

Mapping Machines
Activist Cartographies of
the Border and Labor Lands of Europe

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ABSTRACT

**SEBASTIAN COBARRUBIAS: Mapping Machines, Activist Cartographies of the
Border and Labor Lands of Europe
(Under the direction of John Pickles)**

This dissertation explores how cartographic and geographic methods are being utilized as tools by social movements for new ends. In particular, I focus on social movements based in Spain that are developing cartographies of the conflicting territories of the European Union and its construction. The activist mapping projects engaged in this dissertation are understood as a form of ‘other’ cartography: a form of social movement-based knowledge deploying the traditional research tool of cartography to new ends. Cartography, often labeled an instrument of fixation to facilitate appropriation of territory by established power structures, becomes a counter tool for anti-systemic movements. My work examines how social movements employ spatial and cartographic knowledges in order to analyze and transform existing spaces and prefigure alternative ones. This basic tenet of the thesis splits into two types of argument: conceptual and empirical. Conceptually, I answer why these activist cartographies matter, socially and intellectually, and how they fit into a broader historical moment. The empirical argument follows by examining the procedures and venues used by mapping movements and how activist cartography is developing in Spain and Europe.

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In this line of thought, and inspired by the Virgin Mary’s example, this dissertation goes to all the border jumpers and crossers (of different sorts) out there...you’re in great company!

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Introduction

Cartography in Movement: Towards Other Europes

*“...Maps provide the very conditions of possibility
for the worlds we inhabit and
the subjects we become.” (Pickles 2004: 5)*

Three of us from the Counter Cartographies Collective and two members of the now defunct Department of Land and space Reclamation anxiously awaited our turn outside a classroom. We had proposed to do a workshop together at the National Conference on Organized Resistance, an annual activist gathering that had been growing in recent years (in 2006 attendees numbered in the thousands). We were going to speak on the idea of using mapmaking as an activist tool; we had arguments and several examples which inspired us. The idea being that mapmaking could aid in the different issues and struggles we were dealing with in ways that we perhaps hadn't thought. We expected the audience to be small and prepared ourselves for a cold reception- we really thought that we'd be trying to make a sell. Lo and behold, the workshop was standing room only, eighty people in a small classroom, one of the better attended workshops. Not only were people very interested in the ideas and examples but we found that many in the audience had experience with map-making as a tool of social movements. Since the time of that workshop the number of activist mapping projects has only expanded to the point that we can't keep our tabs on all of them. Activist map-making is here and growing. Washington DC, February 2006

This dissertation explores how cartographic and geographic methods are being utilized as tools by social movements for new ends. In particular, I focus on social movements based in Spain that are developing cartographies of the conflicting territories of the European Union and its construction. The activist mapping projects engaged in this dissertation are understood as a form of 'other' cartography: a form of social movement-based knowledge deploying the

traditional research tool of cartography to new ends. Cartography, often labeled an instrument of fixation to facilitate appropriation of territory by established power structures, becomes a counter tool for anti-systemic movements. The opening vignette signals this emergent re-appropriation by movements and its unexpected spread. My work examines how social movements employ spatial and cartographic knowledges in order to analyze and transform existing spaces and prefigure alternative ones. This basic tenet of the thesis splits into two types of argument: conceptual and empirical. Conceptually, I answer why these activist cartographies matter, socially and intellectually, and how they fit into a broader historical moment. The empirical argument follows by examining the procedures and venues used by mapping movements and how activist cartography is developing in Spain and Europe.

0.1. Activist Cartography: Its Relevance for Rethinking Europe

My conceptual argument stems from the identification of a contemporary cartographic explosion signaled by authors such as Crampton 2009 & 2008; Hughes 2007; Krygier 2005; Pickles 2004 and Wood 1992. This explosion in mapping platforms, map makers, map users and map usages, is what I call a “Cartographic Turn”. Without claiming universality, this turn is developing as an international process affecting how people think, perform daily activities and even dream. In many cases, this move towards mapping practices and thinking is occurring in already heavily ‘geo-coded’ societies (Pickles 2004). Maps are not new in these societies, but are overlaying themselves in novel and diverse ways for their peoples and cultures. In this context of an excess of maps compared to other historical periods, there exists a *Combat of the Cartographies* (Casas and Cobarrubias 2009). Diverse maps not only prefigure and inscribe

territory and space differently but can often be in direct confrontation with one another. Different reals attempt to superimpose themselves and their ordering of territory. It is my contention that, given this *Cartographic Turn* afoot and this *Combat of Cartographies* within it, mapping becomes an immediate political task¹, with imminent political consequences. In particular, this thesis focuses on cartographies by social movements who stress the notion of *autonomous* politics. The logics and practices of movement autonomy appeared throughout my engagement with these cartographic projects. These movement politics are defined by key notions such as antagonism, direct democracy, and pre-figurative politics among others.²

These autonomous movements enact a way of mapping that speaks to theoretical positions such as Feminist situated epistemologies, and a Deleuzian-Guattarian notion of mapping as an open-ended process³. Throughout this dissertation, I show how these activist maps play a role in a constant series of *de-* and *re-territorializations* of what is understood as ‘Europe’, including its demarcations of where it begins and ends. These types of movements’ maps then are engaging in open battle with official representations of the EU. This civic engagement is taking place and contributing to the context of a Cartographic Turn passing

¹While maps have always been political instruments to advance certain interests, here I mean to say that these different carto-graphs of society compete often in the same public sphere as to how to order and envision society, much like a political battle over ideals or demands. This is a distinct form of political competition than that between two nation-states, each with their respective sets of geographic institutions or knowledges competing in different ways (militarily, diplomatically, etc.). The claim is not that this ‘Combat of Cartographies is necessarily new, nor that these movements are the only organizations engaged in it. Far from this. Rather, that in the broader context of a Cartographic Turn, these ‘combats’ spread to more and different users in different ways.

²For effects of this thesis, autonomy refers to the political logic held by groups linked with youth movements, social centers and most recently free software/copyleft politics and those whose political vision and modus operandi was effected to a significant degree by the explosion of the “global resistance movement”. For a longer explanation of ‘autonomy’ as a social movements concept, and its trajectory in Spain, see Appendix #1.

³This is open-ended in the sense that Deleuze and Guattari suggest a practice of mapping as a ‘following’ of rhizomatic itineraries rather than a ‘tracing’. In the sense of a ‘following’ the map can be considered an always unfinished project, open to extension and redrawing in all of its points and margins (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 13).

through European landscapes. My dissertation follows the itineraries of activist cartography in Spain with particular reference to how this country is inserted into the process of European Construction.

The building of Europe is in and of itself fraught with multiple spatial reconfigurations: different nation-states within a state-like superstructure; multiple and shifting centers and peripheries; expanding members; radically new ways of managing borders; new economic arrangements and the destabilizing of national economies. In addition, this process of construction, and the legislation that accompanies it, is not emanating from only one source. The European Commission, different member states with varying degrees of power, and key corporations just to name a few are vying for their own vision of a new European space. These shifting terrains and the need to grapple with them may in part be what is motivating the engagement with cartography on the part of social movements. I show how different and ‘other’ Europes are visualized, invoked, enacted and placed into confrontation by different actors.

The elements of this conceptual argument can be broken down as follows: the question of a “Cartographic Turn”; the idea of “Cartographies in Combat” or competition; the context in which this is happening –the shifting territories of the European Union- and the specific territorial elements therein that are being fought over. Each of these will now be presented.

The Cartographic Turn? Or The Mapping Revolution?

While walking towards a meeting in the East Village of Manhattan, I asked one of the editors of the Atlas of Radical Cartography why he thought there was so much of this political interventionist and activist mapping going on. He responds quickly, but then paused and gave an example: “My friends in India, instead of getting together and smoking pot or drinking...now...they do Google Earth...” (Bhagat, September 2007)

It is important to situate this thesis and the mapping it engages within a broader moment of the ‘actual’. Many types of mapping practices are spreading and being used by new and old kind of actors. This is happening at an almost frenzied rate, such that we may be able to speak of a new mapping era. Todd Hughes, a defense analyst speaking at a DARPA conference in 2007, referred to the impending ‘Mapping Revolution’ (Hughes 2007). Hughes was discussing the way real-time mapping at multiple scales interacting with deployed combat units would revolutionize operations in the future, creating a ‘reality’ overlaid with multiple and instantly accessible maps. He also stressed that this is not something of the distant future, and that most of the technologies for this type of what I call “mapping-hydra” exist in some form already in both military and civilian map uses. The other non-military applications of mappings⁴ hint that the revolution is on: it might not be televised but it will clearly be mapped! The intersection of mapping technologies and the Internet have had a high multiplier effect on this spread of mapping⁵. The “Geoweb” (Crampton 2009) has multiplied exponentially in recent years, both in terms of programs and mapping platforms available for public use.⁶ The massive use of tools like Google Earth and Google mashups serve as case examples of this phenomenon.⁷

If mapping has become an item of daily use for tomahawk missiles slamming into villages across the world, for indigenous communities remaking land claims, for Starbucks’ to

⁴Examples could include: Mapquest; Google Earth; Custom Cartography Companies; the ubiquity of GIS in government and corporate boardrooms; or the field of Participatory GIS in development work

⁵It should be stressed that, the Cartographic Turn is not limited to internet technologies.

⁶These include: Google Earth; Microsoft Virtual Earth; Yahoo Maps; Mapquest; and NASA’s World Wind.

⁷According to recent data, since 2005 Google Earth has had 350 million downloads (Crampton forthcoming) and active Google map mashups are in the hundreds of thousands (Jones 2008).

plan its next assault on a neighborhood, for finding the closest Thai restaurants to your house, and now (as the quote above suggests) even for getting high, then we should, perhaps, reconsider the social lives of maps. I should stress that the societies I focus on in this thesis are already highly carto-graphed. The map form in a country like Spain is part of the psycho-cultural baggage of the society. Maps play an everyday and deeply imprinted role in these types of societies, one distinct from other forms of geographic knowledge. As an example of this ‘imprinting’, Pickles (2004) remarks on the rapid ease with which his son used a carto-graph to map the rules of a game at the early age of seven, and discusses Blaut’s conclusions on the effect on children of a thoroughly carto-graphed society. If this was the case only a few years ago what would it be now? How does this ‘Mapping Revolution’ play out on ‘carto-graphed societies? As an expectant father told us when he discovered Google Earth: “Our children will be different because of this.”

It is impossible to ignore this broader cartographic context when discussing the mapping projects in this thesis. There is no intention to explain such a relation (linear, causal, accidental) between the projects and the cartographic context, but it should be highlighted that there is nevertheless some mutual imbrication. Playing on this theme of a mapping revolution together with the move towards the Spatial Turn in the Social Sciences since the 1990s, I want to stress that a *Cartographic Turn* has begun.⁸ It is afoot in society through a myriad of instances,

⁸It is important to link the current cartographic turn to different conditions that both give rise to this turn and vice versa. This understanding can be linked to the historical development of previous ‘cartographic turns’. The European mercantilism of the 17th century and the “Age of Exploration” gave rise to the modern navigational map (Livingstone 1992). The deepening of state formation and those states’ corresponding militaries gave rise to the cadastral and topographic maps (Pickles 2004). These different historical contexts not only gave rise to new mapping technologies but also to ever greater diffusion of map-making and map-usage (not necessarily a ‘democratization of maps per se but a spread). In thinking of the current cartographic innovation and spread afoot, it would be important to rethink the development of military technological that have since been (at least partially)

including the fact that this turn is also occurring in social movements. The activist mapping trends followed in this thesis are not sporadic but creating a community of cartographic practice. At this point, after having completed much research I would also say that this trend has slowly begun to solidify the idea of mapping as an activist or movement tool, such that other civil society initiatives which are not necessarily mappers begin to see mapping as a resource, a political device. For this reason we can begin to sense the emergence of a Cartographic Turn within movements themselves.

Combat of the Cartographies

[We] will use the notion of a dominant map, expressing the fully constituted relations and processes of a functioning political-economic system, and of a dissenting or alternative map, representing an imaginary breakthrough, a disensus which nonetheless inheres to reality, providing political being with the beginnings of a new mode of association, of collaboration, a new common world. The interplay of dominant and dissenting maps is a way to read history –and to participate in making it- to the extent that every successful cartography ultimately helps create the world it purports to represent” (Holmes 2004: 4)

The stage is set up by this confrontation between dominant versus dissenting maps suggested by Brian Holmes, an independent scholar and global justice activist deeply engaged with radical cartographic networks. The idea of differing maps showing competing visions and political agendas for a territory is not new. In Geography itself one can quickly call to mind Bill Bunge and the Geographical Expedition’s project where alternative mappings of a school district in Detroit were placed into competition with the districting carried out by the local Board of

civilianized. This includes technologies such as: internet; GPS; and to an extent GIS. Perhaps equally important are the discourses fields around terms like globalization both in how the debates around globalization have altered the scales at which people think and have added new perceptions in the interrelationships between spaces and scales, for example the oft-repeated global-local linkages. Furthermore, debates on globalization have also utilized the trope of ‘feeling lost’ –as individuals, communities and nations- and for this reason needing to ‘find our way’ (Jameson 1991). This navigational metaphor should not be ignored as a cause or effect of this cartographic turn.

Education, the point being to show that a better school system was easily possible (Merrifield 1995). The field of indigenous cartography is in fact marked by this competition between maps, often pitting indigenous cosmologies and land claims up against nation-state claims and development plans (Cobarrubias forthcoming; Peluso 1995). Holmes additionally hints toward a key insight made in the literature on Critical Cartography, that maps ultimately help create the world, they precede and produce the territory in question (Pickles 2004; Thongchai 1988). This competition between maps becomes a struggle, not just over a territory that already existed but about what territory *actually* exists or *will* exist. In these combats then, what it is at stake are two or more competing configurations of territory and their coming into being.

This dissertation shows how movements are using maps as a way to develop their struggles and spatialize them in innovative ways. In much the same way that the street demonstration, the creation of networks, the presentation of demands and arguments to a public, and the workshop are tools for social movements, maps too become a part of this repertoire. Maps are transformed into devices for a public to directly confront issues of concern and the institutions involved. In the same way a campaign counter to a particular law, or a street battle with police, puts two radically different realities into competition, so too do these maps put positions into battle, and more so, propose or create territories in competition. As the European Union (EU), different member states, and different regional political authorities create plans for and representations of territories, social movements' groups are mapping *other Europes*,

engaging in a deep process of redefinition of the spatial configurations brought about by the European Union under construction.⁹

The Shifting Territories of Europe

Competitions among cartographies are carried out in specific territorial contexts. In this case, I focus on activist projects based principally in Spain, although highly networked with groups abroad. Their maps attend to the consequences produced by the process of Europeanizing and globalizing Spain. Based on this experience, this dissertation ultimately addresses the question of *Europe*. The combat of cartographies under consideration takes place over a Spain that is shifting from a bounded nation-state to a porous member of a borderless ‘Europe’ on the one hand; and a hardened, militarized and lethal outer border of ‘Europe’ on the other hand. It is a Spain that has changed from being a land of ‘emigrants’ to a land of massive immigration; from a Spain that was economically considered a semi-periphery (one of the PIGS in the financial press¹⁰) to a key player in European and global markets; from a largely rural Spain with provincial cities to an urbanized landscape with key ‘global metropolis’, nodes of financial, cultural and tourist flows; from a Spain of a militant industrial working class agglomerated in large production facilities to a Spain of temporary, part-time work in small service related industries. All of these transformations are tied in very intricate ways to the problematic construction of the European Union.

⁹We will see this competition play out in different ways in the chapters that follows. For example: over where and what is the border of the EU? Over whether the EU is a space of a flexible new knowledge economy or a network of precarious spaces?

¹⁰PIGS is a derogatory designation for the economies of Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain signifying the backwardness and dependency of the EU’s Mediterranean economies. The term has appeared with certain regularity in journals such as the *Economist* and the *Financial Times*.

These radical shifts point towards the intensity of the European process. Grappling with these shifts via the development of critical analyses and the search for strategies of intervention is the primary concern of the activist cartographies examined in this thesis. Thus, this dissertation is also about the spatial shifts that are transforming the nation-states of Europe into other entities, yet to be completely defined.¹¹ Despite the fact that it is currently in process, the construction of Europe has led to large transformations in the economic spaces of Europe, which while playing out differently in the various countries and regions of the continent also articulate into a new whole that is scripted as *Europe*. In this thesis I examine how activist cartography is used to make sense of these economic shifts, and to understand the connections between local and regional processes and a broader continental shift. The highly contested character of European spaces opens the door to exploratory intellectual and political interventions on the part of these mapping groups. In the words of Marx, if all that was solid is vanishing into air, these cartographies feel the gates are open to redefine everything in a Europe yet fully to be.

Imagining, Drawing and Enacting Other Europes

While this thesis is about activist cartography, and about the different contexts and problematics in Europe, these cartographic projects are dealing with, it is also about a dynamic relationship between these militant cartographies and the construction of European space. In other words this dissertation is about how these cartographies are challenging the spatial inscribing of Europe and redefining the geographical demarcations and the nature of what

¹¹I say here ‘transforming’ the nation-states of Europe fully aware that the European process is often superimposed on nation-states’ spatialities and sovereignty. The resulting regimes being a complex negotiation between the two projects: ‘nation-state’ and ‘Europe’.

constitutes Europe. The dominant maps of the EU, with its concomitant spatial imaginings and representations, draw a line, a line which defines the end of Europe and the beginning of something else. A set of member states defined by one color on a map, a color that represents proximity, unity and other code words and values associated with the EU: international peace, stability, sustainability, legality, development, knowledge economy.¹² The color, and the set of norms associated with it, helps to define what is ‘European about Europe’. Despite a set of internal divergences, regional contradictions, economic differentials, and more, what defines that space as “Europe” are those values, that peaceful integration of nation-states, a new cosmopolitanism.

