sides of the divide.

To return to the peculiar pieces of paper fashioned by the 'TRNC' to make travel to and from easier for foreign passengers and crossers, we could interpret these documents as ephemeral objects. Most documents in Euro-American contexts transmit an affect of permanence; they are considered proof of authenticity, actuality, or presence. Documents and identity cards of legal and recognized states perform such roles. In the 'TRNC', in the fashion of Euro-American law and statecraft, documents are taken as proof of existence, too. However in this context, documents, as in the pieces of paper which are discarded once they have been over-stamped, have especially ephemeral qualities. Now you see them, now you don't. Unlike the documents of 'legal' states, 'TRNC' papers manifest the provisional status of the administrative practice that they represent. Rather than being permanent objects of value, 'TRNC' documents transmit an affect of tentativeness. Interestingly, this ephemerality is taken with nonchalance, irony, or indifference by Turkish-Cypriots who are familiar with this documentary practice, in contrast to west European 'legal' documents, as in the story of Fuat accounted earlier, which incite panic, fear, and nervousness.

MAKE-BELIEVE DOCUMENTS: THE 'TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS'

make-believe 1 (disapproving) imagining or pretending things to be different or more exciting than they really are: They live in a world of make-believe. 2 imagining that something is real or that you are somebody else, for example in a child's game: 'Let's play make-believe', said Sam.

(Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2004: 776)

Since 1963, the moment of the break-up of the Republic of Cyprus into ethnically segregated enclaves following inter-communal conflicts with Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots have been governed by several consecutive administrative practices, none of which was recognized as a 'state' under international law. The most recent of these complexes of law and administration is the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', declared independent in 1983, to the alarm of the Republic of Cyprus (the Greek side). The 'TRNC' is called a 'pseudo', 'illegal', or 'pirate' state in international legal documents (see Navaro-Yashin, 2003). In this section, I study the wider nexus of documentary practices of the successive Turkish-Cypriot administrations, with specific attention to the 'TRNC'.

In its sophisticated mimicry of other state practices, the 'TRNC' acts as governing body and sovereign power over a population of about 200,000 people. As in other state practices, transactions under this polity are verified by reference to documents. In all of its institutions, including, for example, the Office of Title Deeds, the Electricity Unit, the Tax Office, the Maps Department, the Post Office, and the Immigration Office, the illegal state has created documents of sorts bearing its logo. These documents are highly loaded symbolically because, at each instance of their use and exchange, they do not only represent specific identities and transactions, but also declare the legitimacy of the 'TRNC'.¹¹

Unrecognized by the UN and isolated, to a great degree, from international transactions, Turkish-Cypriots who have remained as subjects of the 'TRNC', or who continue to have interests in Cyprus, have had to organize their lives by using and employing internationally unrecognized documents now for decades. Among those documents bearing the logo of the 'TRNC' or its previous administrative antecedents are title deeds, birth certificates, stamps, identity cards, passports, vehicle licences, school diplomas, citizenship certificates, tax forms, electricity bills, and the like. Most of these documents, and especially the most symbolically significant ones like the title deeds, identity cards, passports, and stamps, are not recognized or considered 'legal' anywhere in the world outside Northern Cyprus or Turkey. From the point of view of international law, these documents are considered fabrications.¹² They certainly do not carry the symbolic status, weight, and legitimacy of 'legal' documents. They do not provide access to certain practices and transactions outside Northern Cyprus the way 'legal' documents do. In other words, they don't perform the magic which documents effect when they are recognized as internationally valid. These documents work as reference points for bureaucratic transactions only within the confines of Northern Cyprus. Because they are not considered 'legal' (and therefore 'real') outside the zones of this self-declared polity, I construe them as 'make-believe' documents for the purposes of this analysis.

