

Introduction: Mobilities and Enclosures at Borders

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Our central agenda is to rethink the concept of movement in anthropology and other social sciences. We do this through two themes—mobilities and enclosures—both of which draw our attention to power and its diverse outcomes, especially at borders. Enclosure addresses processes that delimit and restrict the movement of specific goods, people, and ideas, while mobilities concern processes that enable and induce such movements. Consideration of these themes breaks with theoretical tendencies that celebrate unbounded movement, and instead focuses us on the political-economic processes by which people, nature, commodities, and knowledge are bounded, emplaced, and allowed or forced to move. Mobilities and enclosures are plural, favoring close-grained ethnographic studies. They involve unequal rights and powers, demanding precision about the political implications of movements of various sorts. This introduction situates these themes in recent border studies and social theory more generally and summarizes how the authors in this special issue advance scholarship on these matters.

Key Words: borders, states, mobility, enclosure, political economy, geography, social theory

Borders are currently at the fore of anthropology and the social sciences, but this is a fairly new development. Compared to the other kinds of studies that anthropologists have traditionally pursued, ethnographies of people living at national borders and in border regions were, until recently, few in number (Donnan and Wilson 1994). Yet, although modest in terms of quantity, border studies have made significant contributions to social theory and continue to push the parameters of political anthropology and history in influential and critical ways. Many early border-based ethnographies, for example, such as Abner Cohen's study of Arab border villages (1965) and Cole and Wolf's comparative work at a provincial border in Tyrol, northern Italy (1974), engaged in prescient ways with issues that are now central to contemporary anthropological debates. These issues include a focus on culture and identity formation across politically inscribed boundaries, the cultural produc-

tion of space and place, nation-building and state-making as locally embedded processes, and the impact of postwar political economic processes on the lives of those literally living across the formation and implementation of emergent world orders.

The themes introduced in many of these works are echoed and developed in later studies of borders (for overviews, see Grimson 2000; Donnan and Wilson 1994, 1999; Wilson and Donnan 1998; Alvarez 1995; and Martinez 1994). More current border studies include interest in state theories and struggles with or around states (see, among others, Andreas 2000; Bornstein 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Cunningham 2001; Dunn 1996; Heyman 1998, 1999a; Kyle and Koslowski 2001; Nevins 2002). Contemporary border-related work has also focused on classification, identification documents, and surveillance (Caplan and Torpey 2001; Torpey 2000; Heyman 1999b, 2001b), hence establishing a central place for borders in studies of political identifications (such as citizenship) and its relationship to other stratifying variables (such as class and gender) (Rouse 1995; Kearney 1991; Vila 2000). In addition, scholarly research has identified the important roles that borders play in the contemporary world economy. In so doing, these border studies encompass a striking range of socially informed studies of economic phenomena: informal economies (Staudt 1998); cross-boundary shopping and smuggling (Donnan and Wilson 1999: 117–122); large-scale development projects (Ribeiro 1994; Ferradás 1998); and export-oriented assembly plants (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Kopinak 1996). Although this list of themes can easily be expanded, such research indicates that borders are particularly suited to examinations of complex, unequal, and relational processes, a recognition consistent with important developments in current social and cultural theory (see Heyman 1994, 2001a; Staudt and Spener 1998).

Borders have also played a central role in more recent debates within postmodern social theory and cultural studies. While the studies of borders mentioned above have tended to view borders as distinctive kinds of territorial places, scholars in literary circles and cultural studies have written about borders in largely metaphoric terms and have linked them to a much broader intellectual agenda critiquing modernist conceptions of space and time. In the last decade or so, for example, various scholars have adopted borders, border-crossings, and borderlands as focal metaphors that challenge conventional notions of culture, space, place, and identity (see Anzaldúa 1987; Rosaldo 1989; Michaelsen and Johnson 1997). In anthropology, the more cultural and symbolic use of borders and borderlands has had particularly strong resonances among scholars interested in how the movement of ideas, people and goods allows for a de-linking (i.e., deterritorialization) of identity and geography in a postmodern world of new flexibilities and flows. Many scholars writing in this ilk use the motif of borders to underscore the mobility of culture and the fluid, unpredictable, and processual nature of social identity. These writers de-emphasize borderlands as specific sites found near or around international borders and instead argue that they exist as zones to be found in all aspects

of social life. For many border theorists, borderlands are powerful political spaces that represent potent interstitial moments within the homogenizing and reifying discourses of nation, race, gender, and sexuality. As such, borders and borderlands function as countersites that both make power visible and yet subvert it through the possibility of hybridities and crossings.