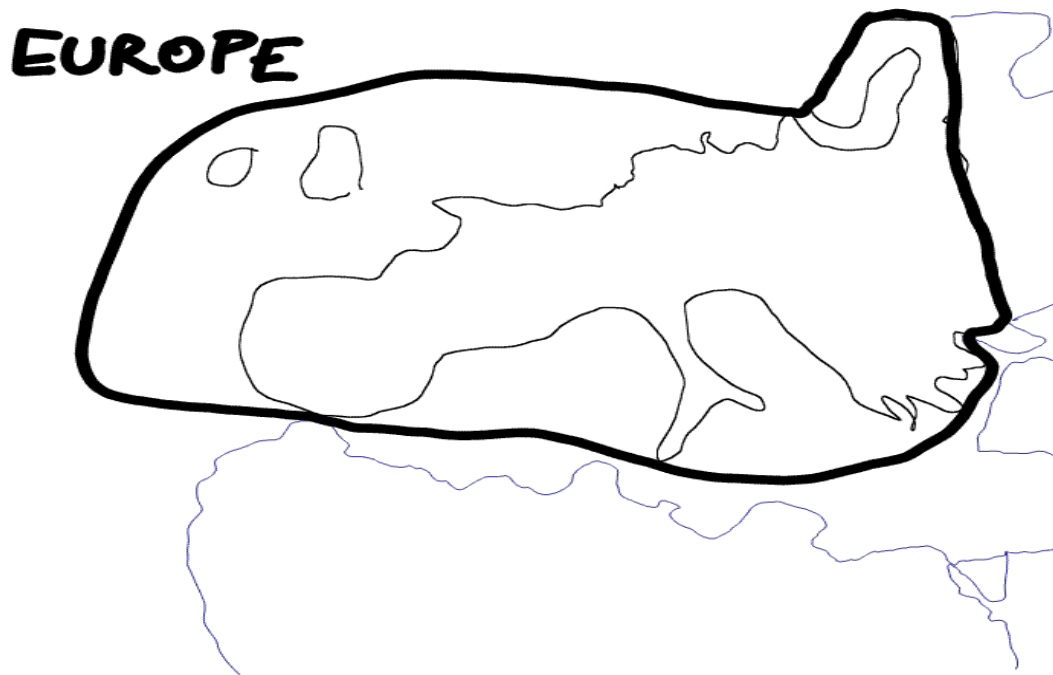


Figure 0.1

¹²For work that provides examples of how certain abstract code words or tropes are used as representations of European space and culture see Pickles 2005; Clark 2001 and Nowotny 2000.

This dissertation then is an examination of how activist cartography is used to both “recolor” the map of Europe and challenge the line that structures and bounds it. If this is the official image of Europe, there are at least three major redefinitions of such a spatial inscription. In my fieldwork, I have identified three major problematics that activist cartographic projects are dealing with: Migration, Precarity and Urban Transformation. Running through each of these is the transversal question of the European Union and its construction of new economic spaces. These three themes and their relation to Europe are not randomly chosen by these mapping groups. Together they constitute some of the principal concerns currently shared by most social movements in Spain, and the sparks of recent political upheaval.¹³

The re-mappings of these problematics are deleting the official EU maps and building towards a different entity. I draw here some of these alternative visions of Europe to evoke *the work* that these activist *mappings are doing* in regards to deconstructing taken for granted realities. The first map redefines Europe taking migration as a point of departure; the second one is based on the question of urban transformation and the last one, on the theme of labor changes and the spread of flexibility. The following initial drawings of the continent speak to the cartographic combat currently unfolding on the question of Europe.

Migration

¹³Fieldwork for this dissertation addressed the three themes of Migration, Precarity and Urban Transformation thought through the question of Europe. Multiple cartographic projects working on each theme were examined. For the sake of the dissertation itself and to provide a more in-depth perspective activist mapping itself and its analysis of the present, the final version of this dissertation centers on two problematics: migration and precarity thought through a transforming Europe. The material related to urban transformation will be reworked for future publishing venues. I include the question of urban transformation here in the introduction because it provides a background of for understanding activist cartography and it aids in setting up the more general spatial critique that these social movements are engaging in.

In one redefinition of Europe, via the question of Migration, the external line will be challenged. This is the case of the EU border between Spain and Morocco. Activists in Southern Spain and Northern Morocco will begin to define the border not as the 'end of Europe', but as a border space in and of itself. The activists involved conceptualize the border stretching far outward from the imaginary line crossing through the Straits of Gibraltar and encompassing much broader territories. This leads these groups to identify the border space as their sphere of action, and as constitutive of a new set of governance strategies and of Europe itself. This border space stretches from parts of Spain into Morocco and includes parts of Mauritania and the Canary islands. The argument for these groups is that this is not an 'exterior' space or an accidental one that only needs controlling or 'sealing' by fences. These border spaces that stretch between 1st and 3rd worlds, that cross Europe and Africa are definitive of the new regime that is emerging.

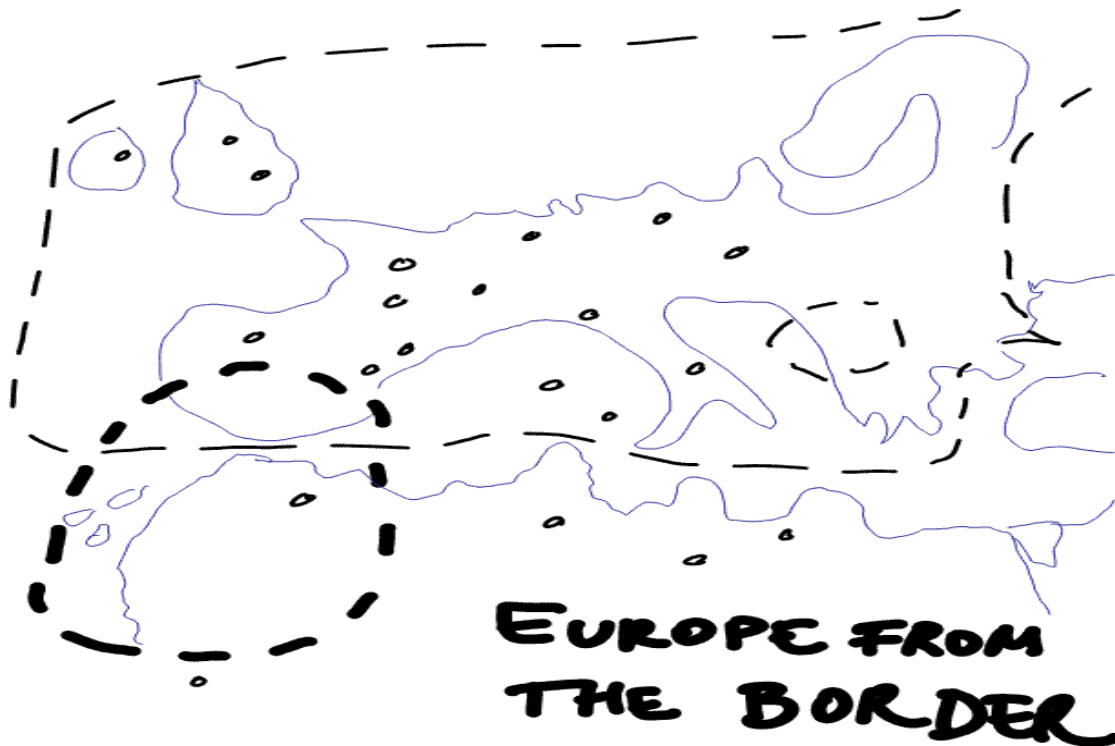


Figure 0.2

Urban Transformation

In the case of urban transformation, we see the macro-image of ‘Europe’ broken up into a network of urban economies. The uniform color stretching across the continent zooms in on urban reform and marketing. Finance centers, culture centers, tourist centers, begin to pepper the landscape as ‘rural’ and smaller city spaces are increasingly absorbed into the urban network or left by the wayside. A set of key points mark the vanguard of a European economy defined at the scale of the ‘urban’ or as these movements explain, the ‘metropolitan’. Is Europe a contradiction between a series of ‘jet-setting’ trans-European networks of key cities versus ‘spaces in need of funding from Brussels’?¹⁴

¹⁴The EU has different funding programs that are earmarked to underdeveloped or economically challenged regions. These funds may be dedicated towards rebuilding infrastructure, helping to develop a new industry, restoring cultural patrimony and other related projects. The different assistance programs mostly fall under the rubric of

EUROPE FROM THE METROPOLIS

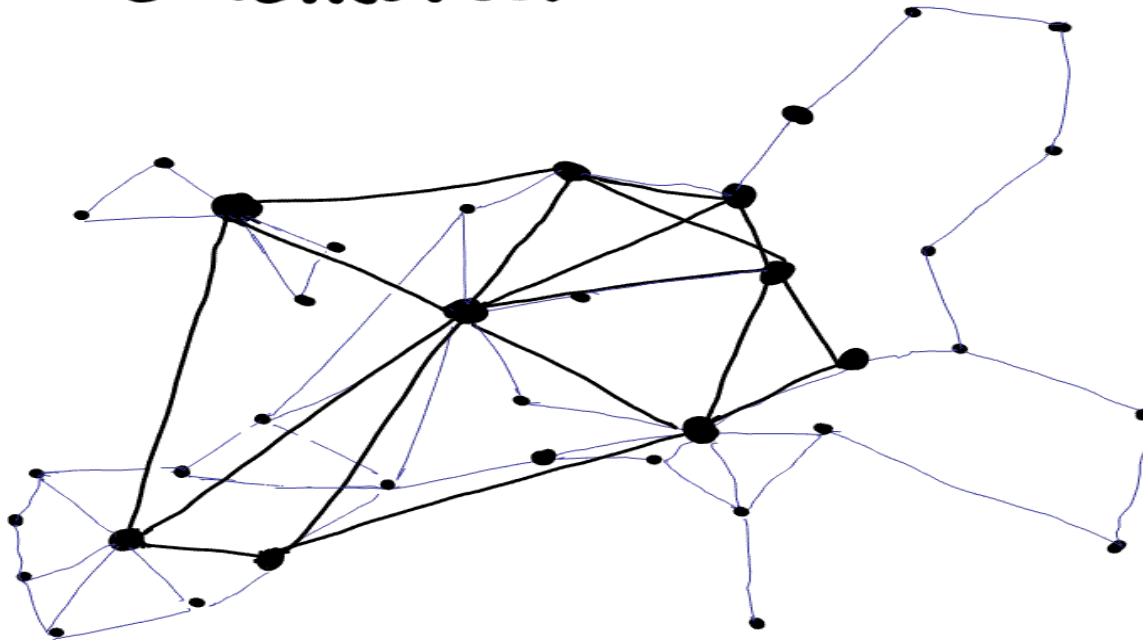


Figure 0.3

Precarity

For activist mapping projects working on the processes of re-composition of class and social rights, the map of Europe is not only a uniform color between nation states, but this European space is defined by the conditions of precarity. Precarity is the term popularly used in many European countries to refer to and politicize the neutral and even positive sounding term of flexibility.¹⁵ Europe transforms into the terrains of precarity and its morphing notions of work and rights. For these groups, Europe, its construction and its spatial configuration are intimately tied to the question of labor transformations and its concomitant consequences in the rest of social spheres. Precarity in this sense does not become a totalizing universal subject *a la*

European Structural Funds such as the European Regional Development Fund, the Cohesion Fund, or the Joint Assistance in Supporting Projects in European Regions.

¹⁵For a broader definition and a further engagement with the question of precarity see chapter 6 and 7.

proletariat. Rather, precarity, at least insofar as it is defined by these groups becomes a process, not a subject, and one that has specific spatial dimensions: the European territories. This could be read as a ‘eurocentrism’ in reverse if you will. How can these terrains of precarity be understood? How would Europe need to be remapped?

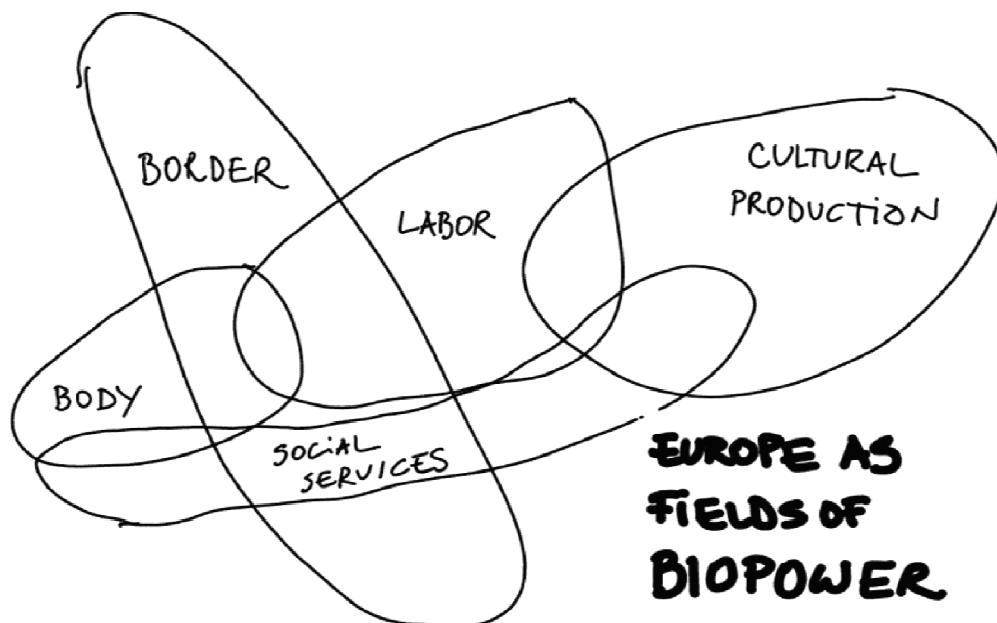


Figure 0.4

The European Union, and the existence of a concrete entity called Europe that is more than a continental designation or even an imagined space, is being congealed through the repetition of ‘Europe’ as a desired and tangible unity: via school maps, scholarships for studying across European universities, the spread of a common currency, European flags and complex symbolic paraphernalia (Shore 2000; Bellier and Willson 2000; Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1996). All of these instruments designate a spatially and affectively defined Europe. Pickles (2004), via a reading of Gunnar Olson discusses how the drawing of lines geo-defines the world

and bounds it.¹⁶ The repetition of these lines then re-inscribes a ‘reality’. The consistent repetition of these lines would seem only to harden that spatial reality to the point of becoming ‘second nature’ and even ‘common sense’. The constant reproduction of an imagined ‘Europe’ works like the re-inscription of these lines, the ‘bolding’ one does on a street map. The work of these activist cartographies on Europe intervene at precisely this moment. The act of de-inscribing and re-inscribing multiple ‘Europes’ challenges the boundings of Europe that are currently afoot. Wood and Krygier (2006); Pickles (2004) and initially Lefebvre (1991) have suggested that there is no limit to the number of maps of any one territory, that we may continually re-map and refocus our territories, make new propositions about them and ultimately produce new territories at the intersections of these new mapping. The die has been cast. The activist cartographies engaged in this thesis will be shown to have embarked on this process of de- and re-inscribing, advancing the social and intellectual awareness that ‘Europe’, whatever it may be, is surely more than a European Commission map of member states.

0.2. The Materialities of Activist Cartography

Specific Focus

In order to arrive at these conceptual points this dissertation focused on the experiences of several activist cartographic projects based in Spain, including some of their networked projects throughout the European Union. I do not speak of every kind of movement that has experimented in cartography in Spain. Rather, this research zeros in on those projects that combine the following traits: a) creatively tackling the different phases of map-making by

¹⁶This is based largely on Olsson’s insight: “What is geography if it is not the drawing and interpreting of a line,” (1992)

applying their movement politics to different parts of the process such as map conception or spatial theory, map production, and map distribution; b) contributing to form a translocal and transnational community of practices¹⁷; and c) thinking of mapping as part of a broader social process, something more than a fixation on a 2D document or website. Together, these elements are helping constitute a kind of mapping trend distinguishable from other types of mapping or even movement uses of mapping.

Albeit small in size, it is my contention that these cartographic groups and projects are providing relevant analyses to complex problems and helping to envision or create alternative spatial realities. These social movements' initiatives are understood as inserted into a multifaceted historical conjuncture with which they intervene, interact and compete. Thus, this study not only focuses on their cartographic practices, but also engages the current context with which they are struggling, living and mapping, *as well as* these movements' analytics about those very same contextual transformations. I examine the ways ideas about global transformations and collective action are being articulated through these activist projects.