Imagine a population internally communicating with one another through the medium of make-believe documents for several decades and an economy organized around these documents. For example, and most significantly, after the flight of Greek-Cypriots from the north of the island with the arrival of Turkish troops in 1974 and the arrival of Turkish-Cypriot refugees from the south of the island which became 'the Greek side', the makeshift Turkish-Cypriot administration of the period allocated houses, land and property legally belonging to Greek-Cypriots to Turkish-Cypriots who had arrived from villages and towns in the south. This was done through what was called a 'point system', where a council of elderly men from each town and village designated the value

of the property each family should be allocated on the basis of the size of their previous belongings in the south. But the Turkish-Cypriot administrative body did not only consider itself to be temporarily settling down the refugees or providing shelter for them. Knowingly defying international law on property and settlement, it considered the transaction permanent and, by allocating property to Turkish-Cypriot refugees, it made its subject population party to its operations. In return for the houses and land that were allocated to them – property which, still, under international law belongs to Greek-Cypriots – Turkish-Cypriots were granted ‘title deeds’ by the Turkish-Cypriot governing body. Recently these title deeds have been bearing the logotype of the ‘TRNC’, standing as symbols for the unrecognized state, but also operating as vehicles for asserting its existence. Since 1974, there has been a whole economy around ‘make-believe’ title deeds. Property belonging to Greek-Cypriots has been bought, sold, rented, and transacted through the use of these ‘make-believe’ deeds, which are treated as valid documents by the ‘TRNC’. So there is a reality, certainly a physicality, to ‘make-believe’ documents.

Now, title deeds are only one example, among many, of the documents with which Turkish-Cypriots have been organizing their lives in Northern Cyprus. What I want to draw attention to, in this particular article, is the Turkish-Cypriots’ consciousness or awareness of the ‘make-believe’ quality of the documents they employ for identity verification, economic, or transactional purposes. These documents, like others, generate specific kinds of affectivity among the persons who employ them. If many Turkish-Cypriots inhabit Greek-Cypriot property and hold ‘TRNC’ brand title deeds, they are not content or at peace with this. They hold these deeds with trepidation. Many Turkish-Cypriots are acutely conscious that they are living on other people’s property and do not feel that they really own it, in spite of the ‘TRNC’ deeds. In other words, they hold the ‘TRNC’ deeds and have conducted transactions with them, and yet, they do not feel at ease with these documents. They know that these deeds are not considered legal outside the confines of Northern Cyprus, and they are even bothered by and despise these documents.

The main point that I want to stress here is the affective relationship between documents and people as facets of law and statecraft. Documents are ideological artefacts; they are not neutral. But if in certain situations the ideology of documents is not evident to their transactors, under the internationally unrecognized administration in Northern Cyprus, the symbolic content of documents is known to its users. Turkish-Cypriots use ‘TRNC’ documents; there is a state practice in place in Northern Cyprus and everyday livelihood is organized through documentary transactions. However, Turkish-Cypriots are also aware of the contradictions in the documents they employ, especially of those which hide histories of looting or violence or which have no real security or permanence because the ‘TRNC’ is not recognized. They relate to the documents they use with a sense of despair, distrust, contempt and alienation. On the occasion, particularly, of documents which do not carry out their function, such as ‘TRNC’ passports, Turkish-Cypriots ridicule the documents in their hands.

A brief account of the ‘TRNC’s Immigration Office and its Passports Unit will stand as a good example for the nature of Turkish-Cypriots’ affective interaction with documents of the unrecognized state. A four-storey cement structure painted white inside and out stands close to the bus station in north Nicosia. This is the unassuming building of the ‘TRNC’s Immigration Office. It is close to the bus station because this is where

hundreds of people from Turkey arrive, seeking jobs, housing, and benefits from the 'TRNC'. Since 1974, Turkey and the Turkish-Cypriot governing bodies have been implementing a population policy in Northern Cyprus, whereby they attempt to increase the population of those categorized as 'Turks' on the island, against the 'Greeks', and they have been doing this by way of inviting settlers from Turkey. There has also been an attempt, deliberate on the part of the Denktash regime, to bring in people from Turkey and register them as 'citizens' of the 'TRNC' because these settlers from Turkey, when given benefits by the 'TRNC' administration, have proven to be more docile subjects than the Turkish-Cypriots, giving votes, for example, to parties of the ruling establishment during elections in Northern Cyprus. There is, in fact, a demand for this citizenship on the part of an incoming population from Turkey. It is the Immigration Office which distributes 'TRNC' citizenship to immigrants from Turkey and there is an application process whereby would-be citizens of the unrecognized state fill out a detailed form.

The Immigration Office also has a Passports Unit where 'TRNC' citizens can apply for and obtain passports. With this passport one can only leave Northern Cyprus to enter Turkey, since only Turkey recognizes the 'TRNC' as a state. Through a rather complicated process, holders of 'TRNC' passports can also obtain visas to travel to Britain and a few other countries. But because these countries do not recognize the 'TRNC', they issue their visas to 'TRNC' citizens on separate pieces of paper, akin to the 'ephemeral papers' I explored earlier.

