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Border Politics

Contests over Territory, Nation, Identity, and Belonging

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In 2007 a group of protesters gathered outside the Office of the High Representative of the European Union in Sarajevo, Bosnia. Ethnic Bosnian "erased" workers whose citizenship had been revoked following Slovenia's independence were joined by their allies from the newly formed country—the Invisible Workers of the World—to protest the unjust enforcement of EU borders, which had rendered these workers illegal immigrants in their own homeland. That same year, activists from across Europe and beyond camped on the border between the Ukraine and neighboring new Eastern European member states of the EU to protest the increased militarization of the border and an unjust visa regime. Across the Atlantic at another border, grandmothers dressed in pink camouflage T-shirts posed for a picture as part of a publicity stunt to recruit for the Minutemen, a self-proclaimed civil defense corps of mostly white men who undertake patrols and surveillance operations along the US-Mexican border to prevent migrants from Mexico from reaching the United States. Half way around the world in Pakistan, veiled Muslim women mobilized in armed defense of the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque), proclaiming their willingness to give their lives to protect the border between what they saw as foreign immorality and religious purity.

Despite the contrasting motivations and political orientations that underlie mobilizations such as these, they share important

characteristics. They emerged in a historical moment characterized by global political, economic, and cultural interconnections, and they have developed in contexts of struggle marked by the effects of reinforced borders that delineate systems of difference and belonging. Finally, intersecting dynamics of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, and other vectors of power and privilege are woven through such border politics at local, national, and transnational scales of action.

The central aim of this volume is to further understandings of the contestations that erupt in today's globally interconnected world by exploring the implications of borders—defined broadly to include territorial dividing lines as well as sociocultural boundaries—for the politics, identities, and meaning-making of contemporary social movements. As illustrated in the cases presented here, social movements may "target the state, other institutions, or cultural meanings" (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008, 84).[1] Struggles around literal and figurative borders of inclusion and exclusion—what we call *border politics*—coalesce around diverse goals and political orientations. As such they may challenge, reconfigure, or exacerbate preexisting structures of inequality. An intersectional approach to border politics focuses attention on how social movements inevitably draw upon as well as reshape cultural meanings and collective identities through these contestations.

The case studies in *Border Politics: Social Movements, Collective Identities, and Globalization* capture the complex ways in which geographic, cultural, and symbolic dividing lines are blurred and transcended, but also fortified and redrawn. Critical analysis of border politics attends to the ways in which contestations over identity and social belonging that contour sites of struggle are shaped by globalization's twin processes of "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" (Deleuze and Guattari 1972).[2] By analyzing these struggles over social inclusion and exclusion both within and across national boundaries, we are also able to see how border politics destabilize constructions of agency and belonging as linked to formal legal categories of political membership.

Border Studies and Border Politics

Our approach to border politics is informed by the insights from the interdisciplinary field of border studies, especially the work of Chicana

feminists. An early, influential stream of border studies developed in the 1970s when scholars hailing from diverse conceptual, methodological, and disciplinary backgrounds focused their attention on the complex political, economic, and cultural processes at play in the borderlands between the United States and Mexico (see Alvarez 1995). Researchers working on immigration, state politics, labor practices, and cultural tensions along this iconic border shared a commitment to empirical investigations and addressing the challenging social problems on the border (Vila 2003).

After some abeyance during the years of the Cold War, the study of borders underwent a renaissance, as scholarly attention was captured by the multiplication and redrawing of borders in Europe, the Palestinian and Israeli conflict, and the creation of new nation-states, like Eritrea and Namibia (see Newman 2011).[3] Border studies scholars in a variety of fields have advanced the analytical construct of the border, extending its meaning beyond literal and territorial definitions, and in so doing they have begun to theorize the close ties between the physical borders of nation-states and the social and cultural boundaries of membership and identity (Aleinikoff 2001; Anderson 1996).

Foundational to border studies has been scholarship in Chicano/Latino studies, cultural anthropology, and cultural studies, which has interrogated the ways in which national, racial-ethnic, gender, and other identities intersect and are organized and reorganized in the social and cultural space of "borderlands" (Gómez-Peña 1996; Behar 1993; Rosaldo 1989; Anzaldúa 1987). In her highly influential work, Chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa's conceptualizes borderlands as paradoxical, contested spaces of everyday life characterized by in-betweenness and instability where "the lifeblood of two worlds" merge "to form a third—a border culture" (1987, 3). Her analysis of *nepantla* (the in-between space) brings together the experiences of the physical space of borderlands with emerging political consciousness and multiple, intersecting identities that straddle sociocultural boundaries (Naples 2009b). Those who find their home in such spaces negotiate and inhabit multiple contradictions and forms of difference (Anzaldúa 1987). Her conceptualization of borderlands thereby offers a critical approach to the categories that define us, calling attention to how they exclude (see Alvarez 1995, 451). Borderlands are sites of boundary-making, conflict, and fragmentation,

but also of resistance and continual reconstruction where new identities are formed and "radical political subjectivities" are forged (Nayak and Suchland 2006, 480; see also Lugo 1997). Feminist scholars have expanded on this work to use "the border" as a theoretical device to interrogate how multiple systems of exploitation and oppression intersect and also are resisted, and this body of work informs our approach to border politics (Segura and Zavella 2008; Alarcón et al., 1999).

Building on these theoretical insights, we conceptualize border politics as struggles that challenge, transcend, or reinforce territorial borders and their effects, or that contest borders *within* nationally defined territories, including social and symbolic boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. In *Border Politics* we also unsettle a binary of right-wing versus left-wing movements. As a mutually exclusive categorization of progressive and conservative mobilizations, the binary is far too limited to capture the complexities at play in the cases of border politics presented here. Placing right-wing and social justice initiatives in the same analytical frame allows for the identification of patterns in the activities and meaning-making of struggles that span the political spectrum. Our intent is not to develop a typology of social movements. Rather, we forward border politics as a conceptual lens through which to understand the connections between geopolitical borders and other kinds of social and symbolic boundaries as they become both objects and sites of struggle (Newman 2011, 56; Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168). The analyses of border politics presented in this collection clearly break from traditional approaches that locate movements within "container" nation-states.