During the fieldwork I encountered the work of many different groups and maps, collecting and carefully engaging with up to twelve activist mapping projects. For this

¹⁷Besides concrete map projects I will show the development of activist mapping infrastructures and radical mapper community building: mapping workshops at activist conferences and convergences; list-serves, online journals and archives emerging as network spaces. For example, the publication of the *Atlas of Radical Cartography* is a way to interconnect different individual cartographic projects to reflect on map use for critical intervention. Geographical and cartographically focused movements' journals have also emerged such as AREA Chicago (not the *Area* of the RGS-IBG). Chicago AREA focuses on the spatialities of activist efforts and urban transformations in the windy city. This journal sponsors the cartographic project "A People's Atlas of Chicago", and has led to a sister AREA in NYC and a People's Atlas project in Zagreb. The dedication to applying movement politics to the map-making process has also led to experiments with open-source map-hacker made cartography software. Beta versions of some of these mapping programs have already been released pointing to new directions in the creation of alternative mapping infrastructures that could work alongside or against other platforms be they Google Maps or ESRI software (see *Mapomatix* and *CarTac*). Thus, more than a couple of mapping projects, we may be witnessing an alternative 'field' of mapping that runs parallel to other developments in map use, geographic theory, and movement genealogies.

dissertation I have honed my focus to two projects. Each of these has been clustered in a thematic part according to the particular problematic they addressed, in this case migration or precarity. For the problematic of migration, the bulk of my engagement was through the different collectives involved in *Fadai'at*, a cross-border process of activist networking between southern Spain and northern Morocco. In particular, I zoom in on the work of *Hackitectura* as well as *Indymedia Estrecho*, based respectively in Sevilla and Malaga. For the issue of flexible labor and the broader phenomenon of precarity, my work examines the process and debates of the trans-European cartographic working group of the *Precarity_WebRing*.¹⁸

Research Questions

The dissertation is guided by the following overarching research questions. Each cartographic project is addressed from these three angles:

(1) *Contexts of Interaction*. Each of the cartographic projects examined in this thesis tackles particular problematics- in particular migration, urban reform, new forms of work and 'Europe'. So firstly I give background information on each of these different problematics. I do not do this in a vacuum. I embed the research and the understanding of the problem partly in movement questions and problematics. How are movements engaging or ignoring this issue? How will this affect their interventions into this question? Furthermore, this set of questions also refers to the

¹⁸Finally, even if not presented in this dissertation, I would like to mention the work done on the question of urban reform, especially by three projects mapping the transforming landscapes of three Spanish cities. The three projects engaged during dissertation research are the following: 1) *Observatorio Metropolitano* and its *Map_Madrid* cartography with its focus on the rapid growth of the Spanish capital and its transformation into a finance and services city; 2) the map on *De que va realment el Forum* from Barcelona, its organizing against the 2004 *Forum des Cultures* and its emphasis on Barcelona as a cultural capital; and finally 3) the *Otra Malaga* project based out of the *Casa Social de las Iniciativas* and its examination of the tourist industry's expansion in the city and province of Malaga.

movement dynamics themselves: what are their specific local and regional histories and dynamics? In what networks are these collectives embedded?

(2) *Cartographic Practice*. Why did these groups turn to cartography and map-making as a tool for these forms of community action? Is the strategic choice of cartography responding to the remaking of Europe? How do they create maps, what techniques, what processes, and what programs are used? How do they use maps and cartographies to influence the practices of people in their region? How are they producing their maps and what practices have influenced their design?

(3) *Analytical Contributions*. How are these activist groups, and the broader networks emerging around them, analyzing and conceiving of changes in their region and in the global economy? How are these cartographic imaginaries reworking territories and geographies of intervention? How are the maps they produce used, and by whom, to re-imagine the geographies of contemporary economic and social life to which they attend (specifically in terms of the European Union, flexible labor, immigrant flows and borders, and the 'city')?

The Empirical Argument

After having concluded the work addressing the different research questions, I advance the following empirical arguments:

1. Social movements are re-appropriating maps.
2. Social movements are creating innovative kinds of maps and map-making.
3. These mapping practices are networking into emerging cartographic communities.
4. These cartographies offer useful analyses of contemporary social and economic transformations.
5. These cartographies constitute means of intervening in and creating new territories.

Social movements are re-appropriating maps. Mapping seems to be at an all time high at the very same time that Cartography as a field is less and less studied in Geography (Pickles 2006; Wood 2003). From Google Earth, to GPS driving units, to the Geo-Spatial Intelligence Agency...from Genome mapping to “Human-Terrain” cultural mapping by the US Army, possibly at no point in history have so many maps and so many kinds of maps been produced and used by so many different actors (Crampton & Krygier 2006; Perkins 2003). In this mix, social movements of different sorts are not to be left out, as the opening vignette of this chapter points to. In this thesis I show how movements have jumped in to map-making, becoming exemplary of the cartographic turn.¹⁹

Additionally, *social movements are creating innovative kinds of maps and map-making.* Movement networks are not just using Google Maps, or plotting protest routes on tourist maps. They are also experimenting with various modes of mapping and typologies of maps, often trying to inject their movement micro-politics into the mapping process. The movement maps examined in this thesis attempt to re-examine standard notions of map-making (layers, items, scale, and geo-referencing) in order to grapple with items that are more difficult to map (discourses, social struggles, new concepts). Attempts to innovate with the cartographic have also lead these movements to engage new ways of creating maps. This can include grappling with Google or GRASS GIS, using evocative artistic maps, as well as programming new mapping software with movement politics and process implicit in the design and commands.

¹⁹In terms of the reasons for this spread of activist cartography one can venture different possibilities: the disjuncture of the global moment and the need for new ‘cognitive mappings of the world’ *a la* Jameson (1991); or the prefigurative nature of mapping as a way to conjure new worlds (Pickles 2004; Holmes 2004; Deleuze and Guattari 1987) to visibilize ‘another world’ as already ‘possible’. Both of these are in fact quite appealing, but this dissertation is not searching for causal explanatory power since that may not be the most productive approach to the topic. The goal is to engage the *work* these maps are *doing* once re-appropriated by movements.

As this research has progressed, I can also claim that *these mapping practices are networking into emerging cartographic communities*. Rather than sporadic experiments in map-making, isolated projects that happen to occur more than once, the beginnings of a dense network of groups and experiments is forming. The cartographic activist collectives examined in this thesis regularly share information, collaborate on projects, and discuss issues relevant to conducting cartography in movements. Different forums appeared over the past few years that helped to progressively solidify a reality of a ‘community of practices’. From forums and workshops on map-making, exhibits held in galleries and squats, to working groups within the European Social Forum, regular contributions to movement journals and different publications. These movements based- cartographers are aware of each other, sharing ideas and at times trying to create maps together building on their singular experiences.

Besides creating attractive maps and mapping networks, *these cartographies provide useful analyses of current conjunctures and contemporary transformations*. Social movements are employing these maps to “propose” (Wood and Krygier 2006) analyses, critiques and histories about some of the more pressing issues they are confronting. This dissertation shows how movements are bringing maps and cartographic thinking into play to grasp issues related to 1) borders and migrant rights; 2) the recomposition of class and social struggles after the ‘end’ of the singular ‘working class’; and 3) the formation of the European Union.

Maps are not (only) representations of the world but that they also aid in creating territory (Holmes 2004) , and social worlds (Pickles 2004) even to the point of preceding them (Thongchai 1988), *these cartographies constitute means of intervening in and creating new territories*. They suggest other ways of understanding the border between the south of Europe

and Africa, the end of the rural and the beginning of the urban, the networking of similar but distant struggles in Europe. But through their cartographic practices they also act out those other territories in the process of map-making, devising new forms of activist communication across the Spain-Morocco border, visibilizing myriads of social practices of mutual aid glossed over by maps of urban development, and creating inter-European networks of communication among struggles against new labor laws. The maps themselves help facilitate the practices and the social networks that will act upon or enact the territories begin mapped.

These five central points will come up again and again throughout the thesis as I examine different cartographic projects from different cities tackling different issues. Each case in and of itself provides a wealth of information on particular topics, has its own style and theory on mapping, and makes contributions to thinking through concrete issues in creative ways. Yet both explicitly and in the subtext, one is able to see themes of a re-appropriation of cartography, cartographic innovation, the creation of mapping networks, innovative analyses and world-making all at work. Both the empirical and conceptual arguments run through the length of this thesis tying together the different stories, experiences and projects into broader issues about Cartography, the construction of Europe and its contestations, and the possibilities these new mappings present for ‘other’ forms of politics and ‘other’ political spaces.

Structure

The dissertation is structured in three main thematic parts, each of them formed by several chapters. Part I *Researching Cartography* addresses disciplinary concerns. The first chapter expands on the relevance of this research by situating it in three literatures: specifically

Critical Cartography, Geographies of Resistance and Economic Geography. The second chapter discusses the methods used and some methodological challenges that emerged while conducting field work.

The Parts that follow, II and III, engage respectively with Migration and Precarity, the question of European construction running through both of these. These problematics are not picked haphazardly. While there are many issues that activist cartography is dealing with, these are the three issues that come up most frequently, and that have had more projects focused on them. This holds true at least for those networks on which this research zeros in on. Why these are such prominent leitmotifs of activist cartography among these autonomous movements remains something of a question. Are they given a political priority? Is it the fact that these issues point to some of the most pronounced transformations occurring around the social worlds of the networks involved in these mappings, thus requiring new ‘orientations’? Are these issues perceived to be the sparks that will ignite new rounds of resistance in Europe? I leave those questions open. To be sure, these issues and the analyses that can be gleaned from these mapping projects begin to paint rather interesting portraits of the becoming of Europe at the beginning of the 21st century.

Part II, *Migration*, opens with Balibar’s call (2004) to examine inward from the “Border” of Europe. The border of Europe becomes for Balibar its center. The border is not the end but rather constitutive of Europe itself in at least two moments and two ways. In the present, the border acts as the site where Europe defines itself vis-à-vis defining an “Other” outside the border. Concomitantly, the border also functions as a future. The intermingling of populations, the flows of different peoples and the conflicts condensed therein become the ingredients of a

future ‘demos’ for Balibar. I examine two simultaneous processes: the transformation of Spain from a country of emigration into a country of massive immigration within a span of 10-20 years; and the construction of a trans-European border and border policy. How resistances have emerged within these processes will also be briefly brought up. This part will then continue exploring a dense set of cartographic interventions into the border space between Spain and Morocco- extending to Mauritania and the Canary Islands. How does this cartographic activism re-envision and reenact the border as a space to be inhabited and transformed? I conclude by examining how all these efforts are transforming notions of border, migration, and rights to mobility.

Through this ‘thinking from the border’ we will see how activist cartography challenges notions of Europe as well as how to conduct research on border geographies and migration geographies. Are borders lines between entities or something more? Are they not also specific types of spaces and economies, a ‘third space’ perhaps? Are they not also regimes of governance, non-contiguous spaces that reappear at, near and far from the ‘line’ called a border on a school map? Do geographies of migration, through their focus on the migrant themselves contribute inadvertently to a policing of migration? These maps teach us how migration might be understood, and thus researched, differently.

Part III, *Precaarity*, takes us through the discussion around one of the key-ideas of critical politics in Europe today. I begin with a brief history of the term in its political applications and how it has expanded in meanings and usage in recent years. This is complemented by a discussion of the “European question”. Precaarity is often thought in sync with the question of the EU and European space. It is pertinent then to understand these as co-terminous processes that

intermesh: how are the transformations in labor and contract relations linked to the spatial reconfigurations and ‘scaling up’ taking place in ‘Europe’? We then follow a process of trans-European mobilizing ‘from and against’ precarity and the attempts to build a trans-European map of the ‘terrains of precarity’.

Precarity, in its attention to the reworking of class, challenges those interpretations that either focus on class as an objective sociological category, or as a universally identifiable or applicable model. In some sense, the debates on precarity bring up some of the original spirit of class analysis, in the sense of an attention to a process of becoming a class, both structurally and politically. Precarity is seen as a process, as *precarization*, rather than as a ‘*precariat*’. As a process, and not just a social group or category, precarity stretches and includes radically different terrains of struggle, the goal then becoming how to think the intersection of these subjects and terrains in conflict? How to think temp work, day labor, programmers, and migration together? What new political tools and machines are created in this intersection? What kind of political demands emerge from these combinations? The territorial specificity of the analysis, as tied to the construction of Europe, becomes key as well. Though many traits of precarity may be seen internationally (i.e. flexibilization and casualization of work as well as the broader tendency towards existential vulnerability), the combination of multiple precarities takes on a specific geographic form in Europe and speak to the emergence of a common territorially-specific economic regime.

Across the different problematics addressed in Parts II, and III the dissertation illustrates how cartography’s application to politics and activism is practiced, reflected upon, and retried. New notions of mapping, innovations in technique, and experimentations with software are put

to work, then examined and challenged, in constant interaction with the problematics. Additionally, I show how different mapping projects are networking and sharing with one another even when they tackle different problematics. There is a consistent pursuit to find better or different ways to map, to distribute maps, to create them in collaborative ways all such that mapping become more reflective of, and integral to, a movement politics. Perhaps more significantly though, this sharing of maps is leading to a meshing of both the different critiques and alternative spaces these groups are making. The contributions of one mapping project are read and assumed by another. If the map does precede and help produce the territory, then one can say that an incipient process of multiple and linked re-territorializations of Europe is afoot.

PART I. CARTOGRAPHY

An Inquiry into Activist Mapping

Chapter 1

Geographies of Maps, Movements and Money: The Intersections of three Fields

Implicit in this thesis is a story of intense political, economic, and social flux, morphing spatialities, new references of instituted power, and changing notions of self-other-subject-identity. It is a tale of world-building, or perhaps of European Construction, told by actors such as the European Union Commission, migrant populations, or social movements. At the center of this dissertation project then is a concern with understanding transformations in economic spaces and social subjects. How are these processes linked, and how do actors such as the European Union, or different social movements actively transform economic spaces and possibilities for new forms of collective agency? In particular what are some of the ways that social movements are producing understandings of the transformations taking place in the European Union (EU) and what forms and knowledges are being deployed to invoke alternative or 'other' spaces? For these reasons this dissertation is written at the intersections of several relevant literatures. In particular I focus on some recent disciplinary debates in Critical Cartography, Geographies of Resistance and Economic Geography, with a specific focus on global economic restructuring.

1.1 Engaging Cartographies Otherwise

The activist mapping projects engaged in this dissertation are understood as a form of ‘other’ cartography- a form of social movement based knowledge deploying the traditional research tool of cartography to new ends. Cartography, often labeled an instrument of fixation to facilitate appropriation of territory by already established powerful groups, at one and the same time, becomes a tool for anti-systemic movements to analyze those same power structures and to prefigure new spaces. The literature on Critical Cartography becomes the foundation for theorizing these new practices in this dissertation.

My work also examines how social movements’ activity interacts with, intervenes in, and is acted upon by social transformations; particularly how social movements deploy spatial knowledges and research in order to analyze and transform existing spaces. These engagements encounter the work by Social Movement Studies and critical contributions to them by the literature on Geographies of Resistance. In understanding social movements, and especially activist cartographers, as analysts of space and creators of new space I draw upon work by feminist theorists of ‘situated knowledge’ and on the contributions of the Modernity/Coloniality with notions such as ‘knowledges otherwise’. Those knowledges can be generated from the points of struggle engaged by agents of social transformation such as social movements.

Finally, via the focus on movements and their cartographic practices, this dissertation engages a series of transformations of economics spaces, specifically in Europe. Whether looking at the creation of border spaces, urban reforms, new labor conditions or the EU as such, an economic (not necessarily economic) vein runs

throughout the research. This has led me to examine questions of economic geography and political economy, trying to understand the different dynamics of economic restructuring, at multiple scales, by examining shifts in production networks, finance, and institutional forms. Additionally, when confronting the formation of a complex regime like the EU, whose form is much more than purely economic, I am led to look at other frameworks that give insights into how the formation of a socio-economic entity like the EU is linked to other processes such as juridico-institutional reform and subject creation. For the sake of this project, early Regulation theory and Foucault's work on *neoliberal governmentality* implicitly inform my engagement with the European Union.

1.2 On Critical Cartographies

Given the focus on activist mapping, this thesis draws on the literatures of Critical Cartography in order to interpret and understand the creation of these *counter-cartographies*. Throughout the phases of this research, the exploration on the part of social movements, of new possibilities in cartographic methods and styles of representation became increasingly noticeable. These efforts build directly into new theoretical engagements with Cartography from the discipline of Geography that explore the possibilities of maps that do not seek to fix, order, and stabilize 'the' world for its appropriation by some form of already powerful institution (state, military, corporation). I turn to the subfield of Critical Cartography which is working through postmodernist and poststructuralist social theories, questioning the types of territories to be mapped, and redefining the relation between map-maker and user (Krygier 2006; Jacob 2005; Pickles 2004 and 2005; Crampton 2001; Wood 1992; Harley 1992). For instance, I use Pickles'

understanding of mapping as a *productive process*; a map as an “inscription that does (or does not do) work in the world” (Pickles, 2003: 67). As a *productive process*, there is the possibility in mapping to use it to forge new and alternative geographical knowledges and thereby, geographical realities (Dalton and Mason-Deese 2009).

In particular, I look at those approaches towards counter cartography that see maps (or cartographic production more broadly) as acts of prefigurative world production that are always unfinished and never permanently fixed (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:12). Work by Deleuze and Guattari has aided in understanding the resistant cartographies developed by these activist mapping groups in the following ways: as un-finished projects; and as prefiguring/creating alternative ‘reals’. A particularly useful way of thinking through the cartography of non-fixity comes from an early discussion in Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus*:

What distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely oriented towards an experimentation in contact with the real. The map does not reproduce an unconscious closed in upon itself; it constructs the unconscious. It fosters connection between fields. [...] The map is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 12).