The civil servants in the Immigration Office are all Turkish-Cypriots. And this is a most interesting office to visit because the civil servants are openly ironic, cynical and humorous about their practice. 'You are waiting in line to get this passport?' a Turkish-Cypriot civil servant mockingly addressed an immigrant from Turkey. 'What do you think this passport is good for?' Meanwhile, the civil servant was getting the paperwork ready. Other civil servants took part in this humorous ridiculing of documents of the 'TRNC'. 'We are trying to get out of this citizenship and you are flocking in to obtain it? I don't understand!' said one of them to the people from Turkey waiting in line for 'TRNC' citizenship. 'This piece of paper is no good outside Northern Cyprus, do you know that?' the secretary in the citizenship bureau said jokingly. Thus, in the very act of manufacturing and processing these documents, the civil servants involved in these transactions and authorized to carry them out were turning the documents topsy-turvy, or on their head, by being ironical and cynical about them. These specific documents generated affects of pity, humour, and ridicule among their producers.

Turkish-Cypriots have been organizing their lives in Northern Cyprus by employing documents of the 'TRNC'. Yet they have been doing so with some distance and reserve. Documents of the 'illegal' administration incite contempt, evoke unease and encourage wit among Turkish-Cypriots. Remarkably they do not instigate fear, panic or anxiety. Having been used and transacted now under various transitional administrations, documents of the governing entities in Northern Cyprus are familiar ground for Turkish-Cypriots. Turkish-Cypriots have been using versions of such 'make-believe' documents now for decades, for all sorts of administrative and other purposes. They know how to interpret and manipulate, or, if necessary, to reverse the undesirable effects of these documents. We could say that through their wit and irony about it, Turkish-Cypriots have made the Turkish-Cypriot polity a sort of 'home'. We could also

say that Turkish-Cypriots have been domesticated by this administration's practices. They know how to read it and how to manage their lives within its domain. In other words, this makeshift polity, if unrecognized, has been normalized through decades of administrative practice. And the ironic stance of the Turkish-Cypriots vis-a-vis their 'state' and its physical representations, as well as their sharp criticisms of it, are possible within a context of normalization and familiarity (also see Navaro-Yashin, 2003).

LEGAL FORMS: THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

Imagine a situation where a group of people was forced to abandon their rights to internationally recognized and legal citizenship and assume certificates issued by an unrecognized administrative body. Indeed, Turkish-Cypriots, having been blocked from access to southern Cyprus from the time of Turkey's invasion in 1974, and facing tremendous difficulties in international mobility due to the unrecognized status of their passports, never forgot their entitlements to citizenship rights under the Republic of Cyprus. It could be argued that in their interactions with 'TRNC' documents, Turkish-Cypriots enact an implicit comparison with Republic of Cyprus papers which they know are fully and internationally valid. The Turkish-Cypriot community was forced to abandon its subjecthood under the Republic of Cyprus, due to both discriminatory pressures and attacks by Greek-Cypriots from 1963 and to the creation and enforcement of a pirate administration in the Turkish-Cypriot enclaves and zones. Turkish-Cypriots contributed to the making and sustenance of the successive administrations which have governed them. And yet, they have experienced and known its limitations. But Turkish-Cypriots have maintained, to this day, a consciousness of their entitlements to Republic of Cyprus documents. In other words, their ambiguous relation with 'TRNC' papers has developed with a subtext of knowledge about their rights to legal citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus. Though technically in Greek-Cypriot hands, the Republic of Cyprus, under international law, is the only recognized state representing both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. And Turkish-Cypriots, in spite of the conflicts and the partition of the island, have retained citizenship rights under the Republic of Cyprus to this day.