The two approaches to borders mentioned above—one focused on actual social processes at specific borders and the other using borders in a largely metaphorical and conceptual manner—represent rather divergent literatures. Border theory, developed in cultural studies, has tended to overshadow the empirically and historically grounded studies of borders (Heyman 1994; Vila 2000), but the differences between the two perspectives have recently generated important discussions about how borders should be conceptualized and studied within the social sciences. One key group of border scholars, while acknowledging the analytical importance and relevance of border theory, have argued strenuously for a better balance between historical empiricism and the more symbolic appropriations of borders (Wilson and Donnan 1998). Many of these scholars have cautioned against conflating border theory with border studies and underscore the importance of pursuing empirically informed research on how social, political, and economic relations are produced at and in the context of specific borders (see Heyman 1994).

Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, for example, both instrumental in fostering comparative studies of borders, argue that border theory (especially with its emphasis on “sign and symbol”) has seriously neglected the roles that states play in shaping the lives of people at borders. The so-called “new identities” of postmodernity, they suggest, are still powerfully shaped by the old structures of the state and these processes are particularly salient at national borders (Wilson and Donnan 1998: 2). Consequently, they view borders as regions that require a much more dynamic analytical framework than that which border theory offers on its own, especially given that borders are sites where identity is constantly negotiated in the context of territory, government, and the state. The partiality to the symbolic in border theory is also a concern for Pablo Vila, a sociologist conducting research at the United States–Mexico border at El Paso–Ciudad Juárez. Vila, too, expresses reservations about overly symbolic conceptualizations of borders by critiquing border theory’s accent on crossings. In a sophisticated critique, Vila (2000) notes that borderlands metaphors tend to emphasize the possibilities of crossings and hybridities (thereby creating a privileged ontological subject, i.e., the border crosser), but seriously neglect the ways in which borders introduce and enforce fragmentation and difference. For Vila, borders are not necessarily loci of creative cultural resistance, but places where differences are enacted within particular and powerful modes of territorial control (see also Heyman 1994: 46). Kathleen Staudt and David Spener (1998), also concerned with bridging the metaphorical–material border gap, propose that we rethink what a border is and recognize that there are many different and productive vantage points from which to study them. For Staudt and Spener, borders are highly contentious zones, places

that are different from other spatial demarcations (such as cores, heartlands, the mainstream, etc.) and that rather than think of them only in terms of their territorial specificity, we should conceive of them as an “ongoing, dialectical process that generates multiple borderlands spaces, some of which are not located very close to the official international boundary itself” (1998: 4). For Staudt and Spener, borders are continually made and remade, “rebordered and debordered,” in concert with larger circulations of migration, the projects of states, the implementation of trade accords, and the political responses of those living through and in these processes.

In their writings on borders, the authors mentioned above attempt to establish a different kind of analytical framework around not only borders, but also on how power is conceptualized within the social sciences. All are acutely attuned to the roles that nation-states, as politico-juridical bodies, play in shaping the lives of border people and yet are sensitive to border regions as places where social identities are always negotiated and often contested. Each of these works conveys a keen sense of borders as sites exemplifying both cultural production and its structural constriction, both movement and its constraints. This special edition of *Identities* picks up on several of the critical themes outlined above and resonates with the larger project of re-establishing borders as specific ethnographic sites that also have much to contribute to broader debates about power, identity, culture, and state-making in the contemporary world. Beyond this more general project, however, this collection introduces what is, we hope, a useful conceptual framework for thinking about borders in both empirically specific as well as theoretical ways. We do so by picking up on the theme of movement and situate the discussion of borders in a framework of movement as both an empirical phenomenon and a conceptual problematic. We have chosen movement not only because it is a recurring theme in contemporary border literature, but also because it strikes us that movement is undertheorized in border studies and, in fact, is an analytic that can usefully draw both the symbolic and political-economic strains within border studies into fruitful dialogue.