The idea of a prefigurative cartography builds on inspirations taken up elsewhere with John Pickles (Pickles and Cobarrubias 2009). This work finds insight in Deleuze’s discussion of Foucault: “In referring to the work of Foucault and post-Foucauldian social theory as the ‘new cartographer’ [...], Gilles Deleuze pointed to a mode of spatial thinking that sought, not to trace out representations of the real, but to construct mappings that

refigure relations in ways that render alternative worlds” (Pickles and Cobarrubias 2009: 1).

In general, the Critical Cartography subfield begins from the assumption that maps precede the territories they purport to represent (Thongchai 1988, Pickles 2004 & 2006a), that in fact maps help “make palpable something without existence” (Pickles 2004: 93) and that in this sense “cartographers produce the real” (Pickles 2004: 91). These ‘created’ spaces come with ‘created’ political identities that will inhabit those spaces (Pickles 1991; 1995). All forms of politics require a specific type of spatial knowledge, and maps are one key form of producing and organizing spatial knowledge (Crampton 2002). Thus rethinking maps becomes a way of rethinking politics. Critical Cartography thus emerges from the frustration with mainstream Cartography that saw map-making as the pursuit of a universal and objective representation of the world “outside” the map and its reality.¹ The subfield is known for the theoretical critiques it makes of map-making, showing how maps are linked to particular types of politics and visions of the world, rather than understanding them as objective or universal. These were key initial insights made by the subfield and are represented by the works of Brian Harley (1992; 1988), Denis Wood (1992) and John Pickles (1994; 1991) who makes one of the earliest critiques of the (at the time) emergent field of GIS, sparking off the subfield of GIS & Society (Pickles 2006b).

Once this theoretical critique had solidified, some work in Critical Cartography began to call for the possibilities of creating other types of mapping, or re-using existing

¹Though Critical Cartography as a subfield is understood to have developed in the nineties, it is important to note that critiques accompanied the development of a technicist, universal objective ideology behind much Cartography in the mid-twentieth century at every step (see Crampton and Krygier 2006)

map-making techniques for other ends (Pickles 2004; Crampton 2001; Paulston 1996).² According to some authors, this critique had opened the door to an “insurrection of knowledges”, borrowing from Foucault, which allowed for other ways of knowing and mapping (Crampton and Krygier 2006). Now, recent writing in the subfield has focused on the explosion of “new mapping practices” (Crampton and Krygier 2006) that are emerging from the ‘ground up’ (Wood 2003). Critical Cartographers have started to focus their work on (and often in collaborative projects with) artists using maps, and the opening of the mass productions of maps through venues such as Google Earth, MapHacks and other readily available program to audiences with digitally literacy (Dalton work in progress; AAG special session 2007; Abrams and Hall 2006; Crampton and Krygier 2006; Wood 2006; Wood and Krygier 2006;). Yet while several key authors in the literature have mentioned the appropriation of mapping techniques by social movements and activists (Crampton and Krygier 2006; Pickles 2006b), it has often been in passing. Very little in-depth exploration of these trends has occurred as of yet, possibly due to their newness³ (though see Pickles and Cobarrubias 2009; Cobarrubias and Casas 2007a; Cobarrubias and Casas 2007b; Casas, Cobarrubias, Aparicio and Pickles 2006; Ketchum 2005; Cobarrubias 2005). It is at this point that this research adds a new (and I would argue fascinating) element to the burgeoning field of Critical Cartography. In particular this engagement shows itself to be additionally fruitful in the chapters that

²In this regards it is important to note the sub-literature on ‘counter-mapping’ itself that has emerged, largely from conservationist and environmental geographies. While it was not always directly linked to the Critical Cartography literature, these concerns have increasingly crossed paths (see Cobarrubias forthcoming; Peluso 2006; Harris and Hazen 2006).

³It should be stressed that ‘now’ is clearly not the first time that social movements use or create their own maps. For example, see the work by Bill Bunge (1969). Rather, what appears to be happening currently is a more explicit subset of strategies being chosen (with reference to mapping) and the emergence of networks of map creators and mapping experiences.

follow due to the fact that the cartographic collectives involved in these projects are very self-reflexive about their work, often theorize about their map production, work in networks where mapping techniques are shared (and thus where knowledge of map making is accumulative knowledge) and additionally are becoming increasingly aware of either Critical Cartography literature itself or of many of the social theorists that Critical Cartographers are using for their work.

Furthermore, these activist mappings are taking place within the context of an explosion of mapping tools and mapping uses, especially through things such as the 'geoweb' and internet based geospatial tools (see Dalton forthcoming; Crampton 2009; Field 2008; Abrams and Hall 2006), what I have called a Cartographic Turn. Geography's engagements with these mappings is now beginning (Crampton 2009) and at the same time, these movement groups are experimenting with or even helping to create some of the software platforms for this cartographic volcano. The practices of these groups then become an interesting way to enter into the questions of mass-map-making currently afoot.

From this work on Critical Cartography, two key insights help in developing my argument. First is the idea that maps are part of a social and political process. This speaks to the idea that the map was never a simple graphic object or representation. Maps can represent information in ways to serve particular political agendas; they can empower particular projects such as the construction of the nation-state; they also have social lives that operate beyond the grasping of a 2D object. The second is that maps can precede and create territory and its spatially specific subjects. These two arguments read through the mapping projects engaged in this thesis lead me to speak of an immanent

politics of mapping. In this light mapping is not about 2D objects but about the socio-political construction of worlds and territories. This immanent politics of mapping is what lends importance and urgency to the question of a “Combat of Cartographies” as discussed in the introduction. In this way the activist mappings reviewed in this thesis become an immediately political act. More than a graphic exercise they constitute a challenge to scriptings of space, of Europe in this case, and the proposition (Wood and Krygier 2006) of alternative spaces.

1.3. On Geographies of Resistance

Besides attempting to understand the transformations involved in the construction of a particular kind of ‘E.U. rope’, the dissertation looks at how social movements operate as mechanisms for revisioning Europes and worlds, how movements can be understood as fully immersed in the creation of a new Europe, though different from that envisioned by the European Commission. This research speaks to the field of Social Movement Studies (SMS) and its long focus on the dynamics of collective action (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001; Tarrow 1998; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; McAdam 1982), though steps away from its taxonomic impulse to categorize different types of movements and actions, and to develop models for the dynamics of collective action. This dissertation then builds on the critiques and contributions of scholars working in the growing field of Geographies of Resistance (Beaumont and Nicholls 2007; Featherstone 2005; Routledge 2003; Featherstone 2003; Wolford 2001). While geographers have long been concerned with questions of social justice, systematic attention to social movements

and their role in socio-political change has been more recent⁴ (Beaumont and Nicholls 2007). In particular, those that have understood movements as creators of their own spaces and spatialities (Pickles and Cobarrubias 2009; Boudreau 2007; Routledge 2003; Wolford 2001) have been significant in conceptualizing this research.

Thinking geographically with sensitivity towards the production and experience of space has led to both expanding current theories within Social Movement Theory (SMT), as well as to other conceptualizations about collective action and space. These ‘other conceptualizations, are in dialogue with but somewhat distinct from SMT proper. I start first by a) mentioning a few of the concepts related to Social Movement Studies that Geography and the Geographies of Resistance work has contributed to, b) then follow with some discussions of both how spaces structure antagonistic practices of movements and how movements produce spaces; to finally c) examine how a complex understanding of space can help complicate ‘where’ we locate sites of domination and resistance. As the movement practices engaged in this research are trying both to understand the spaces they inhabit and invoke transformations in them, this literature speaks directly to the dissertation research and vice versa.

Some work, trying to include Geography in an understanding of social movements has focused on how different spaces and places can affect different aspects of collective action such as: movement emergence; resources available to a movement (Resource Mobilization Theory or RMT); Political Opportunity Structures (POS); identities and ‘frames’ of struggle; and movement diffusion (Miller 2000). This can happen in many different ways, for example: understanding how ‘place-basedness’ and

⁴This is somewhat less true in the case of labor movements and labor geography, the work of Andrew Herod is key in this regard.

'place-based identities can affect the 'rational actor' of RMT (Miller 2000); urban structures, architecture and spatial practices of inhabitants can affect strategies available to movements in the streets, and can structure sites of meeting and encounter (Routledge 2000); understanding the geographical unevenness of POS or better still, the particular political-economic histories of a region, can help understand patterns of movement emergence, success and diffusion in more nuanced ways (Wolford 2004; Wolford 2001). For New Social Movement (NSM) theorists much of their work on collective identity formation can be (and has been by many) understood as a battle over spaces: to open up spaces or create new ones for identity groups (Melucci 1989; Castells 1996). This has included an understanding of how new openings in information technologies have created novel spaces of identity formation and collective action not equitable with a simple notion of spatial diffusion or distance decay (Melucci 1996).

Additionally, attention to dynamics of resistance and geography more generally can also attune us to challenging the notion of space as a container, to think beyond 'places' neatly nested in a hierarchical ranking of ever higher 'scales' going up to increasingly abstract 'spaces'. We can see how these notions are challenged by resistance. For example: Herod's research (1997) has shown how scales can be produced by social movements (in his case labor struggles around the scale of contract negotiation); some NSM work has focused on the creation of alternative places where collective identities can be nurtured and formed (coffee shops, community centers, alternative bookstores) (Melucci 1989); newer work on global resistance movements has looked at the production of transnational "convergence spaces" (Routledge 2003) as a way to understand the networking process of these grassroots collectives. This takes us to

a further insight, that the geographies of resistance (broadly understood) do not simply mirror geographies of dominating power. Attention to space in this sense can highlight how, though resistant actors may be structurally located (as some work on POS and RMT has noted) they can create new spaces. Resistance is not always limited to spaces provided by the powers that be, therefore resistance can be understood as having its own spatialities (Pile 1997).

On the one hand, it is important to understand *how movements create spaces* of different sorts (as with Lefebvre's work on spatial conflict, representational spaces, and differential space, 1991) whether they are: ephemeral moments of excess at a mass demonstration that can spread like a meme across locales (Katsiaficas 1987); abeyance structures (Taylor 1989) that help provide continuity in moments of demobilization; movement infrastructures that provide communications or survival mechanisms to participants (alternative media, trade networks, etc.); or institutions that may then articulate with the state and negotiate their own space in governance structures.⁵

On the other hand, understanding *how spaces affect movements*, can help to understand more complex movement dynamics and also unevenness in movement development. How do certain socio-spatial structures assist or condition the rise of insurgency in different ways? This is by no means new. One can see different theorizations of this idea in various bodies of theoretical and political work. Marx gestures toward this in reference to the site of the factory/workshop/mill/mine (sites of worker agglomeration) as a place of socialization, where class distinctions would come to the fore and therefore the preferred site for the articulation of class struggle. The

⁵Like some claim about the Greater London Council. There has in fact been some interesting new work in regulationist approaches that work in some of these veins- see Jessop 2001 especially "Part II Social Movements and Identity Politics").

influence of *Autonomia Operaia* on the 1977 movement in Italy and its strategy of exodus from the Taylorist factory was a spatial response to the conclusions of ‘worker self-valorization’ (see *Traficantes de Suenos* 2007; Virno and Hardt 1996). Lefebvre’s theory of the ‘urban revolution’ (2003), where the urban becomes a mode of production replacing the industrial revolution, posits the urban as a site where social relations of a particular sort were produced. The urban fabric had to be used and countered through strategies such as the creation of counter-spaces and *detournement*.

Additionally, an even more complex attention to space can facilitate understanding the interlinkings of domination and resistance, such that there is no complete externality of one to the other (no site of ‘only’ resistance or domination) allowing one to finesse the complex and multi-scalar manifestations of class, race, gender, sexuality and other issues (Sharp et al 2000). This interplay between *how spaces affect movements* and *how movements affect (or create) spaces* is even more heightened when engaging de-centralized (no central organization) yet transnational movement work, such as that of global resistance movements. How are shifting political and economic spatialities affecting movement politics and how are movements inhabiting or creating new spaces within this context?⁶ Recent work on global justice and transnational activism in *Geographies of Resistance* has paid attentions to these and related questions (Cumbers, Routledge and Nativel 2008; Davies 2008; Routledge, Cumbers and Nativel 2007; Routledge 2003; Featherstone 2003)

In addition those literatures that focus on the spatialities of social movements, this research builds on the insights gained from several authors in diverse bodies of literature

⁶This question is directly relevant to the *Combat of Cartographies* I suggest in chapter 1. In this light, these shifting spatialities can be understood as a series of superimposed spaces interacting and competing, in the process producing a dynamic of domination and resistance in flux.

that understand social movements as knowledge producers. In particular the writing of the Modernity/Coloniality group and related work has made this important epistemological claim: that out of social struggles particular forms of knowledge can be born whose specificity is due in part to the particular site of enunciation (Sousa Santos 2004; Mignolo and Schiwy 2003; Escobar 1998, 2000). I draw similar inspiration from feminist work on situated knowledge (Smith 2004; Haraway 1991) and the ability to develop resistant situated knowledges from particular sites of oppression (Collins 2004). Other related work, from the Anthropology of Social Movements field, has begun not only to understand social movements as knowledge producers but to examine the knowledge making practices or methods of movements themselves (Casas-Cortés, Osterweil and Powell 2008). This is particularly interesting as it concerns work focusing on activist research trends and the different ways that movements are appropriating and creating research techniques to develop their own situated analyses (Shukhaitis and Graeber 2007; Casas-Cortés and Cobarrubias 2006; Casas-Cortés 2005; Malo 2004). This last set of works contributes a key for this current research project where the tool of cartography is appropriated by different activist collectives and networks to develop spatial knowledge and analysis appropriate to their political goals.

By bringing the insights on knowledge production to the fore, this research aims to contribute to the sub-field of geographies of resistance. In this sense, the research helps to enrich newer fields of social movement research (in this case from Geography and Anthropology) and diversify our understandings of collective action beyond the sociological approaches of SMS. This work builds on the call by Beaumont and Nicholls (2007) for geographies of social movements to not limit our understandings of collective

action to one spatial concept (space, place, scale, networks) but think of “the multiple spatialities and the co-implication of spatial components in the mobilization and suppression of collective political action”. By examining how movements are interpreting the shifting spatialities around them, and trying to create their own spaces of intervention via the instrument of Cartography, this research suggests interesting new ways of understanding the ‘moving’ in movements.

Two of the arguments from these literatures become linked into one key point for this thesis. The first argument, proposed directly by Geographies of Resistance scholars, is that social movements produce their own spaces and their own knowledge, in a general sense, about space. The second, the engagement with the growing field of the Anthropology of Social Movements, speaks to how movements are not only producers of knowledge, but of expert knowledge forms, with rigorous practices of methods, archiving, and self-reflection. Joining these two arguments together lends another step in the construction of my thesis argument: map-making is being used by social movements to systematically produce spatial knowledge and analysis. By understanding activist cartography as an explicit form of systematic spatial knowledge production, this research examines how movements explicitly try to create or re-envision spaces as well as understand how spatial structures condition their actions and intervention. These map and knowledge making practices have direct effects on the spatial tactics and strategies enacted by different movement collectives thus suggesting a dynamic relationship between the production of space and expert or systematic knowledge-production.

1.4. On Economic Geographies of Globalization

These activist cartographic efforts occur within a context of profound economic restructuring. This restructuring, though occurring and originating at multiple sites and scales, is often linked to ‘globalization’. The literature by economic geographers on this topic is broad and far reaching examining how restructuring has changed the terrains of finance (Harvey 2003; Thrift 2002, 1994), real estate and urban speculation (Smith 1996, *Antipode* dossier on neoliberal urbanism 2002), labor regimes (Herod 2002) and more broadly the re-assertion of capitalist class power (Harvey 2005), just to name a few.

Ultimately, this dissertation addresses the current configurations of the European Union, and of Spain as a member of the EU. In this way, the thesis engages a complex process of regional integration. Recent literature by economic geography has understood regional transformations as both an instance of more general processes of global economic restructuring as well as a process with its own dynamics and purposes. There is a lack of agreement over the nature of regional integration. Some authors argue it is simply another layer in a complex web of trade relations and international agreements disallowing neat spatial division in the world economy (Kelly 1999; Poon 1997; O’Loughlin and Anselin 1996; Baghwati 1997). Other analysts speak of *triadization*⁷ instead of globalization (Dicken 2003; Poon et al 2000; Gittleman 1997; Ohmae 1985). There is also an interpretation of regional integration as primarily a means for nation-states to assert themselves (rather than surrender sovereignty) (Moravcsik 1998). Sidaway (2002) has examined the complex geopolitical and cultural negotiation required to enact macro economic regions. Dicken has addressed many of the above arguments

⁷Triadization refers to arguments about the increasing economic weight and centripetal force of the ‘global triad’: a US led North America, the EU, and a Japan (or perhaps China) led Pacific Rim. Given the increasing importance of the BRIC economies (Brazil, Russia, India and China, at times including South Africa) and the current economic crisis it seems that the output of literature on the Triad theory has died down.

through his comprehensive work on topics such as the realignments of the state and corporations, differing regional varieties of capitalism, new legal frameworks and trade agreements that enshrine these processes of integration (2003). Other authors have examined the role of supply chains in solidifying processes of integration, particularly in Europe (Smith 2004; Begg, Pickles and Smith 2003; Smith, Begg, Bucek and Pickles 2003).