Through the decades when access across the border with south Cyprus was banned, Turkish-Cypriots found ways to apply for passports from the Republic of Cyprus either through middlemen who secretly operated across the border or by applying for passports through Cypriot embassies and consulates in other countries. In September 2001, for example, at a time when the border was still fully shut, the *Cyprus Mail* (on the Greek side) reported that 'According to officials at the passports office, the number of Turkish Cypriots seeking Cypriot passports usually increases by 10–15 per cent every year, but the rate of increase so far this year has been far greater, with 817 passports already issued in the first eight months of this year, compared to 448 passports for the whole of last year and only 317 in 1999' (Kyriakides, 2001). From 23 April 2003, when passage across the border was allowed for the first time since 1974 through the opening of checkpoints by the Turkish army and the 'TRNC' administration, Turkish-Cypriots began to line up to apply for Republic of Cyprus documentation. The requirements for obtaining Republican passports were the same for Turkish-Cypriots as they were for Greek-Cypriots: proof of Cypriot parentage or partnership through marriage was sufficient for eligibility. Turkish-Cypriots dug back for Republican documentation which they or their

parents had saved and carried with them through war and displacement. They showed these old and decrepit birth certificates which they had not used for decades, keeping them in drawers or lockers, as proof of their Cypriot ancestry or citizenship and right to Republic of Cyprus documents. Those who were unable to locate their old documents, either having lost them during the war or misplaced them over the years, were asked by Republican authorities on the Greek side to take an oath and swear about their identity. Having computerized their population files, officers on the Greek side assisted Turkish-Cypriots in locating their personal information. Turkish-Cypriots ran from one state office to the other on the Greek side of Cyprus, obtaining birth certificates, or renewing their old ones, applying for identity cards, as well as passports. Two years after the opening of the border, the Greek-Cypriot leader Tassos Papadopoulos declared that about 40,000 Turkish-Cypriots had obtained Republic of Cyprus passports. The newspaper *Politis*, quoting numbers provided by the Greek-Cypriot Governor of Nicosia, reported in 2005 that since the opening of checkpoints at the border, 57,291 identity cards and birth certificates were distributed to Turkish-Cypriots by Republican authorities.¹³

In Turkish-Cypriot folk language, Republic of Cyprus passports are called 'Greek passports' (*Rum pasaportu*). Turkish-Cypriots know that they have rights to obtain Republic of Cyprus documents because the Republic was meant, since its foundation, for both the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus. And the massive move to apply for updated Republican documentation is a way of reclaiming these rights as citizens of the Republic. On the one hand this rush could be interpreted as a way of retrieving a lost, yet 'authentic' identity, while at the same time obtaining 'legal' forms to replace or complement the unrecognized and 'illegal' documents of the 'TRNC'. However, I would argue that aside from the elderly population of Turkish-Cypriots who would have a memory of interacting with Republican papers, for most Turkish-Cypriots of the younger generations, Republican documents felt less 'authentic' (even if 'legal' and internationally valid) than their 'TRNC' documents which have been much normalized through decades of use in Northern Cyprus. The term 'Greek passport' precisely expresses this feeling of remove from the documents in the very practice of claiming them. As they rush to obtain passports from state offices in south Cyprus, Turkish-Cypriots feel that the Republic of Cyprus belongs to Greek-Cypriots. The passport has been personified and allocated an 'ethnicity'. The passionate desire to obtain 'Greek passports', as well as other Republican documentation, should not be simply interpreted as a pragmatic and economical move on the part of Turkish-Cypriots. In other words, Turkish-Cypriots are not neutrally lining up to get Republican passports simply because the Republic is a member of the European Union and these passports guarantee international access without visa requirements. For a group of people whose access to the world was blocked for decades – due to the border, embargoes on the 'TRNC', and its lack of recognition – 'Greek passports' symbolized an 'opening up' or a liberation. 'This place has opened up' many Turkish-Cypriots would say, in reference to the freeing of access across checkpoints through the border after decades of bans on movement. The passports also signified a reunion with a time past, with repressed memories and a bifurcated life. Therefore we could interpret that, though branded 'Greek' and held at some distance, Republican documents have been claimed by Turkish-Cypriots as a way of overcoming decades of blocks and repression. We could even go as far as saying that for Turkish-Cypriots, applications for 'Greek passports' are a political act, a willing or

unwilling commentary, through a relation with objects, on their state of discontent as subjects of an unrecognized regime in the North.

COUNTERFEIT PASSPORTS: THE BORDER

counterfeit (of money and goods for sale) made to look exactly like something in order to trick people into thinking that they are getting the real thing; not genuine . . .
forgery 1 the crime of copying money, documents, etc. in order to deceive people 2 something, for example a document, piece of paper money, etc., that has been copied in order to deceive people . . .