Movement as mobility and enclosure

As Vila notes, much of border theory is paradigmatically organized around a particular kind of movement—crossings. Although Vila delineates how this proclivity to crossings overlooks the obstructing effects of borders, we add a further point here: this conflates movement with mobility. Much of border theory assumes that movement-as-mobility is the natural state of affairs in a postmodern world when, in fact, mobility is but one aspect of how movement is produced and experienced. Movement is also something that is considerably delimited for much of the world's population, particularly but not exclusively at national borders. We develop movement as an organizing framework for thinking about borders because national borders are indeed sites where the production of movement is a primary experience

for and project of many different kinds of social actors. Without imposing an artificial and rigid model on all border phenomena, then, it strikes us that a key thread in border studies is the movement of people and things across politically defined geographic boundaries or the inverse, the creation of barriers to such movement. Whether it is the shipment of parts for assembly across borders, the profit in petty commodity trade, the migration of people and the policing of it, or defense against feared penetrations (of human “enemies” or natural species and flows), borders permit, monitor, and halt movement. The notion of movement, then, needs to be seen within the context of mobilities enjoined with enclosures. Our development of a mobilities–enclosures continuum is thus central to our attempt to return (after a period of considerable abstraction) to borders as sites where movement is structured within the context of unequal power relations.

The authors in this issue, therefore, work with a central set of ideas about movement. On the one extreme is enclosure: social processes that delimit and restrict the movement of specific goods, people, and ideas. On the other is mobility, the social processes that enable and induce such movements. Although enclosure implies or even assumes mobility, we have chosen analytically to distinguish the two. Enclosure usefully transforms the assumption that people and things have homes, locations, or places into an open question about how sets of people and things and their “proper” locations are defined, internalized, and enforced. Mobility does not suffer from the assumed normality in the notion of enclosure; indeed, mobility is typically read as a kind of social change (e.g., in studies of migrants as opposed to settled populations that are usually conceptualized as the standard). However, combining mobility with enclosure strengthens both terms. It allows us, for example, to contrast specific instances of mobility (e.g., the flux of prosperous tourists) with moments of enclosure (e.g., barriers to poor cross-border shoppers). In so doing, we are brought to question why and how some people and goods move and others cannot, or do so only in the face of considerable distrust and persecution. Both enclosure and mobility are defined against the other, hence reflecting our sense of borders as ongoing social processes governed through political, economic, and cultural struggles.

Enclosure and mobility offer valuable tools for exploring the interplay of power, resources, and ideology in the contemporary world, especially (but not uniquely) at state borders. Enclosure, for example, draws attention to the ways that conceptualized sets of people, commodities, and information are attached to, bounded by, or able to span politically constructed territories. As the history of the enclosure movement in Great Britain shows, these processes are crucial to the making of commodities and unequal property rights in them, not the least of which are processes that make people commodities, i.e., wage labor (Thompson 1963: 213–219). The compass of enclosure of course extends well beyond eighteenth and nineteenth century capitalism. As the role of states has grown in the reproduction of society and in education, health care, urban services, the environment, and political debates that surround those roles, boundaries rise in importance as a means

of regulatory enclosure. Examples of this include boundaries delineating the spaces in which immigrants can and cannot have legitimate driver's licenses and other identifications and serving as an interdiction point for the attempted enforcement of such rules. Hence, state boundaries, along with other lines of spatial enclosure, provide a crucial vantage point on otherwise seemingly natural definitions of spaces, peoples, and commodities.

One cannot emphasize too strongly that enclosure is an ongoing political process, using politics in a broad sense of social contest. There are, in the first place, ideological struggles over the conceptualization of particular spaces as territories and the classification of people, information, etc., as belonging appropriately to them. There are, second, various degrees of policing of enclosure, the routine armed enforcement of boundaries, with interesting differences in seriousness versus laxness of surveillance and in the ability of border-crossers to bypass or defy such enforcement. Third, the assignment and enforcement of differential rights and duties through enclosure entails the allocation of unequal risk to various populations yet naturalizes such rights and risks as normal and proper consequences of territorial rules. Finally, there emerge at times alternatives to existing enclosures (the spaces and social classifications that fill them), processes of change that transcend routine avoidance and defiance.