As the meeting place between state and people, geopolitical borders symbolize and structure the security and sovereignty of the nation-state. Since borders function to draw the distinction between citizen and alien (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 13; see also Bosniak 2006), border politics include struggles over the processes of economic and political integration (for example, in the formation of the EU) that contour shifts in constructions and practices of citizenship (see, for example, Leontidou et al. 2005; Momen 2005). The authors in *Border Politics* chronicle efforts to carve out and define (as well as challenge) the parameters of social membership in nations, racial-ethnic groups, and communities. In this manner, border politics brings together both the external and

internal dimensions of borders—social processes that occur between divided groups, social categories, and nation-states as well as those that play out within borders and boundaries.

By highlighting the contradictory spaces in which social formations, identities, and resistance strategies are constituted and reimagined, the cases in this collection call into question a dichotomous construction of local and global, and the spatial hierarchy implicit within this binary (Gupta 1998, 24; Naples 2009a). Brought into sharp relief are the "global assemblages" (Ong and Collier 2005) through which many contemporary social movements are constituted and which shape the terrain of struggle. We borrow this concept from Steven Collier and Aihwa Ong to capture the way in which decontextualized global phenomena "land" in particular territorialized contexts or assemblages to produce social domains of interaction that "define new material, collective and discursive relationships" (Ong and Collier 2005, 4). The relevance of global assemblages for the study of border politics reveals the need for analyses at various scales—geopolitical, national, regional, and local.

We argue that a conceptualization of power as multisited, context-specific, and intersectional is essential for fully recognizing the complexities of struggles around borders and boundaries as they take shape within and across complex social and political terrains.[4] Such a view enables us to see power not only as external to movements, but imbricated within the internal dynamics of these struggles. In line with feminist conceptualizations, we argue for a critical and intersectional approach toward territorial and social boundaries (Eschle 2001). Thus, we seek to dissect and analyze the politics surrounding these divisions without reifying borders and their attendant social dynamics.

Globalization, Border Struggles, and Social Protest

Tensions associated with global political, economic, and cultural integration have galvanized border struggles. In the 1990s scholars, activists, policymakers, and analysts heralded worldwide cultural, political, and economic interconnections as "globalization," truly the buzzword of the times. The revolutionary transformation of information and communication technologies as well as substantial changes in transportation increasingly fueled global interconnectivities and heightened the

permeability of physical and political boundaries (Harvey 1990). With accelerated transnational flows of capital, people, and information, the world was said to be getting smaller.

The idea of globalization conjures up an image of socioeconomic, cultural, and political processes that occur without reference to place or territorial boundaries. However, far from giving rise to a borderless world, the promotion of the free flow of capital across national borders that is so central to neoliberal globalization has been accompanied by the systematic and oppressive social control of populations through the militarization of national, territorial borders and increasingly restrictive migration regimes. Thus, while globalization's open markets facilitate the exchange of goods and information and stimulate the movement of people to new places, its closed borders restrict human mobility through intensified policing of reinforced geopolitical boundaries. Meanwhile, contemporary societies increasingly seem to resemble bastions with borders and controls (Walters 2006) and erected walls and gates (Low 2003; Nevins 2002; see also Blumberg and Rechitsky, chapter 11 in this volume).

Another defining element of the era of globalization is the heightened mobility of increasing numbers of populations. International migration flows increased dramatically in the last half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. In 1965, the number of international migrants was estimated at 75 million people, increasing to 120 million by 1990 and 160 million in 2000. By 2010 the United Nations (2011) reported that approximately 214 million people resided outside their country of birth. Global migration patterns have changed to incorporate new nation-states, cities, and localities as sites of immigrant origin and destination, generating new points of social and political tension. In an increasingly globalized labor market some developing countries, like the Philippines, have taken advantage of colonial ties to wealthier nations, becoming brokers of labor as a principal export (Rodríguez 2010). Countries that receive immigrants contend with a set of irreconcilable issues stemming from the growing demand for inexpensive labor combined with the perceived threat that new immigrants pose to the social and cultural cohesion of nations, fueling contests over political identities and social membership (Lewis and Neal 2005; see also Johnson, chapter 2 in this volume).

Migrants' border crossings take them from one economic, social, and political space to another, implicating "twin narratives of inclusion and incorporation on one hand and exclusion and dispossession on the other" (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 107). The border becomes a material and symbolic site, signifying daily realities shaped by economic and political inequalities and marginalization. The in-between spaces of the borderlands produce ambiguous identities among undocumented, migrant populations who defy the state's power to control their mobility and also their identities as criminal "others" (Kearney 1991). Social protest by undocumented workers and those displaced by economic hardship and political conflict challenge liberal constructions of politics that privilege citizenship as a basis for political agency (Zimmerman 2011; see also Blumberg and Rechitsky, chapter 11, and Téllez and Sanidad, chapter 12, in this volume).

Such conflicts have arisen in a context of the many contradictions of social life in the borderlands. They foreground the heightened material and symbolic significance of borders in defining who we are, contouring our sense of the world, and shaping the social and political landscape. By dividing those who belong from those who do not, borders demarcate and define "us" and "them," deepening structures of exclusion that fracture local communities. Thus, borders and the symbolism that surrounds them are highly implicated in the intense struggles over national boundaries, social identities, and belonging that shape how people view each other as members of diverse communities (DeChaine 2012; see also Maddison, chapter 6, and Rohlinger et al., chapter 7, this volume). Given the gendered and sexualized constructions of nation, images of womanhood and motherhood as well as women's bodies are mobilized in border struggles and intersected with constructions of sexuality, race, ethnicity, and class in ways that both reinforce and challenge gendered expectations (see McDuie-Ra, chapter 4, and Charania, chapter 5, in this volume).