(*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2004: 285, 504)

In January 2006, The Nicosian Chamber of Justice on the Turkish side announced that they had laid their hands on a ring of dealers who were producing 'counterfeit passports' and smuggling people out of Northern Cyprus. The Turkish-Cypriot police searched the several people whom they thought were involved in this deal, confiscating the tools and technology which the smugglers used to fabricate documents in their homes and offices. The *Yeni Duzen* newspaper reported that, 'The police, after the court procedures, exhibited the objects they had collected during their operations: the computers, laptops, counterfeit identity cards and passports, documents, CDs and diskettes which had been used in the making of counterfeit identities' (*Yeni Duzen*, 2006). In this final section of this article, I explore what it means for an 'illegal' state, whose documents are considered 'fake' outside its territory, to identify 'counterfeit' documents through a 'legal' procedure. Here is a definition of an 'illegal' domain within an 'illegal' one, throwing the very definitions of 'legality' into question. My intention, bringing the discussion in this article to a climax, is to complicate the differences between what I have tentatively, and for heuristic purposes, called make-believe documents, legal forms, and the counterfeit. What affects are generated by 'counterfeit passports' and how are these similar to and different from 'make-believe documents' and 'legal forms'?

At strategic moments, Turkish-Cypriots call 'TRNC' documents 'fake' (*sahte*). For example, Turkish-Cypriots criticize their government's distribution of citizenship certificates to Turkish nationals before election periods under the framing of 'counterfeit citizenship'. In October 2003, the left-wing newspaper *Yeni Duzen* reported that the Immigration Office had been allocating 'TRNC' citizenship to Turkish nationals who had never even set foot on Cyprus, in the interest of registering them in the voting ballots in favour of the right-wing and nationalist parties of the regime (*Yeni Duzen*, 2003). One journalist, publishing on an internet site, wrote that:

Those who know no other way than manipulating the will of the people before the elections, in order to ensure the endurance of the status quo with the coming elections in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, have been endeavouring to import votes by creating counterfeit citizens. (Sadrazam, 2003)

We could interpret that this is an identification of a 'fake' within a 'fake', or of a forgery of the forged, a double displacement. However, I would like to suggest that our analysis should be more complicated.

If considered 'illegal' internationally, a 'legal' system of sorts has been in place in Northern Cyprus now for decades. And in spite of the fact that the documentary practices of the 'TRNC' are considered 'fake', 'counterfeit' or invalid, broadly speaking, by the international community, a legal system (and understanding) which internally recognizes its own documents, with its own differentiations of the 'authentic' and the 'counterfeit', has been operating here. In other words, we are speaking about 'legal' procedures (as well as a legal consciousness) within the confines of an 'illegal' state. If this makes the distinction between the legal and the illegal problematic, that is exactly the effect which I would like to analytically create here (see also Navaro-Yashin, 2003). Through political tensions and rivalries in Northern Cyprus, pressure groups on different sides of the political spectrum force one another to face up to the 'law'. Though in the phrase 'counterfeit citizenship' there is a play on the official 'counterfeit' status of the 'TRNC', the creators of this framing intend a different nuance. Citizenship certificates handed out to Turkish nationals who have nothing to do with Cyprus are differentiated from documents held by Turkish-Cypriots who regard themselves as the lawful claimants of rights under the 'TRNC'. In other words, on this occasion, citizenship certificates held by Turkish-Cypriots would not be internally considered or called 'counterfeit' documents but 'legal' entitlements. So we have to differentiate between the 'counterfeit' and what I have called, by reference to 'TRNC' documents, the 'make-believe'. Though they may appear to be identical, forgery and mimicry are not the same. If the Republic of Cyprus considers all 'TRNC' documents, especially title deeds, as 'counterfeit', the difference between these documents, which have a circuit of operation within the confines of a complex of law and statecraft, and those fabricated completely outside the bounds of any legal practice must be stressed. A 'counterfeit' state defines its own 'counterfeits', a smaller doll within a larger Russian doll. Is this differentiation ethically problematic?

