*Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday: Project findings*

**CMRB Report on the Umea/UEL research project on Everyday Bordering**

### What was the EUBORDERSCAPES project?

EUBORDERSCAPES was a 4 year project tracking and interpreting conceptual change in the study of borders through examining how different conceptualisations of state borders resonate in concrete contexts in everyday life. It included institutions from 17 countries within and outside the EU. It was led by Professor James Scott at the University of Eastern Finland and financed through the EU 7th Framework <http://www.euborderscapes.eu/>

Programme:

### What was UEL’s role in EUBORDERSCAPES?

Work Package 9, *Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday*, included institutions in the UK, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Poland, Spain, Hungary and Finland and was led by Professor Nira Yuval-Davis from UEL and Umea University.  The project aimed to promote hitherto neglected areas of border research agendas that address situated and intersectional (e.g. gender, age, ethnicity) aspects of state borders. Teams used in-depth case studies, to compare how borders, including internal and external EU borders, and internal state bordering processes affect groups, including Roma, with regard to gender, race, citizenship, socio-economic status and sexuality. This report refers to the tasks carried out by the Umea/UEL team at the Schengen border located at Calais/Dover and in London where the team researched everyday state borderings.

### What evidence has been produced?

At the France/UK border, the research produced insights from 9 focus groups and 65 interviews with people from a range of backgrounds and ages, including those who have crossed the border with and without papers, who live near but do not cross the border, labour migrants, people whose everyday employment is directly or indirectly related to the border, those who are ‘local’ and those who have had experience of crossing multiple borders. In London, experiences were recorded from 4 focus groups and 43

interviews with a range of differently situated individuals who experience everyday state bordering in diverse ways. 9 individuals and a women’s group contributed to the film produced by the team, *Everyday* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=myoXPB9naAU>

*Borders*:

### What did the research find?

The overarching finding is the identification of the discourse and practices of what we call ‘everyday bordering’ as a political project of belonging experienced in contrasting ways by differently situated people and constructed as both a bottom-up populist discourse and a hegemonic policy discourse constructed by new immigration legislation and penetrating into all areas of public services. It has become a powerful autochthonic discourse that dominated debates in the EU referendum and is a form of temporal-territorial racialization, of exclusion and inferiorization, the outcome of the relatively new presence of particular collectivities in specific places in the context of local manifestations of neo-liberal mobilizations. Like other autochthonic discourses, everyday bordering works to privilege the belonging of specific groups who claim to ‘be here before you’, dividing those who belong and those who do not in their everyday lives. It is a racialized exclusionary narrative in which ethnic and national origin as well as citizenship status signifies who should have access to various public resources and who should not. Becoming unpaid and untrained borderguards becomes a new kind of everyday citizenship duty, dividing and undermining convivial pluralist multicultural co-existence. Our identification of everyday bordering as an increasingly dominant discourse configured in contexts of neo-liberal economic changes developed from our key findings relating to the **reconfiguration of post-borderlands, de-territorialized everyday bordering legislation and the resulting condition of inbetweenness** experienced at the UK/France border and in London.

### KEY FINDINGS

The reconfiguration of post-borderlands: Dover is an example of ‘post-borderlanding’, in **which old territorial borders are stripped of their traditional ‘border-industry’ roles, with some of their functions being de- and re-terriorialized elsewhere, making local communities feel vulnerable to change**. Complex de-bordering processes include the decline in ferry traffic due to the Channel Tunnel, the juxtaposed immigration and customs controls and everyday bordering legislation;

* The decline of the border as an industry has had a disproportionate impact on lower income families due to the decline in local employment and the ability of those with higher incomes to travel.
* New discourses of everyday bordering emerged, which discriminate against EU labour migrants from marginalised groups, in this case Roma, settled in the borderlands and lacking the social and economic capital to move elsewhere.
* The ‘work ethic’ of EU labour migrants becomes the focus of exclusionary discourses in which those amongst the local population unable to find employment are blamed by those in more privileged socio-economic positions.

Everyday bordering legislation: The changes in law via the 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts further de-territorialized the border through **extending the legal requirements for residents to carry out bordering duties as part of their everyday lives**;

* Every UK resident is encouraged to carry out border-guarding roles (e.g. by reporting ‘immigration abuse’) and all adults are made subjects of everyday bordering (e.g. in applying for accommodation), but the ways that these are experienced vary so that some experience bordering through 360 degrees of their private and public lives whilst others experience it less frequently and less directly.
* As border controls are outsourced from professional border guards, a harsher regime of penalties is experienced differentially by diverse employers, landlords and service providers, when carrying out state bordering roles.
* State bordering has brought citizenship and migration status into the heart of British social and economic relations and has inserted senses of distrust and precarity into everyday encounters.

Inbetweenness:‘Inbetweenness’ characterizes everyday bordering for migrants in Calais and for ‘irregular migrants’ once they arrive in the UK as they are **permanently stuck in the in-between world of migration, along *both* territorial and de-territorialized borders**.

* In Calais their stay in the camp and squats is temporary, but can be years; They are ‘undocumented’ but most have some kind of papers; Their camp is exists because of funding and control by French and British government agencies and NGOs. Migrants are not meant to be economically active but a parallel economy of shops and smuggling is entangled with the local Calais economy.
* Once in the UK asylum seekers are stuck for years in a situation in which they are not allowed to work and have little legal resources to live on; they can be arrested and/or deported and cannot plan a future, or have any sense of entitlement for citizenship rights.
* The growing existential fear we found among the local people in Calais and the growth of the extreme Right are some situated echoes of the inbetweenness of the migrants on the local population. The growing securitisation of policing, fences and physical separateness has exacerbated fear amongst the population.

### Major Publications, Dissemination and Impact:

Monograph (forthcoming): *Bordering,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Journal Special Issues (forthcoming): 1. *Ethnic and Racial Studies; 2. Political Geography.*

International Conference*: EUBORDERSCAPES Policy and Impact, UEL,* November 2015.

Online media: ‘Want to know how to kill a multicultural Society? *The Independent.* 15/12/15; ‘Changing the racialized ‘common sense’ of everyday bordering’ *Open Democracy*. February 2016.

National Tour (with a consortium of migrants’ organizations) of the *Everyday Borders* film (2015-6).

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