Globalization has involved integration and interconnection, but also fragmentation and particularization, evidenced in the coalescing of struggles around subnational, ethnic identities. Along with ethnic conflict, the current era has witnessed heightened activities on the part of conservative, extreme nationalists and religious fundamentalist groups (Wimmer 2002, 20013). Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East,

as well as the US Christian conservative Right, perhaps represent the epitome of this phenomenon, but numerous other examples abound (see, for example, Blee 2008; Payne 2000; Sarkar and Butalia 1996). In the United States, Australia, and Europe a backlash against multiculturalism and the perceived cultural, economic, and social threat posed by international migration has been fueled by nativist and antiterrorist discourses promulgated by the conservative media (Perea 1996). In Western Europe the far Right has witnessed a resurgence in opposition to an integrated Europe, and right-wing, nationalist parties have put forward anti-Islam and closed-border platforms, as they seek to harness the discontent brought on by soaring unemployment rates (*Washington Post* 2012).

The events of 9/11 and other terrorist attacks in different parts of the world ushered in the US-sponsored War on Terror, elevating the urgency with which nation-states police citizenries, displaced populations, and border zones, as safety and security became increasingly conceived as tenuous. Thus, the "debordering" of economies coexists with "rebordering" in the form of the reenforcement of racial-ethnic boundaries and the reterritorialization of nation-states through newly configured forms of governmentality, national security initiatives, and intensified surveillance of populations (Gusterson and Besteman 2009; Spener and Staudt 1998).

In the United States and other immigrant-receiving countries the War on Terror conflated national security with the control of borders, in many cases galvanizing a moral panic around immigration. In this context anti-immigrant sentiments have resonated globally (Kretsedemas and Brotherton 2008; Fassin 2011), reinforcing boundaries between "legitimate" members of societies and "others," to produce climates of fear and insecurity among immigrant communities. Such hostile climates provide a backdrop for the deportability that accompanies unauthorized immigration status and which compounds the marginalization of immigrant groups, reinforcing their vulnerabilities in the workplace and their exclusion from various spheres of social participation (De Genova and Peutz 2010).

As cultures of securitization and a politics of fear have come to permeate daily life even far beyond border regions, the effects of economic restructuring and neoliberal policies have given rise to economic

insecurities confronted by increasing numbers of groups and communities (Gambetti and Godoy-Anativia 2013). Such insecurities, as well as changing demographics and increased cultural interchange associated with globalization, have thrown into question the dominance of previously privileged groups, undermining their ability "to maintain . . . advantages within established institutions" (McVeigh 2009, 43). These conditions have produced new incentives for right-wing mobilizations, as localized efforts to stem the tide of change often turn anger and frustration into violence against those deemed as responsible for the lost advantage (see, for example, Rydgren 2006; Wodak, Khosra-viNik, and Mral 2012).

Despite these tensions, such experiences have also engendered new collective identities that form the basis for challenging these same systems of subjugation, as evidenced by the "dreamers" in the United States who, as undocumented youth, are challenging the limits of US citizenship as well as by the erased workers of Slovenia (Razsa and Kurnik, chapter 8 in this volume). A range of other social justice movements, including the Occupy movement, have also mobilized in response to these same conditions, focusing opposition on neoliberal globalization and blaming deepening inequalities and increased insecurities for the majority of the world's people on corporate greed.[5]

Border Struggles and Global Assemblages

Borders and associated social divisions with their attendant power dynamics crosscut the struggles presented here. Some movements have "gone transnational," transcending physical and geographic borders through the establishment of cross-border alliances and networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998; also see Paternotte and Ayoub, chapter 9 in this volume). Transnational linkages such as those cultivated between Mexican women's labor organizers in the export-oriented assembly factories along the US-Mexican border and their allies in the North (Téllez and Sanidad, chapter 12) and those between antimega-dam activists in Lesotho and international environmental organizations provide opportunities (Braun and Dreiling, chapter 10) to increase political resources and influence global political change. In this way they strengthen the global public sphere by mobilizing [a] disenfranchised public into

discussions of global issues" (Smith 1998, 102; see also McAdam et al. 1996; Smith et al. 1997).

Global assemblages make possible the transnational diffusion of ideas and information, which facilitates the sharing of discursive strategies, ideologies, and social movement tactics (Smith and Johnston 2002; see also Braun and Dreiling, chapter 10), creating new possibilities for transnational cooperation and cross-border coalitions (Bandy and Smith 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998). The development of new technologies has also hastened global interconnections in the form of increased cultural interchange and expanding communication networks that have brought about some new and exciting possibilities for activism aimed at unsettling systems of domination, including "cross-race and cross-national projects, feminist movements, anticolonial struggles and politicized cultural practices" (Lowe and Lloyd 1997, 25).

Social media and digital technologies have become new tools for mass mobilization. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, popular mobilizations like the Zapatistas of Chiapas Mexico (Khasnabish 2010; Olesen 2005), the Global Justice Movement (also known as the alter-Globalization Movement), and the World Social Forums challenged the notion that neoliberal policies would raise all boats, and global communications allowed them to spread a counterhegemonic message (Evans 2000). Likewise, new media and Internet technologies facilitated women's mobilization (sometimes as feminists) nationally and transnationally to address the gendered effects of globalization as they unfold in disparate locations around the world (Naples and Desai 2002; Hewitt and Karides 2011; Thayer 2010).

During the Arab Spring of 2011, activists harnessed Facebook and Twitter to organize massive mobilizations that resulted in the toppling of military dictatorships in Tunisia and Egypt. Months later the Occupy movement put to use viral flows of images and information made possible by social and mass media to spark local movements around the globe (Juris and Razsa 2012; see also Razsa and Kurnik, chapter 8 this volume). The No Border Network, described by Renata Blumberg and Raphi Rechitsky in chapter 11, utilized digital media and communications to convene activists from across Europe and beyond to protest and raise awareness about injustices associated with a visa regime that controls and polices migration into what activists term "Fortress Europe."