I would like to suggest that a nuanced study of law and the illegal in the domains of document production would ask that we refrain from reproducing the political language of states or international organizations, inventing new frameworks for analysis. With the category of the 'make-believe', I have attempted to illustrate the performative and phantasmatic, as well as mimicked quality of 'TRNC' documents. I have wanted to emphasize their theatrical aspect, the assumption of law and statehood in the face of isolation. Though certain documents produced by the 'TRNC' are certainly 'counterfeit' under international law, especially the title deeds handed out in return for inhabiting Greek-Cypriot property, there is a legal practice in its own right here, which does not mean it should be legitimized, but which identifies its own legal outcasts. In other words, the 'illegal state' has its own 'others'. It is important analytically to differentiate, then, 'make-believe' and 'counterfeit' documents, while also remembering their similarities. There are aspects to mimicry which are akin to forgery. In fact, in certain instances, mimicry may be forgery in its own right. But there are also differences. What I have identified as 'mimicry' in the state practices of the 'TRNC', a fashioning of one's self in the model of other legal states, is different from the forgery practised by people smugglers across the border. And yet, if we wanted to be more radical in our analysis, could we not argue that all documentary practices, including those under the sovereignty of legal and recognized established states, have aspects akin to the practice of forgery? If my suggestion here appears, downright, to negate the rule and logic of law, I intend to

suggest a subtle critique. For, in the light of the ethnographic material that I have presented, it is difficult to squarely distinguish between the 'legal' and the 'illegal', the 'authentic' and the 'counterfeit', the 'true' and the 'fake'. Perhaps 'TRNC' material could push us to consider the 'fake' qualities of what I have heuristically, and tentatively, called 'legal forms' too.

AFFECTIVE DOCUMENTS: CONCLUSIONS

In an article where she engages with the work of James Fernandez, Begoña Aretxaga analyses representations as affectively charged phenomena. Metaphors, in this reading, are not simply constructions, representations, or images that are removed from social reality. In Aretxaga's words, metaphors '*do* things'; they engender and enact political affectivities (2005: 201–3). Here representations and affects are studied in simultaneity, as one and the same thing:

Rather than take it for granted, the link between an image and an affective state (of desire, fear, exultation, or contempt) taking hold of people in the theater of politics seems to me in need of interpretation. (Aretxaga, 2005: 202)

In this article, I have studied not representations, but objects, physical things, as phenomena which generate affect. I argue that state-like structures make themselves evident to the persons who inhabit their domains in the form of materialities. Documents are one of the most tangible phenomena which induce state-like affects. Here I use the word 'tangible' on purpose, to mean both 'that [which] can be clearly seen to exist' and 'that [which] you can touch and feel' (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2004: 1328). I carry the study of affect and the political, then, to yet another domain, to the study of objects.

Recent work in the anthropology of things has illustrated the agencies retained and effected by material objects (Gell, 1998; Latour, 1993; Strathern, 1999). Within this framework, Annelise Riles has studied documents, and in fact the law itself, as 'an object' (2004). Reading such a study of documents, giving due value to the potency of artefacts, one would have thought that it would loosen the potentialities of objects to allow and illustrate their sensual and excessive, affective character. However, Riles prefers to focus on 'the form' of documents, its patterns and design (2000: 21). She writes:

I wish to borrow the parallel I observed between the uses Fijian delegates made of documents and mats in order to focus on some dictates of form in international agreements. I wish to consider the way the form of these documents made manifest a reality of levels and levels of realities through a simultaneous and mutual apprehension of the document as pattern and the document as an independent object or unit. (Riles, 2000: 73)

Riles presents a methodology for the study of documents: She suggests that we abstract out the structure and composition of these objects. 'The character of the pattern', she writes, 'a simple logic that linked words, paragraphs, documents, or conferences – entailed the collection of a potentially infinite number of concrete and distinct entities (words, paragraphs, conferences) into a straightforward digital sequence of numbers and

letters' (Riles, 2000: 78). In my reading, this search for aesthetics and form in the document may involve a sterilization and neutralization in that it distracts the analysis away from the much greater – at times, excessive – potentialities of political objects of this genre. Encouraging another sensibility, Aretxaga has written:

for if we are not willing to look at 'the dark at the bottom of the stairs', our impulse to return to the whole might become a wounded repetition of an ever-widening social chasm, threatening to engulf us in a terrifying feeling of disconnection. (2005: 214)

Based on my ethnographic material, I would like to suggest a different understanding of the document. In the spirit of Aretxaga's work, I would like to open documents up to reveal their abjected underside. Rather than consider the contoured and formal aesthetics of documents in the manner of Riles, I am interested in exploring documents' messy and excessive potentialities, the multiple and contingent affects which they engender in their holders and transactors. What emerges in this reading is not, then, a pattern or design – though I would not deny that documents have that aspect too – but, in Julia Kristeva's words, an abject (1982). Indeed, I want to insist, with Aretxaga, on the importance of being 'willing to look at "the dark at the bottom of the stairs"', and to argue that documents, like other objects, have an affective underside. The panic and fear, the wit and irony, the cynicism and familiarity which documents induce amongst the Turkish-Cypriots in the various situations where they encounter them is evidence precisely for such an effect. In the field of psychoanalysis, affect has been studied predominantly within the domain of the person or the subjective self (see Green, 1999). Through this study of documents as affectively charged phenomena, my intention has been to extend the study of affect into another arena, into the study of objects and materialities in a political field.