In order to deal with how these economic transformations are occurring through and in tandem with the social and political construction of the European Union, I integrate at different points, the insights and inspirations gained from early *Regulation theory*, and Foucault's work on *neoliberal governmentality*. The unique elements that both these approaches contribute to my work is the fact that they combine re-articulations of institutions, sovereignty, juridical space, and identity with those spheres considered to be 'strictly' economic (if they are ever to be found). This is a much more adequate way to begin tackling the complex processes of the EU where economy, institutions, state and identity are all in flux. Foucault's work from his 1979 lectures at the College de France (*La Naissance de la Biopolitique* where the terms and concepts of neoliberal governmentality are introduced), and that of other authors who have followed suit working on the question of neoliberal governmentality, highlight two levels of analysis important in understanding neoliberalism in Europe today (Lemke 2001, 2000; Gordon 1991). On the one hand the nation-state rearticulates many of its functions involving the promotion of new techniques of government that can create 'citizens' who are responsible for their own welfare; thus privatization becomes the retreat of an older technique and the deepening of another type of government and state-society relation.

On the other hand new “technologies of the self” promote a flexible citizenry and workforce that can replace forms of state regulation of work, health, education, etc. Both of these are key to understand the flexibilization of labor markets and increasing labor mobility in Europe in ways that go a step beyond the strictest interpretations of labor legislation.

The regulation school and its work on ‘post-fordism’ (Broomhill 2001; Lipietz 1987 & 1985; Aglietta 1976), aids in understanding the emergence of a particular Europe as a new regime of accumulation (based on flexible production models, hyper-mobile capital, etc.) and a new mode of social regulation (a set of institutions, laws, industry standards, etc.) that can either facilitate or create the new regime of accumulation. In addition, instead of understanding either neoliberalism or post-fordism as already constituted entities, the processes are seen as unfolding and contested.

Related to these approaches in studying the creation of a neoliberal/post-fordist form of government, other work in economic geography will be helpful. Peck and Tickell have discussed some similar dynamics in their work on “roll-back and roll-out” neoliberalism (2002). Understanding neoliberalism in two phases, Peck and Tickell explain while one goal of these policies was to ‘roll-back’ the welfare-state (through privatization, deregulation, and union-busting, for instance) a second phase of neoliberalism set to ‘roll-out’ a new mode of governance. Rather than a void from which the state and regulation was absent, a new set of norms and laws sought to establish a “neoliberal” way of being in and seeing the world. Thus applying models/understandings of the rational individual entrepreneur to ever-expanding spheres of social life becomes a goal. In this way, the emergence of a flexible labor market did not signify the ‘absence’

of regulation but the restructuring of contract relations and more broadly of the relation between capital and labor in these territories. It is in fact the politicization of the figure of the flexible person that has led to the multiple mobilizations of ‘precarity’ as a problematizing of the present.⁸ David Harvey (1990), has also drawn links between the emergence of flexible dynamics of production, increasingly mobile finance capital and its search for spatial fixes, a new round of space-time compression and how these all relate to new forms of cultural production and identity thus creating a new form of citizen, with equally flexible points of reference.

Since this dissertation research focuses on questions of the European Union, it is relevant to bring in some literatures that examine the geographic construction of this Europe in different ways. These include literatures discussing the political-institutional creation of the EU itself (Watkins 2005) and new forms of geographically-based regulation (Tommel 1997). New roles for corporations and their relations with states have also been an object of analysis (Balanyá, Doherty, Hoedman, Ma’anit and Wesselius 2002) as well as the role of think-tanks and new sites for ‘expert’ production of free-market thought (Peck and Tickell 2006; CEO 2005a; CEO 2005b; George 1997). Other work examines the creation of a ‘European identity’ and its spatial demarcations such as new boundaries between an ‘us’ and a ‘them’, the border between ‘European’ and ‘non-European’ (Jones and Clark 2008; Balibar 2004); how attempts at a geopolitical

⁸The notion of a ‘roll-out’ flexibility, and its politicization via precarity speaks to the question of the ‘newness’ versus the ‘oldness’ of precarity. While not a focus of this thesis, the alarm over the vocabulary of the ‘new’ surrounding precarity has often stalled its debate in the North American context, especially given the differential evolution of the welfare-state in North America and Western Europe. Few would argue that ‘precarious’ conditions are new, even the IWW speaks of stopping the ‘precarious conditions’ of the laborer in the early 1900’s (IWW 1905). One could argue though that while the precarity, or flexibility, of the late-19th and early 20th centuries spoke to an absence or scarce presence of state regulation (except perhaps by the sword), the ‘flexible’ laborer of today’s Europe is the object of an intense program of ‘roll-out’ governance an intentional and well thought part of a mode of regulation. In this sense precarity becomes the concrete politicization of this current figure.

imaginary of “Europe” can conflict with regional, translocal and national histories (Kramsch 2005; Sidaway 2001); the politically charged world of ‘mapping’ the EU (Zonneveld 2005); and the emergent vocabularies linked to imagining a ‘European’ future (Clark 2001). Recent critical work has even examined the EU as the instauration of a new form of geopolitical empire based on unequal exchange and uneven development (DiMauro 2006a; DiMauro 2006b; Borocz and Kovacs 2001). All of these geographical literatures on Europe have grappled in different ways with the geopolitical, geo-economic and geo-institutional construction of a ‘Europe’. The breadth of work is reflective of the breadth of the transformations underway.

This dissertation shows how the resulting cartographies of the collectives examined aid in understanding the restructuring occurring within Spain and the greater EU. In this regard, this thesis contributes to current theoretical and methodological debates on how to ‘do’ economic geography (Tickell et al 2007; Yeung 2003). What is defined as economic, what is the role of economic geography proper, and what methods will aid economic geography to intervene in the myriad transformations of the ‘economy’? These are all questions in those debates. As Gibson puts it: “the boundaries of economic geography are in many respects being stretched like never before, both within and beyond the discipline,” (Gibson 2003: 1). This thesis contributes to those debates by examining how social actors analyze their own socio-economic surroundings to empower and produce interventions in those contexts. For example, how is the hardening of the EU’s border in Spain, combined with increasing in-migration toward Spain and the EU leading toward a specific type of ‘border economy’? If ‘globalization’ is marked by moving bodies and hardening borders, what might this view of ‘border

economy' lend to broader understandings of global economic geographies? In the case of urban transformation, I present several distinct cases of cities transforming into different niche economies. The entire city markets itself and restructures its services towards a specialization- a mega-cluster perhaps. The work asks what if the 'urban' and the 'metropolitan' are understood as a mode of economic and social production (in the same way the industrial once was)? What does this mean for our social interventions in the present? With regards to precarity, these maps will ask how is the combination of flexibilizing labor and production practices, *plus* reductions in social services of the welfare sort, leading to a new socio-economic terrain in Europe, what it is being called *precarity*?

Two directions in current economic geography are particularly salient to situate this dissertation. The first one draws attention toward intense changes in economic practice and regulation, some of which can be summed partly through the apparent de-nationalization of economies and globalization studies. These include transformations such as large regulatory shifts including the scale of regulations (i.e. questions of transnational governance and multilateral agreements) or changing firm behavior in particular that of Trans National Corporations (i.e. Global Value Chains, global outsourcing and flexibilized production arrangements). Within this field I draw particular insight from the efforts to understand changing forms of economic governance and regulation as well as changing economic subjects in a context of complex geopolitical realignment (in this case the EU).

The second refers to the recent debate in economic geography about the need to experiment with new methods and approaches towards the 'economic' This concern has

helped to inaugurate specialties within the field that attempt to apply different methods and interpretations of the economic such as the ‘cultural economies’ of Thrift and Amin (2004), and the contributions of the ‘diverse economies’ approach of Gibson-Graham (2006; 1997). Both approaches are emblematic of a tendency to both diversify methods used in the study of the economic as well as to challenge the boundaries of the ‘economic’ and the non-economic’ (Lepofsky 2007)

From these two new directions in Economic Geography I situate my own work as growing out of the debates of the *Cultures of the Economies* working group at UNC Chapel Hill. This working group fully engages with different historical approaches toward the economy, including readings of marginalist, keynesian and marxist economic as well as heterodox approaches such as radical political economy, feminist economics, and ecologist economics. The goal is to both break past reductionist and economicist explanations of the economy and to develop a post-heterodox approach toward studying the economic. In light of this goal, this dissertation advances two post-heterodox economic points of discussion. Firstly what does an economic analysis carried out from a position of social struggles contribute? This speaks more broadly to the potential contributions from a situated knowledge or positioned epistemology, borrowing from feminist theory, when applied to the economic. Secondly, what does an economic analysis carried out via cartography bring to light? Maps have long been used in economic analysis and in Economic Geography, this is not new. Mapping has been used to present data, illustrate ideas, and find patterns. These movement projects though, *begin* from a practice of carto-graphing to explore the terrains of the economy, maps are not just illustrators of previous findings, but the very tool for discovery. The cartography

becomes the starting point from which other analyses will emerge or with which they will negotiate.

1.5. Conclusion

At the intersection of these three sets of literatures my research can speak of an immanent politics of mapping, a politics that in this case forms part of a social movement process. Social movements are engaged in systemic knowledge production about the spaces they inhabit and those they try to create. Via cartography, they produce a knowledge situated in social struggle about the spatial and economic changes transforming Spain and Europe and put alternatives forward. For this research the three questions of maps, movements, and money must be thought together. Brian Holmes may contribute to situate this triad of cartography, social activism, and economic geography. Holmes has been engaged with different radical mapping projects linked to global resistance movements over the past several years. He draws inspiration in Jameson's 1984 call to develop an "aesthetics of global cognitive mapping", a mapping that would help orient subjects and politics in an era of ascendant Reaganism, neoliberalism, global capitalism or other terms that have been used to designate the broad socio-economic shift occurring over the past thirty years (2003; 2004). These remappings become politically relevant for Holmes since "every successful cartography ultimately helps create the world it purports to represent," (Holmes 2004a: 4). This happens through the openings and closings that occur with the representative logic at work in maps as well as in the types of activity enabled or constrained due to one means of rendering the global economy visible over another (Holmes 2004b: 2). He stresses the "need [for] radically inventive maps

exactly like we need radical political movements: to go beyond received ideas and orders, in fact, to go beyond representation, to rediscover and share the space, creating potentials of a revolutionary imagination,” (Holmes 2004a: 1).

Chapter 2

Methodological Engagements with Cartographic Machines

This dissertation is designed to fully engage with a series of activist mapping projects, both in empirical and conceptual terms. In order to accomplish such a research agenda I structured my fieldwork in three main research questions. The first one framed as *Contexts of Interaction* investigates the particular circumstances where activist cartographers live and engage with through their cartographic production. The second question, *Cartographic Practices*, inquiries about why cartography is chosen as a tool and how exactly is it put into practice. Finally, the third, *Analytical Contributions*, identifies the analyses and theorizations that have surfaced from the mapping processes, as well as how these are serving to create and recreate territories. The engagement with the different mapping collectives and their networks required conducting research in different fieldsites and utilizing diverse methods. This chapter addresses the multiplicity of this research process. The fieldsites and research period are described first followed by some specification of the groups examined. I then present some of the methods used and finish with a series of methodological challenges emerged from my engagement with this particular set of social actors. These challenges could suggest a rethinking or at least a qualification of traditional qualitative research methods and the relationship of researchers to their work.

2.1. Mapping the Field

2.1.1 Field setting and period

The formal fieldwork period was from February 2007 through July 2008. The fieldwork took place primarily in Madrid, Spain. The base was in *Lavapiés*, one of the liveliest neighborhoods of the capital and considered by some to be something of a social laboratory in terms of migration, multiculturalism, urban reform, and political activism. I was thus exposed, on an everyday basis, to many of the movements' dynamics as well as questions of migration, urban reform and labor transformations, to which this dissertation attends. While having a permanent base in Madrid, several research related trips were also conducted to different sites in Spain and Europe as stated in my initial proposal: Barcelona, Terrasa, Sevilla, Rome, and Paris¹. Besides the fieldwork phase, engagement with the field and the mapping projects began in the summer of 2004 and continued through 2008 resulting in a four year period of contact with the research sites. The contact with the research sites lasted for such a long period for two primary reasons: a) because of the communication, and enunciation practices of the cartographic collectives²; and b) because of my situation as member of a critical mapping group. One of the main mechanisms of communication with members of the projects engaged in this research was via email, wikis, blogs, shoutboxes and other such online tools. These mechanisms were not peripheral to the work of these groups. These tools formed an integral part of the daily working of these networks and collectives, not only with the researcher, but

¹This included trips to key events and convergences around research related issues as well as trips to meetings and interviews with key individuals and mapping groups.

²I would also add that the field engagement began to a large degree after preliminary work conducted during the summers of 2004 and 2005 in Madrid and Barcelona.

amongst themselves. Thus, after initiating contact, email conversations, questions, and exchange of material, something else could begin that was not simply ‘preliminary’ research, but rather a kind of ‘thick’ (Geertz 1973) engagement with the collectives.³

The second reason for such sustained contact with the fieldsite relates to where the research took place. Due especially to the creation of the Counter Cartographies Collective (3Cs onwards), its work as a mapping collective, and how it got inserted into these networks of activist cartography, Chapel Hill, North Carolina in the United States became an active fieldsite. This small university town, far from the bustle of urban Madrid, became a site in which activist cartography was debated and experimented with, and a site to which the ‘researched’ came! Prior to leaving for our formal research period, members of different collectives we were engaging with traveled to Chapel Hill⁴ and participated in university-based events. In this way one could say that at least Chapel Hill and some section of cyberspace should be considered fieldsites on their own accord.⁵

³The idea of ‘thick’ engagement is used here borrowing from Geertz’s notion of ‘thick’ description. Geertz’ idea was meant to capture the larger contexts and meanings around particular cultural behaviors. A particular behavior in and of itself did not hold meaning without those broader contexts and cultural patterns. In this regard, I understand the engagement in email conversations and website material as ‘thick’ because it is not an action isolated from the broader behaviors and actions of these groups (i.e. it is not solely a means of establishing contact). These communication technologies are an integral to the daily political practices of the groups engaged for this research as well as key to their networking behaviors. In this sense, engaging in email conversations, listserves and websites, becomes a key part of the research process. In addition, understanding these practices becomes key in immersing oneself in the groups’ understandings of the historical moment they inhabit (in this regard one can here reference to questions of knowledge economies).

⁴Brian Holmes, a collaborator with Bureau d’Etudes and Maggie Smith, from Precarias a la Deriva, participated in different activities on and off campus, which included drift-explorations and some draft mapping activities about the university and the area.

⁵The research is then marked by some ‘geo-temporal flipping’: from in-field to out-of-field; and from “research period” to “before fieldwork”. Given the communicative practices of the groups involved in this research as well as my own situation as part of a mapping collective the period of engagement with the field topic could be considered simply a long period of fieldwork comprising both of moments dedicated towards dissertation specific data-gathering as well as moments of simply ‘working as part of a mapping group’. This flipping is important to reconsider the historical division between the “field” and the “laboratory”.

The historical division between the “field” and the “laboratory” or “study” gets blurred. In this case the spaces intermix. Perhaps they do not disappear, but there is no rigid demarcation line between them: field/laboratory; before the field/after the field.

2.1.2. The Collectives Engaged: On Following Practices

My engagement and interest in activist cartography began in 2002. I encountered different mapping projects from the US, Argentina, Spain and France that inspired me to consider the potentials of mapping for a critical politics. As I began my PhD program in 2003, the work of *Bureau d'Etudes* was very important in guiding me to appreciate the theoretical and political contributions offered by Cartography. This Paris-based group and its sister project *Universite Tangente* produce dense network-maps of power and resistance; theorizations of autonomy; extensive political economic critique; and inspirational writings on cartographic practice (particularly by Brian Holmes). This rich work led me to identify activist cartography as a topic and tool worthy of a deeper engagement. This first encounter was the beginning of a long archive of activist maps. The concrete cartographic projects for this dissertation are specified in the introduction. Here I describe my temporal engagement with them. My engagement with *Fadai'at* and *Hackitectura* dates to 2004, focusing originally on the *Cartografia del Estrecho* and then on their writings about cartographic theory. In regards to *De que va realment el Forum* and *Otra Malaga* I gathered both maps in 2005, when conducting early interview work during preliminary field research. My involvement with the *Map_Madrid* and the *Prearity Map* projects began in 2007. Though more recent, the fact that these two projects were largely based in Madrid and were ongoing when my fieldwork began led to

an in-depth engagement able to follow the development of the projects. This research is then the result of a seven year involvement with activist cartography in general and more than four years with its manifestations in Spain.

This dissertation though is not only about a few case studies of a larger trend. The practices of activist cartography taking place in different cities of Spain are internationally articulated. Furthermore, they are multiplying and spreading rapidly. Methodologically, this dissertation will engage several collectives and projects as an entryway to follow the paths of these practices, trends and knowledges. More than being about a particular group then, this dissertation is about how the practice of activist cartography is being used, shared and traveling to different places and tackling different issues. This ‘following’ of the practice has a certain contingency to it, at the outset, reflective of the very spatial practices of the groups in question. In some sense, the mapping groups are providing me with my method or map for research, since this research is itself engaging in a cartography (more particularly a *following*) of and with these current activist practices. In this way, it is a sort of mapping of strategies and experiences. This project then intends to follow, to some degree and only for a time, and immerse itself in these collectives in order to better understand the practices of activist cartography, the roles it can play and is playing in social movements, as well as the information and insight it may provide in rethinking/remaking both ‘Europe’ and global economic restructuring more broadly. The networked and project oriented⁶ structure of these collectives necessitates this approach called ‘following’ of the practices, rather than a case-study perspective in the strictest sense.