Rebordering processes crystallize in regions where military techniques and detection strategies, and technologies of surveillance engineered for war have been put to the service of border enforcement. In this context military logics for resolving conflict and solving social problems have been applied to border enforcement, extending it beyond the purview of the state to include nonstate actors. For example, in Israel's Modi'in area, Border Police train youth to assist them in enforcing security measures and apprehending "illegal aliens" (Nevins 2012), while in the United States the Explorers program, a subsidiary of the Boy Scouts of America, partners with Border Patrol to train young people "in skills used to confront terrorism, illegal immigration and escalating border violence" (Steinhauer 2009). From nativist groups like the Minutemen in the United States (see, for example, Johnson, chapter 2 in this volume), to white supremacy groups in Australia and extreme nationalists in Europe, such extraofficial, border-enforcement initiatives aim to strengthen and reinforce the boundaries and lines that purportedly safeguard a nation, people, or way of life, as well as a set of corresponding moral codes.

Analysis of border politics must be situated within intersecting power relations across global, local, and national sites of mobilization and struggle. Power differentials at these various levels shape the strategies by which movement participants engage to achieve their goals. But they also structure the interactions and relationships among social movement participants, and, thereby, the possibilities for establishing cross-border alliances. For example, the achievement of certain objectives on the part of the No Border Camp held in the borderlands of Ukraine were hampered by "borders of difference" among activists that emerged despite an imagined, shared political culture of solidarity. Such social divisions highlighted differences of language and nationality and corresponding degrees of privilege and disadvantage. Activists' varied relationships to the Transcarpathia area where the camp was held meant that actions carried differing meanings and risks for camp participants. Those hailing from EU member-states did not face the same repercussions for confrontational activities, while camp organizers with ties to the region would be held more accountable (see also Braun and Dreiling, chapter 10). Likewise, when faced with the outside threat of a physical attack by fascist opponents, unity and shared orientations in the camp broke down

and participants were unable to agree on a course of action (Blumberg and Rechitsky, chapter 11). This case illustrates the fleeting, contestable nature of solidarities across differences of nation, region, class, religion, and ethnicity. Contradictions associated with deterritorialization and reterritorialization that shape localized contestations, and their gendered, racialized, ethnic, and sexualized dynamics are central to what we term "border politics." These complex, intersecting dynamics underscore the need to unpack the shifting meanings of social membership, constructions of citizenship, and relations to nation-states.

Several cases presented in this volume (chapters 2–5, 11, 12) take place within contexts marked by the militarization of contested borderlands. Such frontiers are imagined as wild, lawless, and marginal (Earle 1999). State agents as well as ethnic militants and paramilitary groups justify human rights abuses committed against workers, migrants, and residents of ethnic communities as necessary in order to maintain law and order in these "out-of-control" areas in efforts to protect the "homeland."

Several of the authors illustrate how the powerful nationalist trope of women as the cultural bearers of the nation and the political deployment of motherhood are important components of militarization. The dichotomy of men as protectors of the nation and women as in need of protection is mobilized to support and rationalize militarized, ethnonationalist projects and exclusionary racial politics. Analysis of the contradictions evident in border politics reveal the complexity of the contests over territory, nation, identity, and belonging that are being fought across, within, and along diverse territorial dividing lines as well as sociocultural boundaries.

Organization of the Volume

This volume presents eleven case studies of social movements that feature diverse political orientations, movement tactics, and goals. Bringing together these varied cases as illustrative of border politics allows us to delineate the various relationships that social movements have with geopolitical and territorial divisions, sociocultural and symbolic boundaries, and the intersecting and often "in-between" identities associated with them (Anzaldúa 1987). In the cases of border politics

presented here, borders and boundaries operate as sources of griev-
ances, targets of action, and sites of struggle. Symbolic boundaries and
other internal borders also permeate the internal dynamics among
social movement participants as well as processes of identity formation
and meaning-making. The cases are organized around three themes:
Gendered, Ethno-Nationalist Struggles and Militarization (part I);
Politicized Identities and Belonging (part II); and Contested Solidari-
ties and Emerging Sites of Struggle (part III).

In the first section, the cases highlight the diversity of ways that
militarization operates within border politics. Militarization refers to
a process through which a worldview that promotes militaristic val-
ues—discipline, hierarchy, and obedience—achieves ascendancy and
predominance across arenas of social life. Military solutions to prob-
lems come to be seen as commonsensical, inevitable, and effective in a
context of impending threat, heightened insecurity, and danger (Enloe
2007). At the same time, the militarization and policing of borders is
interwoven with and reinforces hierarchies of gender, sexuality, class,
ethnicity, and race (Mains 2002, 204; see also Light and Chaloupka
2000). For example, movements organized in conflict-ridden geo-
graphic borderlands marshal traditional constructions of gender iden-
tities to justify militarized actions (Enloe 2007). In this way, women's
bodies become a battleground for ethnic conflicts implicated in border
policing. Women are also empowered as militarized agents who unset-
tle gendered expectations at the same time as they reinforce gendered
and sexualized constructions of womanhood and motherhood.

The second section foregrounds questions of collective identity and
belonging that are also sites of contestation within border politics.
Building on the first section, the authors attend to the ways in which
constructions of identities and belonging are further contoured by race,
ethnicity, religion, class, nation, gender, sexuality, and geographical ori-
gin. Cases in this section examine the activism of indigenous peoples
in North America and Australia, the US Tea Party, the Occupy move-
ment, "erased workers" in Slovenia, and LGBT movement activists in
an integrated Europe. Questions addressed by the authors include who
gets to define and represent collective identities, who gets left out, and
what compromises are made in order to achieve social recognition and
movement goals.

The third section focuses on the limits and possibilities for cross-border solidarities. Global assemblages are sites of contradictions where power imbalances and access to resources pose ongoing challenges to collective action, even in the context of shared political goals. Differing interpretations or "border distortions" of movements' goals and strategies inevitably emerge in such coalitions (Braun and Dreiling, chapter 10). However, as illustrated in the last chapter, despite contradictions of power, the fabric of transnational connections and relationships among women's movement participants and feminists can produce hybrid social arenas or "counterpublics" (Fraser 1992) where oppositional perspectives can be articulated, debated, constructed, and shared (see also Naples 2013b.)