Having delineated enclosure in this way, perhaps much of what we will say about mobility can be deduced from the fact that mobility is conceptually the inverse of enclosure. For example, the points made in the paragraph just above apply as much to the study of mobility as to enclosure. Still, the rubric of mobility raises questions that are of great interest to the study of power, inequality, and justice. Were we to focus on enclosure alone, we would court the danger of reaffirming the natural units of bounded states cum societies, since enclosure occurs so obviously and compellingly at borders, though this certainly is an excessively narrow interpretation of the topic. But mobility points precisely to the processes by which borders are crossed, the classification of such crossings as legal or even encouraged versus illegal, the enforcement of mobility rules and facilitation of mobility paths, and so forth. As we point out elsewhere in the introduction, a recent literature uncritically celebrates mobility, mixing, and muddling examples with very different social implications. It is through distinguishing various kinds and consequences of mobility (with corresponding enclosures) that we can develop a critical political economy of movement.

There are, first, distinctions to be drawn between mobilities of different kinds of things, such as the differential modes and rights to move of investments, property, credit, and debt; commodities of various sorts; information; and people. One has only to think of the efforts being made to make intellectual property rights more widely mobile and uniform, by contrast to the increasingly strict rules of national citizenship and access to passports and other documentation (allowing, however, for the emergence of new if still highly controlled supra-state statuses such as European Union (EU) member state passport-bearers). Second, there are

striking social inequalities in the mobility of different social groups: citizens of Canada in the United Kingdom (U.K.), say, versus citizens of Sri Lanka, which is not just a matter of allocating movement rights to pre-existing groups, but actually politically constructing such groups—in this case, the differential treatment of formerly mutual members of the British empire. One can further overlay these two ways of viewing diversity and inequality among mobilities (the kinds of things and the groupings of people), bringing into consideration important phenomena such as the unequal risk faced by cross-border human carriers of academic knowledge versus those of child and elderly care labor (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001).

Building on arguments made in the recent work on borders by Donnan and Wilson (1999), we argue that enclosure and mobility make borders of various sorts central to the study of social process, rather than marginal to it (the locus of its termination or defiance or breakdown). Enclosure is deeply implicated in the delimiting of collective arenas, such as governments, elections, and public participation. Hence, enclosing boundaries is central to understanding the sorts of units that we take as necessary points of reference in the social and cultural sciences: nationalities, states, regions, genders, and so forth. The present inquiry usefully puts such units into question, analytically and politically. Likewise, mobility is vital to exploring relationships of differentiation across space; one cannot envision commodity chains or unequal exchange or combined and uneven development without a sense of how this credit gets here, how that good gets there, and how the manager or laborer does or does not cross borders. Mobility in this sense does not mean just the transfer of things of the same sort across space, but the transformations they undergo in their value and meaning as they cross boundaries.

Enclosures and mobilities thus join at borders, in the multifarious processes of entering, avoiding, detecting, classifying, inspecting, interdicting, facilitating, and revaluing that are borders of everyday routine. While we may perceive distinct territories to be different and unequal in material and meaningful ways, between Spain and Morocco for example, it is the unequal capabilities and rights to move across boundaries, and the cultural frameworks entailed in defying such lines (Driessen 1998), that define the difference, keep the separation going, or bring about its erosion and transformation. As Fredrik Barth (1969) recognized long ago, boundaries are fundamental to defining what is on both sides.

The dual rubrics of mobility and enclosure therefore address important processes in social theory. They are clearly vital to defining what is a place (locality, nation, regional bloc, etc.) and movement through, around and across place. Recent work in geography (Brenner 2000 offers a useful summary of a large literature) and anthropology (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) have turned away from the notion that places exist inherently and then come into interaction and relation. This work suggests that, instead, we look at how places are created and designated in a social-political process. Clearly, enclosure is vital to place-making, as is mobility, not only in building up place from repeated connections, but also in defining certain movements as internal and others as external. Likewise, current interests

(e.g., space–time compression) emphasize simultaneity of related processes in physically distant places (Harvey 1989), which in turn presupposes specific means of communication and/or movement of people, again subject to enclosure and mobilization.