⁶By project-oriented I mean they are collectives that come into being for the time necessary to elaborate a mapping project and then often disappear. The maps stay, as do many of the groups that participated in the project, but the ‘mapping group’ as such often ceases to exist.

2.2. Methods

The research used mixed qualitative methods for data collection, mainly conducted during the period of ethnographic fieldwork.

2.2.1. Interviews

These were conducted with different practitioners of activist cartography, or members of activist networks that worked with those mapping projects. The types of interviews included:

- a) Open-ended interviews: often semi-spontaneous, yet focused on specific material pertaining to my research questions. This type of interview would most often occur as a way to take advantage of large gathering of people at activist conferences or actions. If needed, follow up was pursued either in person or via email.
- b) Semi-structured interviews: these served as a way to develop further knowledge about a project or realm of activist activity before entering into fine-tuned accounts. These remained flexible enough to adapt questions to topics unknown before the fieldwork was conducted.
- c) Thematic interviews: This type zeroed in on specific projects or group histories. These were most often used to gain specific and technical knowledge about a mapping project (i.e. what computer programs were used, what previous examples inspired a project, design phases of a map, etc.)

Most interviewing was conducted in a face-to-face manner, though a lot of e-interview material was gathered as well. E-interviewing was especially important for

preliminary and follow-up questions but also to facilitate engagement with the network structure of some of these mapping projects. Email conversations facilitated more data gathering from projects and people otherwise difficult to reach, and in a manner and medium comfortable to the informants.

2.2.2. *Participant Observation*

Participant Observation in this research included attending various workshops, conferences and actions related to the themes of activist mapping and the broader issues engaged in this research. Regular attendance at meetings that focused on a particular mapping project was also key to the gathering of data. The process of Participant Observation was enriched and complexified by the way I was inserted into the mapping networks, namely, as a member of a cartographic collective (3C's) and as someone with activist experience in the US.⁷ This somewhat distinct positionality will be discussed below in the section addressing methodological challenges.

2.2.3. *Primary Data Collection, Movement Literatures and Archival Work*

Key components of the research comprised of textual work with a variety of sources. To gain further depth into social movement histories in Spain and Europe, I reviewed a set of literatures on movements, partly internal to movement's networks. By internal to movement's networks I mean that these studies were often published by movement-related publishing houses or obtained via activist archives and distribution points (bookshops, bookstands). Key in this regard was time spent in *Traficantes de*

⁷I was surprised about the degree of interest there often was about social movements in the United States on the part of activists in Spain. Being able to share some experiences often helped to solidify relationships with informants.

Suenos, an alternative publishing house and library space, and *El Rastro Politico*, an open-air book market taking place once a week in one the most popular plazas of Lavapiés. These two points were important in gaining access to both very recent as well as difficult to obtain or out of print sources on movement dynamics.

For much of the work on context-related questions on issues such as migration, precarity and urban transformation, different primary data sources were gathered. In addition to literatures on the subjects and movement analyses from the groups examined, for the most up-to-date debates I followed closely national press (in particular *El País* and *El Mundo*) as well as social movement press (in particular the *Diagonal* newspaper).⁸ At different moments, statistical and demographic data was consulted to give further background on an issue. Different sources were used for this information including: the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, the *Padron Municipal de Habitantes de la Comunidad de Madrid*, the *EURLife database* as well as individual studies sponsored by institutions such as labor unions (*Comisiones Obreras*) or banks (*BBVA*). Furthermore, I collected and archived a broad collection of maps and movement materials specific to the projects and question of activist mapping. All of these were closely read and analyzed in order to develop the data analysis chapters that follow.

A significant amount of this document collection depended on the archives and analyses that the cartographic collectives involved had produced. I signal this as different from gathering ‘primary data’ because of what I feel is the connotation that such primary data needs to then be ordered by the researcher. What I found, however, was a very

⁸Press coverage was a way of getting current information on issues important for the thesis and issues that informed movements’ debates and actions.

intentional set of records, notes and analyses of events and projects by the groups involved. I believe that this constitutes its own form of archival research on groups very aware of the need to record their own histories and develop their own analyses of their work. This question of “self-archiving” and the logic of “self-representation” it entails are discussed below. I name some of these sources briefly, though with the caveat that for each group the practices of self-archiving or analysis are somewhat different and in many cases require direct contact with group in question in order to access them. Some of these archives included websites and tiki wikis of different projects such as the www.precarity-map.net,⁹ www.laboprecario.org.es, www.lainvisible.net, or the mega site of www.hackitectura.net, which contains the reports, minutes and report backs of various cartographic projects. Other archives are simply the e-listserves and discussions of particular networks and the notes of meetings they contain. This was particularly the case the Precarity_WebRing list, and to a lesser extent, the Euro-Precarias and EuroMayDay lists. Furthermore, different report backs, reflections and analyses of different projects written by participants were also key to compiling the information for this thesis. The systematic nature of this reflective practice by these groups leads me to include it here as something more than just conventional primary data collection.

Given the dispersed nature of the collectives involved and the fact that there was no attempt to do a comparative study among them, the degree to which one method was used over another varied depending on the mapping project being engaged. Since my research goals and questions focused on mapping practices and what kind of analyses were emerging from mapping projects to deal with current issues, this case-specific use

⁹This website has unfortunately been hacked, the content taken offline at the time of writing.

of methods did not pose a problem but rather allowed me to more fully engage the networked practices of activist research on a per project basis.

2.3. Heterodoxia

After having presented the fieldsite, the cases focused on and the methods used, I present several methodological questions or challenges that arose during the research. Through the very itineraries of the research, issues arose that forced a rethinking of method and subject position that grew in relevance as I worked to establish how to present the data gathered. Two of the most important of these that appear and reappear in the text below and throughout the thesis are:

- How is a researcher to engage and analyze groups that carry out analyses of their own “data”, often the same “data” the researcher is gathering? If the groups and individuals being engaged in the research are just as well engaged in theoretical debates as the researcher, would it not be valuable to present the analyses coming from these groups as worthy in and of itself and engage those analyses, instead of treating the groups as “informants” providing “raw” material? Even in the case of ethnography, a methodology marked by its respect for the ‘knowledge’ that all members of a cultural group have (Sprately 1979), is there not still an assumption that the researcher will ultimately sort out the ‘knowledges’ provided to then zoom out into some sort of more general analysis framed in literatures and other debates? What does it mean to draw ‘conclusions’ and ‘theoretical speculations’ on groups and practices such as these?

- What does it mean to be researching from and on one's own milieu? In my case, I am a participant in an activist mapping collective as well as researching the practice. Thus, for this research I engaged with the practice of activist mapping both as an observer and practitioner, even being invited to join one of the projects that became the basis for a set of chapters of this thesis. A feminist perspective may actually laud this participatory approach and conclude that it actually contributes an 'other' way of knowing and a necessary one (Smith 2004; Haraway 1988). A more traditional approach towards qualitative work might say that this is actually problematic research. The results would be difficult to either reproduce or generalize and thus of questionable scientific quality. This last concern though raises another question: given that these groups are engaging in geographic research then could a Geographer ever engage them without challenging a traditional approach towards scientific distance?

These two dilemmas ran through the execution of this research project. The relevance of these concerns to rethinking methods has been highlighted by Marcus (2000) in his discussion of "writing machines". If the subjects of research are in and of themselves churning out information, analyses, research and are fully able of engaging the researchers' work as intellectual peers, then what does this imply for the execution of research? Should the writings and analyses of these "machines" be treated as "relevant literatures" or as "data"?

The dilemma of researching writing machines, and in this case cartographic machines, informs the three methodological queries discussed in the second part of this chapter. The first query asks how a researcher should engage certain auto-ethnographic concerns, such as when the researcher appears as an informant. This is followed by discussing how an explicit politics of self-representation and self-reflection on the part of the groups being researched can have effects on the types of methods used. Third, I present how the grounding of this research in intimate interdisciplinary work has changed how certain research questions were posed and how parts of the data were presented.

2.3.1. Researcher's voice as Verbatim?

By virtue of having different activist experiences in the US and Spain, and my participation in the Counter Cartographies Collective at UNC, my mode of participant observation was complexified and enriched. This happened to the degree that I can claim a significant portion of this work is autoethnographical (Ellis and Bochner 2000).¹⁰ My own political trajectories and the behaviors of these collectives allowed for my being inserted in a different way into these practices and networks. For example, in the case of at least one project, I became a member almost from the beginning, aiding in the development and discussion of a cartographic project around precarity. In the case of another project working on urban transformation in Madrid, I contributed to some of the editing work and shared ideas from 3C's experience with several of the group's members. When engaging the texts by the projects in question for my dissertation writing, I found

¹⁰I should stress that the base of my dissertation is not autoethnographical in that an explicit analysis of my own experience does not shape the form of the dissertation. Additionally I only claim it is autoethnographic in that I examine and analyze dynamics in which I played a part (integral or peripheral) or experienced in my own peculiar ways due to how I was inserted into the fieldsite and the networks involved.

that they were citing the example of 3C's for one of the ideas that I was trying to explain in a data chapter. Thus, the research subject-object relation was queered in interesting ways, resulting in a research relationship that often felt like that between 'colleagues'. This relationship would often lead to interesting situations when I was going over meeting minutes, or group texts, and would find myself wanting to quote something that I had contributed to formulating in the first place. How am I to quote that? As my own reflection or as verbatim where I 'hear myself'?¹¹

2.3.2. *Archiving and Registering Machines*

These mapping collectives and their networks 'archive' and 'register' everything. As discussed in the section above, via websites, wikis, listserves, publications, and personal collections, I came across a wealth of these items each of them requiring time to sift through. I emphasize this because I believe this practice has effects on how these groups produce knowledge and how research and researchers can engage the groups and their practices. Engaging these archives is distinct from reviewing literatures, from reviewing more institutional archives or from gathering primary data that may be disparate and seem unconnected. The explicit self-representation and self-critique on the part of these collectives and the systematic way in which it is done makes this something slightly different from other forms of data collection.¹² They actively create archives:

¹¹For a spontaneous and rather humorous version of some of these challenges, written while conducting research, please see Appendix 2: "16 ironies of research".

¹²One can imagine other organizations with longer institutional memories that may engage in similar practices (a political party, a firm, a labor union), but here it is on the part of loosely organized often temporary collectives who after coalescing for a time in one locale may then be dispersed. Additionally it is not the work of a few 'fans' that keep informal archive in their homes (though this happens as well). Rather, this idea of recording, posting notes to a website, writing about past experiences, etc. becomes something of a general ethic or even strategy, possibly a way of doing politics.

their notes, meeting minutes, self-reflections, post-project essays, interventions, etc. This ‘archiving’ is often rigorously carried out, with the idea that these groups are recording their own history, learning from their own projects, and communicating with others. Thus very often I found myself carrying out a sort of archival work of new archives, much more than I had anticipated. In fact, upon asking basic questions about a project, I or any interested person, would often be directed to these prolific archives. In fact, even during interviews and discussions, members of these collectives would refer to those documents if I was interested in a particular issue, and the discussion would move on to another subject. This leads to questions of the effects of the explicit engagement by these groups with a politics of self-representation and self reflection.¹³ Does this practice of ‘registering’ make other methods redundant? Are these archives in and of themselves just as valid for answering some questions as more standard methods such as interviews or participant observation?

2.3.3. Intimate Interdisciplinary Work

The research for this thesis was carried out with a research partner, my wife Maribel Casas, who also carried out her thesis research, for the most part simultaneously. This is more than coincidental though. As research progressed we found our mutual research topics increasingly intermingling, mine on activist cartography and hers on activist research. While we knew that both trends were connected, during the field

¹³Thus in some sense I am not the researcher piecing together a chaotic jigsaw puzzle of data in order to explain what they are saying. In this specific regard, perhaps my role is more akin to that which Latour (1999) describes as a translator, sorter, relay; and to what Haraway (1989) evokes as a connector among situated knowledges, relating this specific productions to other intellectual trajectories. Clearly a distinct ethos of research is required for those working with, on, or about “writing machines”, especially writing machines that then think about their own writing.

research we saw that activist research and cartography were increasingly linked and superimposed with one another. This was true to such a degree that some activist research projects see themselves as cartographic and that most cartographic projects see themselves as forms of research.¹⁴ Cooperating and participating mutually in research related activities became not only a matter of personal preference but something almost dictated by the field itself. This in addition to our shared interests made for permanent and insightful feedback and commentary throughout the process (making the research much less of a ‘lone wolf’ endeavor). In addition, I would like to state that our situation in two different departments and disciplines also provided for fruitful back and forth, as well as an intermingling of references, paradigms and styles. Very often these were not explicit attempts to produce interdisciplinary experiments, but rather the influence of proximity, discussion, and the learning of new methodological practices. Thus this thinking in the plural, yet coming from different departmental backgrounds led to insights and questions that have had direct effects on the thesis. Can we write ethnographies of cartography? Can we write Anthropology spatially or even cartographically? In the case of this dissertation, the resulting attention towards an ethnographic approach has contributed to the subfield of Critical Cartography, and more generally our understandings of the social lives of maps (Pickles 2004) by putting emphasis on the mapping process itself. This was stressed as a key factor by most of the collectives we worked with in this project.

2.4. Conclusion

¹⁴This also became apparent when we encountered members of an activist research project working on a mapping project and vice versa. To a significant degree these can be understood as parallel and interrelated trends.

The combination of qualitative methods used yielded an in-depth understanding of these practices, their growth, spread and limits. In particular, a close involvement with the groups and their own archives allowed for an understanding of the mapping process itself, and the analyses and practices that emerged from that process. The methodological challenges raised help to highlight and complexify an otherwise straightforward methods narrative. In particular, the transversal questions of (1) how to engage groups that do so much of their own analyzing and theorizing and (2) how to conduct research on practices and networks of which one forms a part (prior to engaging the research project itself) throw many traditional research assumptions into the spotlight. These different challenges were underlined here because on the one hand, they had effects on how the data was presented and the dissertation was written. On the other hand, they speak to relevant methodological debates on how to carry out a ‘research with’ in a way that challenges subject-object divides as well as how to address the delicate enterprise of disserting about “writing machines”.

PART II. MIGRATION

Mapping an Emergent Border Regime

Part II

Migration: Mapping an Emergent Border Regime

*The borders of new sociopolitical entities, in which an attempt is being made to preserve all the functions of the sovereignty of the state, are no longer entirely situated at the outer limits of territories; they are dispersed a little everywhere, wherever the movement of information, people and things is happening and is controlled- for example, in cosmopolitan cities....In this sense, border areas- zones, countries and cities- are not marginal to the constitution of a public sphere but rather are at its center[...].Or more exactly, the notion of a center confronts us with a choice. In connections with states, it means the concentration of power, the localization of virtual or real governing authorities [...] But this notion has another, more essential and elusive meaning, which points to the sites where a people is constituted through the creation of civic consciousness and the collective resolution of the contradictions that run through it. Is there then a European people, even an emergent one?...what is at stake here is the definition of the modes of inclusion and exclusion in the European sphere, as a “public sphere” of bureaucracy and of relations of force but also of communication and cooperation between peoples[...]. **We must privilege the issues of the border when discussing the question of the European people** and of the state in Europe because it crystallizes the stake of politico-economic power and the symbolic stakes at work in the collective imagination: relations of force and material interest on one side, representations of identity on the other....The representation of the border, territory, and sovereignty, and the very possibility of representing the border and territory, have become the objects of an irreversible historical forcing.[...]But, as we also know, this representation of the border, essential as it is for state institutions, is nevertheless profoundly inadequate for an account of the complexity of real situations (Balibar 2004.)*

Balibar's words speak to the process of de- and re-centering taking place in Europe. The border is no longer far away at some distant 'edge'. Border policy is not a

secondary political issue and migration is not a sectoral question concerning only migrants. The border, where it is, how it includes and excludes, and how it defines people becomes central to defining the present. This European border which Balibar so eloquently describes is constitutive of Europe in a special way. The border of Europe, as a part of the construction of the EU, is helping in the process to define what European means, inserting itself into the complex questions of supranational identity and global flows of populations. When Balibar spoke those words, he spoke them from Greece, an outer ‘edge’ of Europe as it exists. Part II of the dissertation focuses on Migration, and shows how mapping groups from Spain, yet another edge, are also re-thinking Europe from the border.

Taking migration and borders as the first thematic part of this dissertation is not a random choice. Rather, it is a way to seriously engage Balibar’s insights as well as the mapping efforts reviewed below. Both of these posit the ‘border’ as where Europe is currently defined in particular via “the definition of the modes of inclusion and exclusion in the European sphere”. In a section of the same book titled “European Apartheid: The Violence of Borders” Balibar states: “I take it as a crucial issues to acknowledge that, along with the development of a formal ‘European citizenship,’ a real ‘European apartheid’ has emerged” (2004:121). The possibility for a post-national European citizenship clashes with an emergent form of European apartheid precisely at this border (Balibar 2004).

The European Union *border* is more than a line between an ‘us’ and an ‘other’. It is a socio-institutional formation that is coalescing this entity called “Europe” as a political and military actor and not only as an imagined space or as an economic bloc. In

a very particular way the actual levels of cross-national cooperation in border legislation and policing are in some ways producing the material effects of a 'united Europe'. These include instruments such as: cross EU cooperation on border patrolling; the standardization of many visa norms and customs controls; the creation and 'feel' of a borderless inner space through multi-state agreements and a hardened outer space with fences and watch towers; and increasing policy convergence on migration across the EU on items such as naturalization processes. All of these are some of the most tangible and visible examples of a "united Europe", besides the circulation of Euros. In keeping with this practice of thinking from the border, this part shows how the tool of activist mapping is used to throw the 'ends of Europe' in to question.