Gendered Ethno-Nationalist Struggles and Militarization

The first section of the volume features cases that highlight the intricacies of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and nationalism as they intersect with border enforcement and militarization. The four chapters in this section feature struggles situated on the borders between nations as well as boundaries among ethnic, racial, and religious groups. The varied goals range from peace keeping to affirming ethnic divisions and bolstering exclusionary racial politics. The authors discuss the implications of movements' deployment of gender, ethnic, religious, and national identities for dominant, gendered social arrangements and women's agency.

In the first chapter in this section, Jennifer Johnson examines the contradictory role that grandmothers assume in the civilian patrols along the US-Mexican border to prevent unauthorized immigration into the United States. The routinized, structural gender violence in cities along the dividing line between the United States and Mexico and the high incidence of rape of migrant women while in transit is well documented (Morales and Bejarano 2009). Johnson shows how the fear of rape is used to justify militarized border enforcement and also to constrain the participation of women who participate in the Minutemen, confining much of their involvement to reproductive and symbolic activities. Indeed, her own fieldwork was hampered by the invocation of this threat and its alignment with the construction of men as protectors of the nation and women in need of protection as vessels of

cultural reproduction. Johnson's analysis demonstrates how the Minutemen's project to police the geopolitical, legal, and cultural boundaries of the nation incorporates aging white women in ways that reproduce gendered and racial hierarchies of power. Her ethnography shows how the contributions of "border grannies" to efforts to keep immigrants of color *outside* the boundaries of nation is inextricably bound up in women's gendered subordination *within* national borders.

The traditional gendered identity of grandmother is based on moral strength and presumed powerlessness and fragility. The Minutemen employs this identity as a mobilizing frame, invoking the symbol of the granny to protect "the family" and indeed, the nation, against the threat of a racial "other." Ironically, the strategic deployment of the gendered and aged identity of "granny" occurs alongside the invocation of the threat of rape and women's need of male protectors. Thus, women's integration into militarized, ethno-national projects like the Minutemen simultaneously constructs them as vulnerable, potential victims in need of protection, and protectors of the nation. The Minutemen wield these interrelated, patriarchal narratives as a weapon of defense against a foreign invader, justifying militarized action. Simultaneously, the gendered subordination of the grannies bolsters the ethno-nationalist, exclusionary politics of the Minutemen, reinscribing hierarchies of masculinity, femininity, and racialized sexuality to reinforce the militarization of borders and the marginalization of nonwhite, racial, and ethnic "others."

In chapter 3, Meera Sehgal describes paramilitary camps in India in which middle-class, urban Hindu women's gender identities are deployed to support interethnic violence and militarization. She shows how the Hindu nationalist movement mobilizes the threat of sexual violence to produce a "feminine siege mentality" at the paramilitary camp that she studied. However, women active in this movement challenge patriarchal, ethno-nationalist expectations as they participate in paramilitary training that conflates "women's self-defense with national self-defense," thus transforming women into "symbolic border guards" who "deepen and regulate boundaries between Hindu and Muslim communities in the name of women's empowerment." The instruction and trainings that young women receive at the camps socialize them into a particular Hindu nationalist worldview through the cultivation of a siege mentality that is built on the fear of a sexually violent male,

Muslim "other." Sehgal shows how, through these camps, anti-Muslim hatred is used as an antidote to the fragmentation of ethno-nationalist allegiances in order "to patch the fractured Hindu polity together." Hindu nationalist women's elevation to the symbolically powerful position of citizen warriors is nonetheless tempered and circumscribed by an emphasis on feminine duty and sacrifice. Thus, despite the potential for empowerment of women, the dichotomy of women as in need of protection and men as natural protectors remains intact within the militarized, nationalist ideologies promoted at the camps.

The next chapter, by Duncan McDuie-Ra, analyzes the gendered, ethnic tensions within Northeast India along the border with Myanmar. In the ethnic conflict in the Naga region, women mobilize around identities of mothers and caretakers both to end violence and to resist peace efforts. This chapter illustrates the contradictory, gendered constructions employed by competing mobilizations. Ethnic Naga women's organizations who were organizing for peace throughout years of conflict over ethnic territories came head-to-head with ethnic Meitei women's organizations who were protesting *against* the peace agreement. Women's organizations associated with both ethnic groups took on multiple roles within demonstrations surrounding a blockade that sealed the region off from the rest of the country in protest efforts directed at both supporting and disrupting peace agreements in the adjoining territories of Nagaland and Manipur. McDuie-Ra shows how women's organization in the India-Myanmar borderlands deploy motherhood and its accompanying moral authority both to oppose and legitimate conflict and argues that as a political frame, motherhood is not effective in transcending hardening ethnic boundaries. He deftly attends to the contradictions these women face as they negotiate conflicting demands of peace keeping and ethnic solidarity.

In the last chapter in this section, Moon Charania offers a reading of antisecular, anti-Western militarization in Pakistan and the complex ways in which Muslim women's bodies have been used to mark borders. Pakistani women's militant defense of the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) defies simplistic characterizations of covered Muslim women as either indoctrinated political actors (and victims of gender oppression) or anti-imperialist freedom fighters. Her analysis of Western media narrations and imagery elucidates dominant imaginings of the

veiled female subject that undergird the War on Terror, and explains how such representations operate as mechanisms of power that discipline subjects by resolidifying notions of dangerous nations. The border politics that Charania analyzes foregounds the role of Western media representations in constructing the violent incidents at the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) in Pakistan, in which a group of young, covered Muslim women defended the mosque to their death against Pakistani military forces and what the activists perceived as foreign impositions of secularism and immorality. During the course of the protests the women abducted Pakistani and Chinese women whom they accused of running a brothel and selling their labor as sex workers. The abductions brought into view the contested identities of femininity and womanhood for Muslim women and the struggle over who gets to define them.