By way of a conclusion, I would like to make a few further suggestions: Documents, among the material objects of law and governance, are psychically charged phenomena. They are not self-contained or sterile, but transmit specific kinds of energy amongst their users.¹⁴ Documents may become interiorized objects in their transactors.¹⁵ They get transformed, they take other shapes. In Turkish-Cypriots' experiences of Britain, documents are charged with uncertainty and threat; in the 'TRNC' they are cosily despicable: they provoke irony, cynicism, familiar contempt and wit. Documents are affective: they produce and effect affect.¹⁶ They take the shape of or transform into affect and become part of their handlers in that way.

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Notes

- 1 In fact, Turkish-Cypriots, since 1963, have been subjects of several unrecognized administrative entities, even before the declaration of the 'TRNC' as a 'state'.
- 2 Effectively 'TRNC' identity documents have recently (since the opening of checkpoints at the border in 2003) been recognized by the Republic of Cyprus to verify the identity of Turkish-Cypriots crossing into south Cyprus. Likewise, though Britain does not officially recognize the 'TRNC', British visas are issued to holders of 'TRNC' passports, only they are printed on a separate piece of paper, so as not to appear as if Britain legitimizes the 'TRNC'.
- 3 See Chapter 11 in Aretxaga (2005). Also see Warren (2005), and Navaro-Yashin's introduction to this special issue.
- 4 For other anthropological work on documentary practices, see Tarlo (2003); Navaro-Yashin (2003), and the articles by Ferme, Poole, Jeganathan and Das in Das and Poole (2004).
- 5 See Chapter 12 in Aretxaga (2005) for the printed version of this paper she was working on.
- 6 For a study of affect in the civil service, see Navaro-Yashin (2006).
- 7 For examples of studies of other groups caught between several regimes, see Das and Poole (2004) and Navaro-Yashin (2003).
- 8 See Messick (1993) for a study of law and writing.
- 9 The border between north and south Cyprus was closed (except for travellers with official permission from Turkish-Cypriot authorities) from the time of Turkey's invasion of northern Cyprus in 1974 until a few checkpoints were opened for the commuting of passengers (without the need for prior permission) from 23 April 2003 onwards.
- 10 See Herzfeld (1997) for an analysis of such zones of familiarity which he studies through the terms of 'cultural intimacy'.
- 11 Indeed, the pro-Turkey Turkish-Cypriot establishment, under the leadership of Rauf Denktaş, attempted for years to have the 'TRNC' recognized as a proper state by the United Nations, but to no avail.
- 12 According to the Annan plan, which was fashioned by the United Nations as a programme for the possible solution of the Cyprus problem, certain documents of the 'TRNC' would be recognized as legal (Mete Hatay, personal communication). However, the Annan plan failed to pass after a referendum on both sides of the island in 2004, where the Greek-Cypriots predominantly voted against its implementation. As a result, 'TRNC' documents continue to hold the precarious position that they have maintained for years.

- 13 For this see <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/fc/ln.cgi?cat=33&a=811475> (accessed March 2006).
- 14 I develop this argument about the 'transmission of energy' here through inspiration from the work of Teresa Brennan (2004).
- 15 My reference to 'interiorized objects' in my interpretation of documents here is inspired by the work of Melanie Klein on 'internal objects' (1997).
- 16 In work in a similar spirit, Ann Stoler (2004) studies colonial states and their governance of affect. However, Stoler studies affect as governmentalized, whereas I argue that governmentality itself is affectively charged.

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Yael Navarro-Yashin is a University Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. She is the author of *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (Princeton, 2002). Address: Department of Social Anthropology, New Museums Site, Free School Lane, Cambridge CB2 3RF, UK. [email: yn213@cam.ac.uk]