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Mobility and enclosure clearly partake of wider arenas than state borders. But at borders, the present authors look for specific empirically graspable phenomena that enact and affect enclosure and mobility. These include attempts at interdiction and detection; acts of examination (inspection, as it is often called at borders); the imposition of regulations, including facilitation and prohibition; and the redoing or restating of categorization and identification. Furthermore, we look at the wider political, social, and cultural contexts that shape these concrete border activities. On the one hand, contextualization is needed if inspections and interdictions are to be subject to something more than microscopic policy debates and superficial reportage. On the other hand, the particular processes of mobility and enclosure at borders inform us about broader tendencies and contexts that are otherwise hard to grasp, being vast in scale and often mystified. Precisely for these reasons, the study of movement at borders speaks to major debates—we might even say confusions and flounderings—in social theory concerning the trajectory of the contemporary world. Are enclosures declining? Is mobility (of people, of goods, of culture and identity) growing freer of restriction or fixation on and in place?

A central question for us here is not so much one focused on the decline or rise in mobility as a whole, but rather on the active and contested moves (by diverse organizations and people) to mobilize previously restricted goods and people, and to enclose others. Nor are we saying just that the story is complicated. Rather, we are advocating attention to details of borders for a systematic purpose: to see who or what is enclosed and who or what is freed to move; to see where this takes place, how it is done, and how it spurs counteractions; and to see the patterns of an old order of social–spatial relationships mutating into new ones. Of course, these transformations do not occur evenly throughout the world. But attention to concrete patterns in the redeployment of mobility and enclosure helps us grasp concepts of dramatic social change (such as globalization) that are otherwise in danger of becoming unmoored.

Our desire to be specific and analytical when faced with generalizations about debordering and rebordering also leads us to be concerned with methods of studying borders. Borders have been prone to usage either as poorly specified general ideas and images or have been buried in narrow regional and policy frameworks. While the most fatuous rhetoric about borders has subsided and the stock of robust research has grown, there still are relatively few on-the-ground studies that converse with theoretical themes such as state, capital, value, ideology, and populace (Heyman 1994)—or movement, in the present instance. Clearly, border people

and phenomena deserve rigorous modes of study and interpretation that transcend impressionism. The articles in this issue address specific borders, not because of a naïve empiricism, but because our position is that mobility and enclosure are differentially deployed in time and space on the bases of complex political and cultural processes. Attention to how particular borders are situated in wider processes is also called for. Border studies will benefit from a broadly historical and comparative approach prior to and in the process of drawing theoretical conclusions about them. For instance, the present set of articles pivot on historical changes (such as Alan Smart's and George Lin's attention to changes from the Cold War to the post-Cold War epoch) and contemporaneous comparisons (such as the decreasing role of tariffs at the United States–Mexico border and their vital role in Ghana's Tema harbor). Through such an ever-present (if usually implicit) strategy of historicized comparison, it is possible to pay serious respect to locally situated phenomena and yet speak to main issues in social theory. It is our hope that the present articles further that cause.

In separate essays, both Josiah Heyman and Brenda Chalfin deal with situations at ports of entry where processes of both mobility and enclosure exist side by side. These authors highlight ports as key locations in a global capitalist landscape and distinguish ports of entry from the rest of borders, where entry without authorized inspection is usually illegal. Heyman emphasizes that attuning ourselves to globalization does not involve a simple choice between mobility and enclosure, but rather underscores a focus on exactly who and what get specific kinds of handling. Both Chalfin and Heyman argue that new patterns of flow and regulation, often called “globalization,” can be observed and analyzed in the shifting treatments of a combined enclosure/mobility dynamic, rather than the replacement of one by the other. Hilary Cunningham and Heyman both suggest that borders are diagnostic of these processes and, as such, represent important sites for understanding how movement between socially unequal spaces is regulated in a global context.