The Pakistani women's political activities are framed by the Western media using hegemonic liberal conceptualizations of agency as rooted in Western individualism. Charania offers a multilayered reading of this example of resistance. She points out that the activists' violent rejection of Western imperialism and secularism defies the traditional gender order, even as it seeks to reinstate and protect it. And perhaps more ironically, it does so through the very subject-positioning made available to these women through the global circulation of dominant, feminist constructions of the Western, liberated woman. In other words, these women's efforts to protect the border between religious purity and "foreign" immorality are framed by globalized, gendered subjectivities (oppressed, victimized, veiled Muslim women versus liberated, empowered Western women) which their political activities heighten and reinforce (through Western readings of them) even as they are mobilized for anti-imperialist ends. These chapters all raise the specter of the politics of representation—namely, who gets to define the nation and how race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender figure into these constructions. Chapters in the next section take up these questions again by foregrounding contestations over identities and belonging.

Politicized Identities and Belonging

The chapters in this section highlight the politics of belonging and identity that emerge from globalization's challenges to territorially defined

state sovereignty and notions of "imagined community" (Anderson 1991). The four cases reveal how the binary of "citizen" and "noncitizen" fails to capture the multitude of social categories and forms of membership that exist in a context of global integration. The authors call attention to the ways in which diverse forms of membership are further structured along the lines of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and geographical origin.

The chapters demonstrate how marginalized groups seek to challenge, contract, and redraw boundaries of democratic inclusion established within nation-states as well as within an integrating Europe. Their efforts both invoke and challenge Western, liberal notions of citizenship and rights. While liberal discourse, such as that of human rights, offers marginalized groups powerful tools that lend international legitimacy to political demands, tensions arise from the use of this universalized discourse to address social inequalities due in part to the normative constructions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and family embedded within them (Naples 2002). Liberal conceptualizations of citizenship and human rights are founded on a concept of universal personhood equated with an autonomous, property-owning individual who acts within a masculinized public sphere and is assumed to be both male and heterosexual. The challenge facing such groups is to construct new political imaginaries of inclusive, participatory democracy based on an expanded definition of social and political membership.

The reinforcement of racial and ethnic boundaries that has accompanied globalization has deepened animosities over who can lay legitimate historic and cultural claims to particular lands, fueling contestations over what appear as natural links "between a people, their culture, and the geographical space" (Cerwonka 2004, 23). As Sarah Maddison points out in chapter 6, state projects in colonial settlements were premised on the erasure of indigenous people, and colonial borders "crossed" their cultures and societies.

Individualist conceptions of rights and definitions of citizens are at the core of nation-state–building projects, which strive for territorially defined cultural unity. In a context in which nation-states dominate as the sovereign entities that guarantee the enforcement of rights, the struggles of indigenous peoples for self-determination and autonomy challenge national boundaries as sole arbiters of

claims-making (Donnelly 1993). Making claims to sovereignty based on rights discourse poses several dilemmas for indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities. Perhaps foremost among these is the tension between individual and collective rights (Jelin 1997). Indigenous peoples and other displaced and oppressed groups have called for collective and cultural rights, rejecting Western precepts of rights discourse as well as individualist notions of rights reflected within it (Stavenhagen 1996; Zubaida 1993).

Sarah Maddison's chapter highlights how indigenous peoples' relationship to land and notions of belonging contrast with the beliefs held by European invaders and contemporary neoliberal states. Maddison attends to the production of a pan-Indigenous political identity that challenges imposed colonial and postcolonial borders. Indigenous peoples face the strategic dilemma of having to gain political voice and recognition within neocolonial states while claiming a pan-Indigenous identity that transcends precolonial national borders.

While Maddison discusses efforts to create politicized identities that transcend borders of the nation-state, in the next chapter Deana Rohlinger and her coauthors describe a social movement's efforts to contract the boundaries of a collective "we" and in so doing define "American" in increasingly narrow ways. Initially, the Tea Party movement (TPM) in Florida articulated a collective identity based on broadly shared values (individual rights and love of country), which enabled it to mobilize citizens from across the political spectrum. However, after the 2010 electoral success, the TPM began to draw more narrow boundaries of membership. While avoiding the open racialization of these dividing lines, the TPM began to base its collective identity on opposition to illegal immigrants and their allies and a government perceived to have a socialist agenda. Finally, the TPM drew a sharp boundary to differentiate participants from the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement, which emerged in response to the global banking crisis. Instead, the TPM carves out an ideology that blends support for tightening the enforcement of racial boundaries and national border with extolling the benefits of free market capitalism.

The Balkan states of former Yugoslavia serve as the setting for chapter 8, in which authors Maple Razsa and Andrej Kurnik analyze the social marginalization associated with the redrawing of borders and

the integration of labor markets and economies. They argue that the experiences and struggles of the "erased," ethnic minority workers, whose citizenship was revoked in 1992 following Slovenia's independence, demonstrates how border regimes function not only to physically exclude marginalized groups but also "to socially include them under imposed conditions of enforced and protracted vulnerability" as a subordinated labor force (De Genova 2002, 429). Indeed, these workers' struggle for dignity, social inclusion, and labor rights as "foreigners" in the very place that they knew as home illustrates the articulation between redrawn territorial borders, social exclusion, and precarious labor regimes that undergird neoliberal globalization. The analysis highlights the social boundaries that emerge when different sociocultural groups come into contact in borderlands where the dividing lines between collectivities are drawn, maintained, and allowed to endure (Fassin 2011; Barth 1969).

