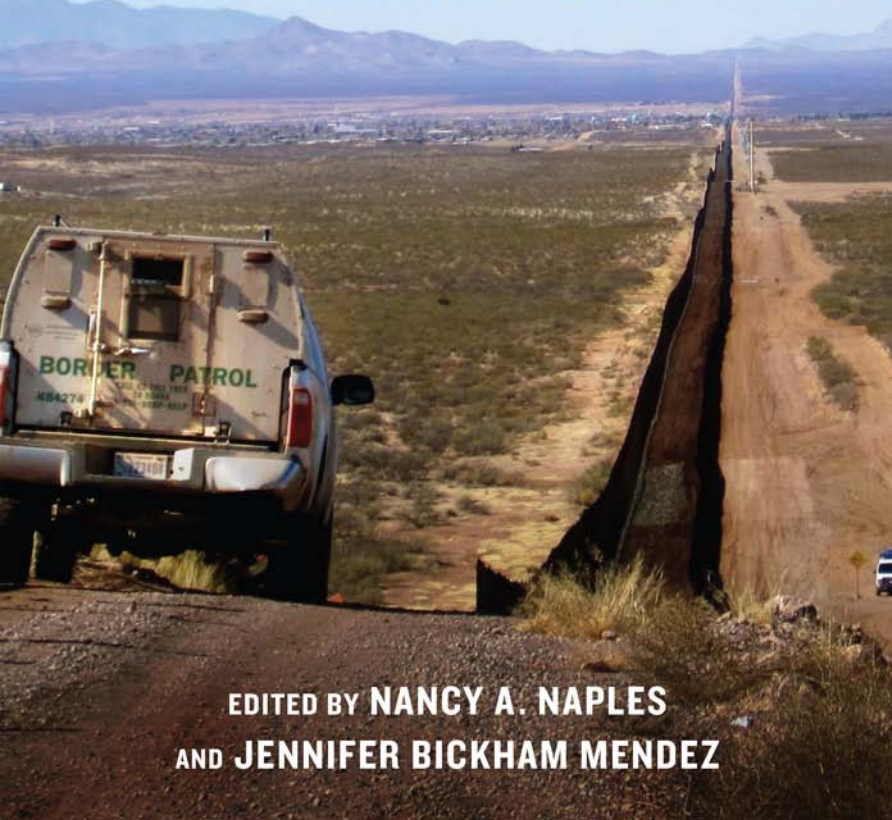


SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, COLLECTIVE  
IDENTITIES, AND GLOBALIZATION

# BORDER POLITICS



EDITED BY **NANCY A. NAPLES**  
AND **JENNIFER BICKHAM MENDEZ**

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*Social Movements, Collective Identities, and Globalization*

Edited by Nancy A. Naples and Jennifer Bickham Mendez



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*To our children,*

*William and Sofia Mendez Bickham*

*and*

*Alexandra and Samantha Bernstein-Naples*

*May they be inspired to make a better world possible.*

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## Introduction

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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 Ethnic Bosnian “erased” workers whose citizenship had been revoked following Slovenia’s independence were joined by their allies from the newly formed country—the Invisible Workers of the World—to protest the unjust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

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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).<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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, KhosraviNik, 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.<sup>5</sup>

### 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 (Télliez 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



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