Making a strong case for nitty-gritty ethnography at borders, Heyman explores these issues through a careful and detailed analysis of bureaucratic screening processes at United States–Mexico ports of entry. His analysis includes an examination of the new aspects of border control (such as national security and intellectual property regimes) that states utilize to regulate transnational processes. Heyman notes the differential projects of ports since, at the United States–Mexico border, they are designed to both facilitate movement for legitimate commodities and persons (the latter usually being class-privileged) and to regulate movement of Mexico's popular classes (who experience restricted mobilities in both directions across the United States–Mexico border). For Heyman, ports of entry at the United States–Mexico border thus illustrate the uneven distribution of mobility across a global landscape, the aggregate result of these differential effects of mobility/enclosure being the unequal terrain of the global capitalist system itself.

While Heyman sees in the micropower of the bureaucratic encounter at ports

the hidden wellsprings of material inequality and social privilege in the world system, Chalfin concentrates on the how of inspections and links them to changing forms of state sovereignty in Ghana under the impact of economic globalization. Rejecting theories that have often coupled globalization with an attenuation of state power, Chalfin scrutinizes the processes through which states reconstitute and invent sovereignties by documenting Ghana's recent acquisition of a giant X-ray scanner—the only one of its kind in Africa. While the scanner has allowed Ghana to position itself as key port of entry on the global stage, the new regime of inspections, and the way in which mobility and enclosure is now regulated through Tema Harbor, has not only been met with some resistance among the different agencies that make up Ghana's customs agency, but also generated new perceptions of state power. Importantly, Chalfin's work demonstrates the signal role that borders play in the analysis of transitioning states, the complex ways in which different state actors participate in these processes, and the new roles that states are adopting in the global surveillance of mobile commodities.

Cunningham sets out to critique and move beyond the limits of current transnationalisms and the literature which privileges mobility as an organizing framework for globalization. While acknowledging the importance of moving away from unified representations of culture, an argument developed in the transnational cultural studies movement (see Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988), Cunningham argues that the organizing metaphors of fluidity, disjuncture, difference, and creolization tend to neglect and, in some cases, depoliticize the ways in which social inequality is systematically produced and maintained in a global space of flows. In adopting the mobility–enclosure dynamic (with emphasis on the latter), Cunningham points to the material and ideological mechanisms at the United States–Mexico border which regulate undesirable flows of people, frequently with devastating effects. Focusing on the recent implementation of United States border enforcement strategies in southern Arizona, Cunningham documents the conflict between high-ranking United States border patrol representatives and local activists over an increasing number of fatalities among Mexican migrants that are forced to cross the border at remote and dangerous locations. By underscoring that state sovereignty at borders is a perduring and complex concern for scholars of globalization, Cunningham deliberately attempts to repoliticize questions of power and inequality in a global landscape by suggesting that many of the world's transnational subjects in fact experience globalization as series of dangerous and often thwarted crossings, rather than as cultural displacements or hybridities. Cunningham's work therefore shifts away from the organizing metaphors of flow and fluidity toward the conception of restricted and regulated mobilities that she conveys in her image of a gated globe.

Hong-luen Wang explores an institution with great importance in the gated globe: the allocation of passports and visas to international travelers. He focuses on a telling and unusual case, that of Taiwan. Although this island constitutes a distinctive state (Republic of China) that differs from that of mainland China (the

People's Republic of China), for passport purposes the Republic of China is not recognized by most other nations. Thus, Taiwanese have to use a variety of arrangements to get passports and visas, including ones obtained through mainland China and a variety of third nations. People even modify the passport to make a Taiwanese political statement. As Wang shows, such actions reveal the organized hypocrisy of national sovereignty (converging with Chalfin's concerns) and link the seemingly personal level of who I am to the heights of geopolitics. Like Cunningham and Heyman, he forcefully challenges the recent intellectual emphasis on unbounded mobility as depoliticized and undertheorized. Taiwanese find ways to move about the world, but only by working through the interstices of politically regulated sovereignty. This favors wealthier travelers, because obtaining alternative passports and visas require significant costs and social-political connections (resembling Heyman's discussion of class effects on United States–Mexico border inspection). Thus, like the other authors, he finds mobility to be differentiated and differentiating and indicates that its paths and barriers help to constitute the global system of material and symbolic inequality.