Razsa and Kurnik explore the political alternatives developed among the erased in their struggle against exclusionary politics in the borderlands between Bosnia and Slovenia. Migrants' transnational organizing in the region called for the opening of borders and the outright abolition of border controls. Their protests, some of which targeted the Office of High Representative (OHR) headquarters in Sarajevo, also raised provocative questions about the relationship between the former Yugoslavia and the European Union. The political practices of democracy of direct action enacted by erased workers in Occupy Slovenia highlight the crisis of representative democracy in the liberal nation-state. The workshops organized by Occupy Slovenia created meaningful spaces for creating collective subjectivities that challenged the fragmentation stimulated by globalization. For the authors, the struggles of the poor and marginalized Bosnian workers in Slovenia and their allies and their experimentation with new practices of direct democracy suggest the emancipatory potential of new forms of citizenship. Razsa and Kurnik also counter the dominant narrative that the Yugoslav experience represents an anomalous case in an otherwise smoothly integrating and globalizing Europe. They argue instead that the multiplicity of borders and the displacement of populations contribute to institutionalized hierarchies of nations and labor within an integrated Europe. Razsa and Kurnik's analysis raises the question of who can make claims

to European membership and who are marginalized within "the idea of Europe" even when formal membership is granted to states.

In the next chapter, Phillip Ayoub and David Paternotte present a contrasting picture of the construction of Europe. They analyze how activists created a normative framework of Europe that links LGBT rights with European values. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists have imagined a new sociopolitical European community, challenging the frontiers of exclusion and the modes of belonging of the liberal nation-state. These activists are not simply extending a liberal notion of rights to an unrecognized group. By imagining Europe as, in part, defined by the inclusion of LGBT people, they are redefining "rights" and forms of citizenship that transcend the bounded nation-state. LGBT activism in Central and Eastern Europe, then, contributes to rebuilding the meaning of Europe from the ground up. Yet, borders remain when these efforts created new hierarchies among activists and paradoxically reinforced a distinction between the "modern West" and the "homophobic East." Again, we see the importance of bringing together the analysis of internal and external dynamics of border construction and resistance to develop more comprehensive understandings of material and symbolic border politics.

Contested Solidarities and Emerging Sites of Struggle

The last three chapters examine the shifting spaces of social movement activity that have accompanied globalization as well as the opportunities for and challenges to cross-border solidarities. Global connectivities have fueled transnational social movements, allowing for the diffusion and exchange of information, resources, discourses, and strategies of contention (Guidry, Kennedy, and Zald 2000). Organizers mobilize, establish, and maintain transnational networks often with the goal of pressuring governments to make reforms that address the demands of marginalized groups. Although many such initiatives have emerged to challenge the effects of neoliberal globalization, their formation is made possible by the very advancement of information technologies and the time-space compression that are hallmarks of the global age.

Such initiatives illustrate the potential for transnational cultures of solidarity that can create a space for dialogue and exchange across

differences of national origin, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, and class (Bandy and Bickham Mendez 2003). But they also reveal how gender and sexuality, along with power relations of race, ethnicity, class, and nation, "fracture the space of transnational civil society and constrain opposition to neoliberalism" (Bandy and Bickham Mendez 2003, 174). Tensions that emerge from power disparities within transnational networks remain a challenge to local activists whose vision and goals may be overridden by more powerful transnational allies (see also Thayer 2010; Bickham Mendez 2005; Naples and Desai 2002a).

In chapter 10, Yvonne Braun and Michael Dreiling explore the limits, tensions, and possibilities of cross-border organizing in opposition to mega-dam projects in Lesotho. They uncover often-overlooked internal dynamics of the boomerang effect, a political strategy in which organizations form transnational advocacy networks to leverage pressure against targeted institutions to implement reforms or enforce laws or policies (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

Transnational oppositional initiatives to mega-dam projects constitute global assemblages (Ong and Collier 2005), bringing together a vast network of local and international movement organizations and advocates to fight the corporate takeover of land and corresponding environmental destruction. Braun and Dreiling find that the cross-border alliances, which local activists in Lesotho forged with transnational environmental groups in order to further their local efforts, were structured by power differentials that privileged the identities and interpretations of transnational allies in resource-rich organizations in the Global North. In the process of formulating frames for transnational advocacy efforts, key concerns and understandings emanating from the local level were either ignored or went unheard. While local activists were concerned with corruption, the plight of displaced persons, and environmental justice, transnational activists focused on environmental preservation.

Braun and Dreiling forward the concept of "border distortions" to advance understandings of the contradictions and tensions that emerge within transborder coalitions. The effects of intersecting power disparities on the internal processes of cross-border "frame alignment" (Snow 1986) within the transnational coalitions can diminish the range of forms of resistance available as well as the potential for the

construction of shared identities. The authors delineate the disjunctures and disconnects between local activists' concerns and those of more privileged allies. Given the Lesotho-based activists' more limited mobility and rootedness in place, they faced real risks as a result of the adverse local consequences of transnational advocacy work. Both chapter 10 by Braun and Dreiling and the next chapter by Renata Blumberg and Raphi Rechitsky raise questions about divergent transformative visions within transnational mobilizations and the ways in which power disparities in transnational coalitions can limit the range and effectiveness of oppositional strategies and actions. Power disparities influence which interpretations become dominant and what strategies are enacted.

Blumberg and Rechitsky shift our attention to border politics on the redrawn border of the Ukraine and the EU to interrogate how transnational social movements that seek to challenge territorial borders can also actively construct internal social borders. They analyze the case of No Border Camp, a convergence of over three hundred activists from countries around Europe and the world, to protest unjust immigration enforcement and the militarization of European borders. Activists involved in these transnational initiatives confronted tensions that emerged around "borders of difference" and power disparities, which limited the impact of the movement's antiauthoritarian practices. While differences of language and region were pronounced and impacted network-building within the camp, collaborative efforts to advocate for more just border enforcement were also hindered by varied understandings of appropriate antiauthoritarian organizing strategies. Although the mobilization was successful in achieving some goals, the authors document how global economic inequalities as well as activists' divergent relationships to and imaginaries of place inhibited the implementation of anticapitalist, antinationalist politics. In this case organizing across borders of identity or nationality affirmed differences, rather than blurring or transcending them. Despite activists' rejection of liberal rights discourses that are foundational to nation-states, they confronted tensions emerging from national origin as well as the geopolitical power relations among countries.