Returning then to Balibar, he states that "new sociopolitical entities" are forming borders in an attempt to preserve and obtain for themselves the features of state-like sovereignty. In focusing his discussion on Europe one of the "new sociopolitical entities" he is referring to is the European Union. As Balibar himself asserts, these borders "are dispersed a little everywhere". The EU border is not only at the edge those member states forming the outer limit of the Union. As Chapters 3 and 4 show, the European border is multiplying both within and without the territories of the EU. This is the point where a key question for the mapping project reviewed in this part may be asked: is the formation of an EU border the assertion and repetition of state-like sovereignty or is there something else in formation as well? Balibar highlights the important relation between: border; territory; sovereignty; as well as the representations of the same. Historians of Cartography (Brussiart 1992) and of the nation-state (Anderson 199?) have also stressed this central relationship between the creation and assertion of sovereignty over territory

via the mechanism of borders and their representation, particularly in map-form, in the solidification of the modern nation-state form (as box, as identity, as container of politics). Yet Balibar himself realizes: “this representation of the border, essential as it is for state institutions, is nevertheless profoundly inadequate for an account of the complexity of real situations.” In the case of the EU’s external border, there appears to be a break with this historical relationship.

Representations of the European Union rarely include the migrant detention centers multiplying both within EU territory and spreading beyond the EU. Neither do these representations include either: the policing of migration toward the EU carried out by non-EU states such as Morocco, Mauritania, Serbia, or Turkey; or the military bases of EU states outside the EU dedicated to migration management.¹ Is a new relationship between sovereignty and its representation emerging? Part of the Combat of Cartographies engaged by the activist mapping projects reviewed below is re-inscribing the EU as ‘overflowing with borders’. This is a far cry from the representation of the EU as a borderless entity between member states that have abandoned war amongst each other or an integration of social and economic spaces through cohesion policies. In fact for these activists the EU is understood as directing a form of globalization predicated on the fractalized multiplication of borders and population filters. Seen in this light, a map reader can perceive that this is a border that acts not only as a scaling up of state sovereignty to a supra-state entity. It also entails an imperialist form in its expansion of the border to other countries. Furthermore it is a border that often functions with its own logics and forms of sovereignty, as an aggregate of EU agencies; EU member states and their policing practices; non EU-states and their own policing practices; as well as

¹The formation of these different features of the EU border in formation are detailed in chapter 3.

enterprises or non-governmental organizations involved in border affairs. The link between border-sovereignty-territory is undone. In other words, the border has become a border regime unto itself.

Part II describes how different movement networks coalescing through a process called *Fadai'at* (an Arabic term roughly translated as 'through spaces') use a variety of techniques and technologies to engage in a Combat of Cartographies over the spatial inscription of the border. The focuses of *Fadai'at* are the Spanish and Moroccan states (in this case) and EU institutions. The *Fadai'at* process combines a very specific set of political and theoretical backgrounds putting them into play in creative ways to track and subvert this border.² Through their cartographic and spatial interventions a radically 'other' image of the border emerges. In fact a new border territory is produced in these mappings, a border no longer seen as a fence, but rather one that is inhabitable in new ways. Indirectly, Balibar's diagnosis of a changing relationship between territory, sovereignty and border is engaged by these movements, to create other realities and representations of the border.

Structure

Chapter three introduces the context for understanding border and migration issues in Spain and Europe today. In doing so the chapter aims to answer the first research question: what are the *Contexts of Interaction* that these cartographic projects are navigating? Chapter three uses different techniques including a long ethnographic vignette, statistics and a history of recent border policy in order to situate the reader. This

²This background, described in more detail below, include a movements genealogy inspired in Zapatismo, local and regional autonomous movements and global resistance struggles, alongside a reading of Deleuze and Guattari, Haraway, and Hardt and Negri.

is complemented by information on struggles around the border and immigrant rights that put the question of ‘new citizenship’ versus ‘new apartheid’ into the foreground. I argue that a set of radical shifts in Spain’s migration and border history have altered the terrains on which activists operate. From a set of national borders with Portugal, France and Morocco to a ‘borderless’ space with the first two and a militarized frontier with the latter, the creation of a European space has led to Spain being assigned a role of ‘outer edge of Europe’. This has been concomitant with the transformation of Spain from a country of emigration to one of mass immigration. Activists and the mapping efforts reviewed below have had to learn to navigate and intervene in these spatial and demographic reconfigurations, forming part of the emergent struggles over mobility and citizenship.

Chapter four first engages the research question on *Cartographic Practice* of the *Fadaiat* process in Southern Spain and Northern Morocco. Through its project –the *Cartographies of the Straits*- I show how the scriptings of the border and migration described in chapter 3 are challenged. Special attention is given to *Hackitectura* and *IMC Estrecho*, two of the key organizing nodes of the entire *Fadaiat* process. Chapter 4 shows how these groups engage in a Deleuzian-Guattarian carto-politics. The territory is mapped by identifying different elements that compose the border and following their rhizomatic and undetermined movements. Specifically, different flows of money, people, and police going back and forth across the border are followed. The dynamics of these flows collectively constitute a unique type of border space. This ‘other’ border space becomes the terrain upon which these collectives then engage issues of rights and

mobility around the border. The new rendering of the border obtained through this process aids in challenging simpler understandings of the border.

The idea of the border as the limit of one state's sovereignty and the beginning of another is deconstructed through the Fadaiat mapping process. To conclude chapter four I address the research question on the *Analytical Contributions* of this mapping project. The border is shown to be a specific form of political region rather than a line, with its own rules of sovereignty. Secondly, the notion of the border as a non-space where something ends, and as non-productive, is blown apart. The *Fadai'at* process proposes the idea of a border factory, a 'becoming productive of the border' that highlights the unique roles borders play in the European and global economies. Chapter four then explores these insights gained through *Fadai'at* and its mapping process and how these are enacted upon to subvert the hardening outer borders of Europe.

Chapter 3

European Borderlands: Intensity, Complexity, Struggle, Genealogy

Introduction

*At the same time of the momentous events of the late 1980's, optimistic noises were being made about the post-national version of Europe, the opening up of borders within the European Union, the pulling down of walls dividing the capitalist and state communist countries so artificially created after 1945. At the same time, the development of the Internet, of satellite broadcasting and e-mail, and vast expansion of transport technology had created optimistic vision of a Europe less internally divided than ever before. Here, the theme of mobility and freedom was an important aspect of the debate emanating from pro-Europeans, an attempt to supersede the **tyranny of borders** (McNeill 2004:144, emphasis added)*

McNeill describes a common representation of the EU during the late 1980's and 1990's as *borderless*. The tyranny of *some* borders has definitely been done away with. Yet as part of the construction of Europe and especially as a reaction to mass immigration, an *other* border is forming that establishes its own tyranny. Here I explore the relationship between mass immigration into Spain and the EU and the creation of a *European* border. This chapter can be summed up by four key words: *intensity*; *complexity*; *struggle*; and *genealogy*. While the 'feeling' of these four terms runs throughout the chapter, these words also serve as its outline and structure.

I open the chapter by showing the *intensity* of the immigration phenomenon and its 'newness' in a country like Spain. This begins by narrating a walk in the Madrid neighborhood in which I was based during fieldwork. In this neighborhood, *Lavapiés*, 15-

20 years ago migration was nearly absent, and now it is a first stop destination point whose demographic majority is immigrant from over a dozen countries of origin. The reader is placed on this itinerary through the neighborhood, where migration sits alongside other social processes and histories in complex and interesting ways. With its ethnographic elements this story serves as an entry into the field and the question of recent immigration. This vignette is followed on by statistics on recent migratory movements confirming the feeling provided by this introductory image of a broad and deep process of social change.

I continue by commenting on the *complexity* of counting migrants and migration in and EU context. Confusion between “intra-European” migration versus “extracommunitarian”¹ migration emerges. The uneven expansive nature of the EU further complicates this counting and thus the social and political construction of the ‘migrant’. New countries joining the EU in staggered fashion have led to changing and confusing statuses of legality. How national citizenship laws clash or mesh with cross-EU policies comes into play as well. A system of hierarchies of populations exists and shifts around depending on geopolitical realignments and EU expansion. I end the discussion of *intensity* and *complexity* with several media representations of immigration focused on “drama” and on political rhetoric.

Current social *struggle* around these issues is then briefly presented. Struggles around the border and new notions of rights and citizenship have become prominent

¹Extracommunitarian refers at a simple level to citizens of non-EU, non-community, countries who reside in the EU. More importantly though, as the European process builds this signifies hierarchies in terms of access to rights and services. Citizens of EU member states, by virtue of being part of the EU have easier access to things such as residency, work permits, healthcare, voting in local elections, which others do not. This has been complicated by the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the EU toward the East. Romanian and British citizens are not yet treated quite the same in different EU countries yet the ‘extracommunitarian’ versus ‘European’ dividing line continues to be the most significant.

themes in many EU countries as well as for most social movements. These struggles are usually organized by migrants themselves, by those in solidarity with them or as joint efforts, and I present them in this order. In addition, these struggles often serve as laboratories where new subversions of the border are tried and re-tried, the processes feeding directly into the mapping efforts examined in the next chapter.

This chapter ends with a *genealogy*. The narrative and statistical descriptions of migration and the border are theorized by posing the question of how to understand the EU border. Here the relations between border construction, increased mobility and control, and the undoing of the links between border-territory-sovereignty are explored. This is followed by a description of the processes, mechanisms, institutions and technologies that make up the EU border and its manifestation in Spain. I trace how a “borderless” inner European space has been matched by a hardened outer border and how this outer border has begun to spread both within and beyond the EU. This development has helped solidify the construction of two key populations: “European” and “extracommunitarian”.²

Chapter three signals how an understanding of this border requires a fine-tuned spatial attentiveness to multiple scales and superimposed legal spatialities in order to understand migration and its governance.³

²In fact it may be said that to a degree the “extracommunitarian” has been more clearly defined prior to European; a point indicated in many studies on how an “Other” is constituted. It should be noted though, that these categories of “European” and “extracommunitarian” are punctured by all sorts of internal hierarchies and confusions fracturing the closed nature of these categories.

³This attentiveness to multiple spatialities, overlaying legal spaces, and multiple or conflicting scales of citizenship may become even sharper in the present context of economic crisis. It is an open question how national identities versus European identities will fair or how governments will react to them. Could a retreat from the borderless Europe emerge? Will migrant friendly versus migrant hostile states emerge? What will be the EU leadership’s role in these processes? This is hard to speak of beforehand though recent events in the UK seem to speak to the threats posed. After a recent slogan made by Prime Minister

3.1. Intensity

3.1.1 The World of Lavapies: Four continents around your back door

The itinerary to our home was about a 10-15 minute walk if one did not stop. It took one through the *Lavapies* neighborhood where my family and I lived during our time in Madrid from January 2007 until July 2008. Lavapies is known in many Spanish circles as a laboratory for multiculturalism⁴ as well as a hub of radical political activism in the city and the country; this in a context of urban renewal plans and a history of neighborhood abandonment. Lavapies in many ways is a microcosm of those changes regarding migration and population. Up until the 1980's and even the 1990's Lavapies was primarily of "Spanish" background (from different regions as well as many gypsies) with a scattering of migrants from a few Latin American countries and Morocco. It is considered a "barrio popular", what might be called a working class community in US English, filled with neighborhood-scale retail, local artisans and vocational work. It has been and still is an important locus of social movement activity, especially from the libertarian scene: anarchist bookstores; the historic headquarters of the CNT union is still there; the highest concentration of political squats. Although it retains much of its previous identity, the incredible influx of migrants has made it a majority foreign-born

Gordon Brown about "British jobs for British workers" a series of wildcat strikes emerged in different parts of the energy sector. Much of the strike was over temp jobs, unemployment, and the hiring of non British but EU workers (Spanish and Italian principally) in order to undercut certain wage and benefit agreements. Though unions and workers involved did not publicly frame the struggle as one against foreign workers they did utilize Brown's slogan. This was captured in the press as "anti-EU worker sentiment".

⁴Additionally, as the story suggests, its not that the migration has come from primarily one country or even one continent. It is coming from all over, and in Lavapies it mixes in incredible ways. Though there are stores and corners where people of certain nationalities or linguistic groups will gather, there is no 'neighborhood' within the neighborhood or 'street' that can be defined as a "Chinatown" or "Little India" for example.

neighborhood in an approximately a 15 year period⁵. The ways that a ‘previous’ perhaps more essentialized Lavapies criss-crosses with a transurban and transnational one provide for much of the attractiveness of the neighborhood. The density and variety of people is just astonishing, making a journey through the neighborhood intense and full of random encounters.

...The way back home from the talk on mapping and social movements at the *Traficantes de Suenos* cooperative bookstore winds through a very lively neighborhood that speaks to many of the issues of concern for activists in the area. Across the street from Traficantes is a feminist squat that had recently been legalized, the home of the Precarias a la Deriva project. Walking south along Embajadores street we pass several Bangladeshi-run fruit & food stores, good spots for telephone cards and garam masala. The ubiquitous “Locutorio”, or phone center, peppered the landscape where people make international calls mostly to their home countries. Turning left at the first street, we come across a plaza with a blown out monastery, a casualty of the civil war, that had been left in ruins since the 30’s, as had much of the Lavapies neighborhood, a symbol of neighborhood abandonment for years. Currently the ruins have been transformed into a sleek and air-conditioned university library, part of what is called *Plan Lavapies* where four or five new or revamped cultural institutions have become anchors for a new vision of development in the neighborhood. Right across the plaza is the Pakistani Islamic cultural association, just having finished their prayer services.

Walking along an adjacent street, we soon come to the Plaza Lavapies itself, supposedly the historical center and origin of the neighborhood. There may have been a

⁵‘Hard’ data on this is difficult to obtain, since statistics are not gathered at the level of this neighborhood. Approximations of foreign-born residents run around 50% or more.

fountain in the Middle Ages there for Muslim pre-prayer ablutions (Lavapies means “wash feet” in a rough translation), though it was more likely the Jewish quarter. A group of young Moroccans are hanging out on the corner where Lavapies street meets the plaza, their regular spot, as a group of Nordic looking Europeans come up to them hoping one of them might be the local hashish dealer. We set Gabriel on the playground in the plaza and chat up with an Egyptian Dad while his Mauritanian friend comes by- and I’m finally able to practice my Arabic again. Gabriel and his newly made friends from North Africa as well as from different Spanish provinces, marvel as the horse-mounted police stroll through the plaza looking impressive while a pair of beret-clad police step out a patrol car on another corner of the plaza. Beefed up security in the plaza- with very visible ‘objects’ such as horses and berets- is also part of Plan Lavapies. We pick up our things and keep moving towards home.

We come across the Plaza Cabastreros, one of the only places in the city (and possibly the country) where a public “monument” from the era of the Second Republic remains. Most of those were destroyed soon after the end of the Civil War in 1939 by Franco’s government. Here we could still see a small neighborhood fountain that read “Republica Espanola 1931” (its still considered faux pas to talk much about the Republic, it is still officially the Kingdom of Spain). The fountain stands by the first Senegalese restaurant in town, in front of which linger a large group of Senegalese men. A couple of stores with names like “Dakar Touba Salam” surround the area. Diagonally across from the plaza, and with several decibel levels of difference between them, are a couple of Chinese wholesale stores, most of whose workers come from Guangzhou-China. We receive various cheers in Chinese as Gabriel spurts out his “ni-how” and “tzei-chen’

attempts. We continue up Meson de Paredes street. We see a group of Romanian construction workers go inside the recently opened Argentine coffee shop, complete with empanadas and alfajores. Most of the workers there are Latino and principally from Ecuador. We step in for a coffee and chat with Grace, an afro-Dominican neighbor whose son is also called Gabriel, focusing mostly on how to get public assistance with childcare. Finally in the Tirso de Molina plaza just before making the turn onto our street, we buy some fruit from the gypsy family that sells there. We have to buy it running as the mother and son cart the fruit away from the cops and the husband runs to hide the rest of the produce in their van.