Smart and Lin's contribution explores enclosure and mobility as key strategies used by border coalitions of government, industry, and financial groups as they cope with contemporary globalization, often with differing interests, around what an integrated economy across borders should be. Focusing on projects of enclosure and mobility adopted in the integration of the former British colony of Hong Kong, Smart and Lin discuss how coalitions develop elements of mobility and enclosure as strategies, which are then imposed (in varying forms) on different groups and in different contexts. By paying attention to significant empirical aspects of these strategies, such as the proposed bridge connecting Hong Kong with Macao, the authors document not only the ways in which different interest groups attempt to secure advantageous positions within an integrating economy, but also the resistance with which these proposals are met among conflicting interest groups. Smart and Lin conclude that, rather than producing a borderless world, economic globalization has created a signal role for borders in the management and regulation of integration. Importantly, this approach weaves together analyses from two different fields, urban regime theory and border studies, and, as a result, represents an exemplary model for connecting the two areas in future work on borders.

Carmen Ferradás's contribution explores borders in the context of shifting security regimes in the trinational frontier of the Southern Cone, a region that encompasses the cities of Puerto Iguazú (Argentina), Ciudad del Este (Paraguay), and Foz do Iguaçu (Brazil). Ferradás traces how processes of securitization, especially the recent transition from national to more globally based security models, are refracted in complex processes of bordering, debordering, and rebordering. In this article, Ferradás analyses how borders are being redesigned by various regional, local, and global actors active in the Triple Frontier and in the context of not only a new global securitization, but also the global capitalization of nature. The production of a transborder–green corridor and the Gurani Aquifer has been a

tendentious issue for this region, particularly given the tricontinental's construction as both geopolitically insecure and yet ecologically prized. Ferradás demonstrates how environmental concerns are implicated in security discourses about terrorism, popular unrest, and narco-trafficking and she details the devastating effects of the greening of security on already economically marginalized populations. Her essay concludes with a brief discussion of how grassroots organizations are contesting the state's enclosure of "nature," a process that has resulted in the disenfranchisement of many of the region's poorer inhabitants.

Although a variety of topics and approaches are represented in these articles, it is our sense that they forcefully cohere around issues of mobility and enclosure. Through these themes, each article addresses the notion of unequal passages and delineates how power works through borders as distinctive spaces connecting and regulating movement across the different fragments of globalization. While these papers are focused on borders as indicative of how power works in the uneven terrain of the global, it is our feeling that the critical points raised here speak to a much wider range of issues within anthropology. Having extended and challenged traditional notions of space and identity, particularly through new understandings of the transnational, it is perhaps time to complicate our sense of global interconnectedness once again and attune ourselves to ways in which inequality continues to be produced in what, perhaps somewhat glibly, is often referred to as the space of flows. While globalization has certainly produced new kinds of interconnections, hybridities, and disjunctures, it has also continued to produce some of the social phenomena we are all too familiar with: economic disparity and exclusions based on race, class, and gender. Without returning to outdated models, now is clearly a fruitful time to rethink and retheorize the dynamics of power and to develop models, which conceptually and pragmatically link us to the politics of inequality. It is our hope, then, that enclosures and mobilities will have relevance for scholars working on issues of social inequality at other sites that might be, as borders are, diagnostic of how power is enacted across global landscapes.

Notes

Received 19 March 2004; accepted 18 May 2004.

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This special issue began as a session at the 2002 CASCA meetings organized by Alan Smart, to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude. The key ideas were developed out of discussions among that session's participants: Hilary Cunningham, Carmen Ferradás, Josiah Heyman, and Kim Neck. We are pleased that we could later be joined by the authors of additional articles and, in one case, a coauthor, all of whom were a pleasure to work with, and also a contribution from Lila Leontidou that will appear in a different issue of *Identities*. We have received excellent editorial advice and help with contributions from Tom Wilson and, latterly Jonathan Hill; we thank them profusely.

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