In chapter 12, Michelle Téllez and Cristina Sanidad offer a more hopeful perspective in approaching the dilemmas associated with

transnational organizing. They build on the work of feminist soci-
ologist Millie Thayer to explore the cases of women's organizations
in the border region of Tijuana and San Diego. Thayer (2010) offers
the concept of "transnational feminist counterpublics," which she
defines as political spaces where oppositional perspectives can be
articulated, debated, constructed, and shared. In these transitional
arenas, social networks, organizations, and individuals may engage
with each other collaboratively or conflict with one another. For
Thayer such counterpublics hold the potential to be spaces of soli-
darity and democratic participation across power differentials and
differences of class, nationality, race, and ethnicity. Téllez and Sani-
dad see this potential come alive in the efforts of women's organi-
zations that seek to empower and make improvements in the daily
lives of women workers in the *maquila* factories of export-process-
ing zones. These women workers understand globalization as part
of their lived experience that is shaped by forces far from the places
they inhabit.

Conclusion

Borders embody differing implications and meaning for those who
confront them, depending on context and social actors' location within
intersecting structures of power. On the one hand, borders can be
experienced as protection against violation and violence against self,
community, and nation. On the other hand, the divisions that borders
and boundaries sustain also "carry cruelty and violence" (Connolly
1995, xiii). We build on critical constructivist and feminist approaches,
which characterize neither movements nor the identities that they
mobilize and produce as fixed, monolithic entities, but as always in
flux.

Some cases of the border politics examined here are situated within
historically politicized borderlands, others occur within relatively
newly constituted sites of struggle. The first and last chapters of the
collection highlight the Mexican-US borderlands and present analy-
ses of organizations positioned on the antipodes of the political spec-
trum—struggles for social justice in the *maquila* factories (Téllez and
Sanidad, chapter 12) and the Minutemen's mobilization of "grannies" to

help patrol the US-Mexico border to prevent unauthorized immigration (Johnson, chapter 2). These cases as well as that of the Naga conflict on the frontier between Myanmar and India (McDuie-Ra, chapter 4) and the No Border Camp, which mobilized in the Transcarpathia region that serves as a gateway into "Fortress Europe" (Blumberg and Rechitsky, chapter 11) take place within contexts shaped by militarized and contested borderlands.

The engagement of social movements in border politics may be organized around opposition to border enforcement and its effects, such as those that seek to change unjust immigration policies and challenge visa regimes that create hardships for immigrants seeking economic opportunities across borders (Razsa and Kurnik, chapter 8) or workers' treatment within borders (Téllez and Sanidad, chapter 12). Other cases illustrate contestations that arise as reactions to porous borders and the perceived or actual threats they pose to state sovereignty (Johnson, chapter 2), the rights and cultural integrity of indigenous peoples (Maddison, chapter 6), religious identities and value systems (Charania, chapter 5), citizenship and belonging (Rohlinger et al., chapter 7), and the preservation of ethnic homelands (McDuie-Ra, chapter 4). In such cases we see border politics aimed at fortifying borders or protecting historical social or political identities. These mobilizations are often responses to the forces of Empire and neocolonialism or the challenges that globalization poses to a territorially defined notion of "imagined community" based on cultural and ethnic homogeneity (Anderson 1991). As well, illustrated throughout the collection, struggles over gendered and sexualized identities are also at play within movements and across levels of organizing from the local to transnational (see, for example, Sehgal, chapter 3; Ayoub and Paternotte, chapter 9).

Border Politics raises a series of questions and issues for further study. In the concluding chapter we demonstrate how the collection's analytical focus on border politics allows for the disentangling of theoretical tensions and sheds explanatory light on the complexities of these movements' dynamics as well as offers analytic power for future research. This collection brings forward the contradictions of this historical moment for reconfiguring national and symbolic boundaries and other internal borders that shape international and local mobilizations as well

as internal tensions among social movement participants. Attention to these shifts and tensions further reveals contestations over nation, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.

NOTES

1. We follow David Snow (2004), who defines social movements as "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part." In the conclusion we explore further the implications of theoretical attention to borders and boundaries for conceptualizing social movement practices and identities.

2. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1972) conceptualize these interrelated processes as separating or detaching local meaning, experience, or specificity of social relations, including labor relations, and reconstituting them in distant and abstracted formulations.

3. Given their spatial and territorial dimensions, it is not surprising that the study of international borders and boundaries has a long history in the fields of social (see Jones 1959; Kolossov 2005) and political geography (Prescott 1965; Kapperson and Minghi 1969).

4. The call for intersectional analyses were first heard from feminists of color, who critiqued approaches that constructed women's experiences without attention to the ways that race, class, and sexuality shaped their experiences. Subsequent work emphasized the structural dimensions of what Dorothy Smith (1987) calls the "relations of ruling" and Patricia Hill Collins (1990) terms "the matrix of domination" that contour different women's experiences (Naples 2012, 2013b; see also Anzaldúa 1987; Crenshaw 1993; Hancock 2007; Sandoval 2000).We take a multidimensional approach to intersectionality in conceptualizing border politics that goes beyond identity to examine the "interrelationship or intersections between the 'actualities of everyday life' [drawing on Dorothy Smith's (1987) conceptualization], the local context, as well as the social structures or relations of ruling that are far from view" (Naples 2013).

5. Fueled in part by the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street activists called attention to the many ways that money has a corrupting effect on politics. Occupy Wall Street framed their 2011 protest as "We are the 99%" to call attention to the concentration of wealth in the top 1 percent of the income distribution in the US. National implementation of austerity measures might explain the urgency with which people in other countries took up the Occupy movement. Occupy protests include calls to Occupy Homes to challenge banks' predatory loan practices and their subsequent treatment of homeowners, end fuel subsidies in Nigeria, resist tuition increases in Colombia, and counter economic inequality and the role of the European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund in government in Italy. Australia, Canada, Germany, Malaysia, Mexico, South Africa, South Korea, the UK, and other countries have held Occupy-inspired protests (Naples 2013a).

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