3.1.2 Statistics on Recent Migratory Movements: From Emigration to Massive Immigration

This colorful story from Lavapies serves as an example of the intensity and velocity of immigration in Spain. On the nation-state scale, the data is just as impressive. For example, in Spain as a whole, within the ten-year period between 1995-2004 the total number of immigrants from foreign countries entering the country per year jumped from 19,530 in 1995 to 645,844 in 2004 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2005). As a percentage of the entire censured population, the foreign-born category has gone from about 2-3% in the mid 1990's to above 10% now⁶, from one of the lowest to one of the highest rates in the EU. In both 2006 & 2007 Spain was number 2 in the world, only after the US, in terms of the sheer number of people entering in one year (BBVA study). The numbers in Spain recently have been much higher than other countries in Europe that

⁶The estimates for 2008 suggest that foreigners account for 5.22 million people out of a total of 46.06 million.

have historically been immigrant destinations (i.e. France, Germany or the UK, See Figure 3.1) (INE 2008).⁷

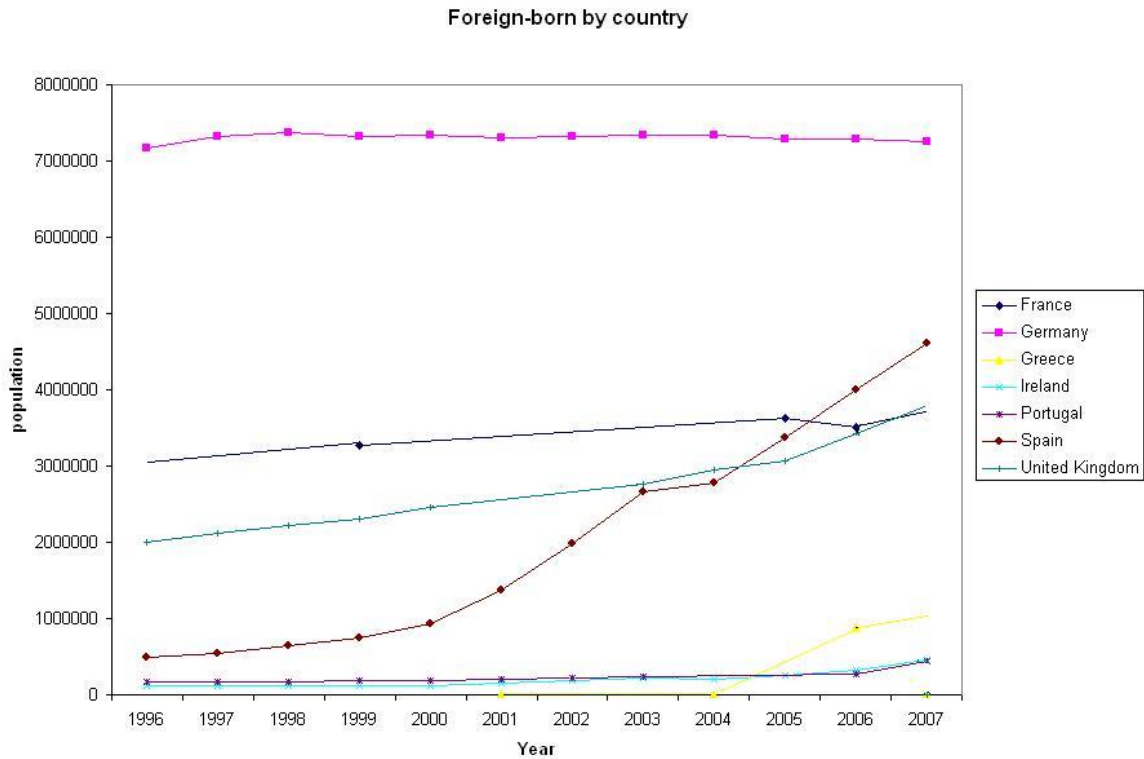


Figure 3.1: Foreign Residents in EU by country
(Source: data from INE-National Statistics Institute; graph elaborated by author)

⁷Another indicator of the intensity of this phenomenon can be gleaned from studying global remittances. Immigrant remittances from Spain to other countries totaled 6 billion 250 million euros in 2006, making Spain number 5 in the world in terms of money remitted (the USA, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland and Germany are top). In 1991, when the immigrant population was circa 1%, remittances were 119 million euros (recalculated since at the time this would have been in pesetas). By 2006, the migrant population represented 9.27%. Thus both in the measure of sheer numbers and in terms of money remitted back to a home country, an exponential rise in the significance and presence of immigration in Spain can be perceived. It should be stressed that this only reflects “official” remittances that have passed through some form of wire service (Western Union, banks, etc.) and thus the number is likely an undercount.

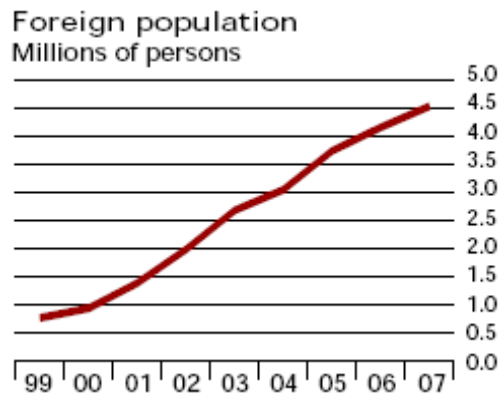


Figure 3.2: Change in Foreign Population in Spain (Source: INE-National Statistics Institute)

The growing numbers of recent immigration into Spain also speaks to another related issue: the rapid switch from emigration to massive immigration. It is significant to keep in mind, that when discussing immigration in Spain one is looking at a country that up until very recently was a net “exporter” of people. Until the 1980’s Spain was a country of emigration. Emigrants would go to work often in other better-off European countries, such as Germany and France but in addition, it was quite common in the 1960’s and 1970’s to migrate to Latin America, especially to countries such as Argentina and Brazil). The global economic crisis of the 1970’s (starting with the 1973 oil crisis) coupled with the beginnings of the democratic transition⁸ led to many Spanish workers returning or being returned to Spain. (La Caixa study 2006).⁹ During the 1980’s, immigration began slowly to be noticeable as a reality but in very concrete sectors, in

⁸The Democratic Transition in Spain runs officially from 1975, the year of the death of Franco, until 1980 when the Socialist Party wins general elections after a constitution had been approved. Alternative interpretations date the Transition as lasting until 1982, which was the year of the last military coup attempt. Interestingly for this dissertation, some social movement histories date the Transition as lasting until 1986, the year of Spain’s entrance into NATO and the EEC (European Economic Community) forerunner of the EU(Exposito 2006).

⁹Though no longer considered an emigration country, it should be noted in this discussion that “brain drain”- in particular to other European countries and to North America of young university trained citizens is currently a significant matter of concern in Spain. This has resulted in recent political mobilizations of university researchers as “becari@s precarios” (see www.precarios.org).

only a few regions, or mostly as transit migration on towards France and other countries.¹⁰ It was not until the 1990's that this began to fundamentally change, partly due to a boom in the Spanish economy marked by frenetic real estate construction.¹¹ Since then migration has multiplied exponentially every year until the past couple of years. It continues to increase though more gradually. Spain has outpaced other EU countries that have also recently changed from net exporters to net importers of population (such as Portugal, Ireland, Greece) either in sheer numbers of people, in proportion to the overall population or in rates of growth.¹²

A brief comment on remittances can give an idea of the historical and current importance of emigration in Spain. In 2006, emigrant remittances back to Spain continued to climb up to 4 billion 807 million euros. Though surpassed by remittances from immigrants to their home countries (6 billion 250 million euros), immigrant remittance have only exceeded emigrant remittance in the past three years (EFE new

¹⁰This was common for North African families, given the relative openness of the border between Spain and Morocco at that time.

¹¹The real estate sector, and in general the economic boom have now cracked due to the global economic meltdown. This has led to offers by the Spanish government for migrants to return to their home countries in exchange for pay (guaranteeing a kind of unemployment check on condition they return to their home country). In the context of the global recession, this pattern seems to be repeating in other parts of Europe, and not only the Western part. There are reports that the Czech Republic has made monetary offers for Ukrainian workers to return home, and countries such as Romania are trying to convince recent migrant from Asia (China, Bangladesh and the Philippines in particular) to return back as well. For the moment these money-for-return-migration have not resulted in mass returns. The context of the current economic crisis though does open a lot of question with regards immigration and the border regime.

¹²These three other states follow a similar pattern of all being countries of mass emigration until the 1980' and 1990's. As far as immigration is concerned, in Greece while the foreign-born population does number close to 10%, this is largely due to a spike in migration during the 1990's during the Balkan wars. Migration has not significantly increased since then (Kassimi and Kassimi 2004). In Portugal the legal foreign-born population stands at approximately 5% of the population (INE Portugal 2009). Only the case of Ireland could compare in proportion to the shifts in Spain. In Ireland the foreign-born population has shot up from 1% to 12% (as of mid-2008) in ten years. In numbers this is only around 500,000 immigrants and approximately 27% of the migrant population is British (McDonald *the Guardian* 5/04/2008). See Figure 3.1 for more detail.

agency, accessed at Terra, data from Banco de Espana). In 15-20 years Spain went from a country of emigration, to being the number two destination country for global immigration after the United States.

3.2 Complexity: Learning to Count

With regards to “counting” immigration in Spain a question arises: which migrants count as “immigrants” and for whom? Who counts as an immigrant depends on who is asked, whether a statistical agency, parliamentary political debate, or police forces for example. The confusion inherent in this question deals largely with the issue of intra-EU migration. This section addresses four different categories currently circulating to address the disparities of the migrant figure. First, it should be noted that a large number of “immigrants” to Spain are citizens of EU countries and/or of other countries that are co-signers of the Schengen treaty¹³ on mobility and shared visa regulation. As of 2008, the fourth largest nationality of foreign-born residents of Spain is British [INE press release 2008]. In some regions (especially along the Mediterranean) this migration is significant in forming enclave economies, significantly altering local language use, having affects on labor markets, public services and a host of other issues related to migration.¹⁴ This is especially true of Germans and Brits.¹⁵ Yet these migrants, hardly ever referred to as “migrants”, are rarely if ever those whose photos splatter the

¹³Schengen is the agreement that allows for free movement between many EU countries.

¹⁴These are often the issues cited by anti-immigrant groups as problematic, though they don't seem to get into a fuss about Brits as much as Bangladeshis.

¹⁵As an interesting curiosity, the largest Norwegian community outside Norway is in Spain (Haug et al 2006).

newspapers when they are covering immigration, nor are they subject to the strict controls and profiling that other ethnic groups are.

	Total foreigners	% del total
Total	4,519,554	100.0
Morocco	582,923	12.9
Romania	527,019	11.7
Ecuador	427,099	9.5
United Kingdom	314,951	7.0
Colombia	261,542	5.8
Bolivia	200,496	4.4
Germany	164,405	3.6
Argentina	141,159	3.1
Italy	135,108	3.0
Bulgaria	122,057	2.7
China	106,652	2.4
Peru	103,650	2.3
Portugal	100,616	2.2
France	100,408	2.2

Figure 3.3: Immigrants in Spain by country of origin (Source: INE-National Statistics Institute)

A second group is comprised of migrants from countries that have recently become EU members and whose migration status has altered though they are not allowed the free movement of other member states' citizens. This is the case with migrants from former Warsaw pact countries. According to the same 2008 study cited above the largest nationality of foreign-born residents of Spain is Romanian. How the changing legal status of these migrants will affect future migration patterns, or how they will be perceived by Spanish law (and Spanish police) remains to be seen. But given that EU border policy mainly targets 'extracommunitarians' this shift in status for entire national communities will likely have important results.

Yet another category of immigrants refers to the presence of EU citizens who are actually 'immigrants' from non-EU countries, especially a handful of Latin American countries. Due to citizenship laws that recognize blood-lineage, many recent migrants

from Argentina and Uruguay in particular have attempted to retain or reclaim their Spanish nationality inherited emigrant ancestors. By doing this they fall into the category of returned “emigrant”.¹⁶ This category is hard to count given the fact that no naturalization process or registering with migration authorities was required.¹⁷

The final category of immigrants is that of the ‘extracommunitarians’, nationals of non-EU countries. The debates on migration at both the Spanish and EU levels are centered around the figure of the ‘extracommunitarian’. While technically referring to any non-EU citizen, extracommunitarian is largely understood as referring to those immigrants coming from the Global South and East. It is also the category via which immigration is most linked to illegality, crime, and trafficking. While it works as a general category, it is also internally stratified: how much “extra” or outside the “community” one is can vary depending on the legislation of different member states, such as an individual state’s treatment of citizens from former colonies.

These four cases are raised to demonstrate the complexity and diversity of immigration in Spain, and by extension the EU. They are also raised to show how the

¹⁶Recent debates about what is referred to as ‘Historical Memory’ is adding an interesting layer to the question new immigration. Historical Memory is sort of a blanket term to refer to the new policies in place to deal with those unresolved questions from the period of the Civil War of the Franquist repression (especially the early period of the regime). This includes recognizing crimes of war, reparations to people especially affected, etc. With regards to migration, this refers to the recognizing of “exiled” persons and the children of the “exiled”. A recently passed law confers Spanish citizenship automatically to those who can show themselves to be exiled or the children of exiled persons: this citizenship is conferred even if those people were historically required to renounce their Spanish citizenship in the country of exile (see El Pais October 2008).

¹⁷Similar processes like this are happening in interesting ways with other nationalities. For example, a large number of Italian immigrants have recently entered the Spain. This happens largely through children of Italian migrants to the Southern Cone of Latin America attempting to migrate to the EU by reclaiming their Italian citizenship. Then the mobility conferred by the Schengen agreement allows residence in Spain. There are also cases of Latin American immigrant of Central European heritage arriving in Spain by reclaiming their Central European nationality and taking advantage of the new EU member status of many of these countries. The limited mobility of citizens of Central and Eastern Europe within Western Europe raise some interesting question about cases such as these.

‘border’, applied in different manners, creates groups and ranks peoples according to different criteria, even if they are all technically immigrants. When examining immigration in Spain itself and as an example of the EU what appears is that each type of migrant implies differentiated access to mobility and rights. A hierarchy of populations appears, a four-tiered migration and border system.¹⁸ Describing this complexity and its perceived newness are important to situate the cartographic work of the activist collectives described below.

3.2.1 *Dramas, Tragedy and Media*

Despite the complexity and diversity of immigration in Spain, immigration is visualized most often through the Southern border, the border with Africa and one of Europe’s outer borders. This border is the principal way that immigration is visualized and represented insofar as it is a nation-state wide phenomenon. Interestingly, it is precisely at this border where Spain becomes a European border. Political debates, news coverage and everyday conversations center around those who arrive in *pateras* or *cayucos*, the weak zodiacs or fishing boats used to make the journey across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spanish territory. This constant representation of the border needs to be stressed because of how it shapes the imaginaries and debates around migration in ways that may not occur in countries where the ‘outer’ border is not perceived as being so ‘close’. This European border has a strident physical presence. Twenty years ago, the different national borders of Spain -with Morocco, Portugal and France- were policed in

¹⁸Though each of these categories has a legal existence there is not an explicit official hierarchy system of the sort that existed in apartheid South Africa for example. Nonetheless it is precisely the hardening of these sorts of categorizations that has led Balibar to insist on the use of apartheid as a describer of the EU’s immigration system.

much the same way. If the borders of Spain with France and Portugal have all but disappeared, the border with Morocco has hardened significantly. The Spanish-Moroccan border is filled with physical barriers, military patrols and motion detection equipment. In those places where there are land border between the two countries¹⁹ a large double fence of six meters has been erected with Spanish and Moroccan gendarmes regularly patrolling both sides. Along waterways patrol boats, unmanned vehicles and mobile radar units are permanently monitoring the Straits of Gibraltar and the coasts of the Canary Islands. Near these border areas lay a high concentration of asylum processing centers, deportation centers and hospitality centers. There are various categories of migrant detention facilities some of which amount to little more than open-air guarded camps (Migreurop 2005)

With this perceived ‘proximity’ to Europe’s border and the intensity of the phenomenon the above data suggests, the news media in Spain are filled with stories, opinions, and items related to immigration everyday, not only those occurring in Spain but across the EU. Given the focus on the Southern border, regular news coverage focuses on some of the human tragedy while makeshift boats try to cross the Mediterranean packed overcapacity with people, mostly from Africa, though also surprisingly from South Asia. Since the tightening of the EU borders, the boat routes have become more and more convoluted in order to find ways to ‘El Dorado’. Thus the journeys become riskier and the body-count rises. Stories abound of boats adrift for days with half-dead or decomposing people by the dozens inside; storms that capsize boats with dozens of people on board, bodies and survivors found by fishing boats. One often

¹⁹These land borders are located in Ceuta and Melilla, two Spanish-held enclaves on the North African coast.

reads accounts of boats or migrants intercepted in high seas unable to dock at port or descend from a vessel. This is complicated by the jurisdictional unwillingness and confusion on the part of different states and authorities in the current context of shifting geopolitical border relations.²⁰ In addition, many politicians of the EU exploit the intensity of the issues or use it as a way to create support based on fear. Recent comments and repression attempts by Sarkozy in France have become famous Europe wide as indicative of this trend, including linking migration to the banlieue revolts of 2005 and pushing to ban all mass naturalization processes within the EU. In Spain, the question of a “lack of control” of migration figured heavily in the 2008 general elections, with debates between candidates beginning to look like a contest on who could be ‘tougher’ on migration.

These remarks by politicians accompanied by the “human drama” stories form the background for a very peculiar form of rhetoric used throughout the mass media when speaking about migration (Aierbe 2007). The adjectives used in the Spanish press for example speak of “an avalanche” or an “invasion” of the boats used for crossing the Straits of Gibraltar (*ADN* 10/27/2008; *El Pais* 08/21/2006). Attempts to cross border fences are often referred to as “assaults” on the fences (*ABC* 10/02/2008; *El Mundo* 09/29/2005). The networks used by the undocumented to cross borders are often called

²⁰In a recent example of this, a fisherman in the Mediterranean found a capsized boat with floating survivors somewhere around the coastal waters between Malta, Libya, and Italy. After space on the boat was filled, the fishing crew setup nets at surface level that could be used as flotation devices- while the crew radioed for help or found a place to dock. No country wanted the boat to dock and the issue was passed around like a hot potato. The result was people holding on to fishing nets for three days, and the fishermen were castigated for their charity and solidarity unable to dock anywhere. Another example was the case of a ship whose hull was used to transport migrants from South and Central Asia, was found by the Spanish coastal guard off the coast of Africa. The Spanish government frantically tried to convince the Mauritanian government that it’s their responsibility which Mauritania denies. Meanwhile the migrants have to stay in the hull. Finally, Spain offers a deal (including funds) to Mauritania in order to allow the boat to dock in Nouadhibou. With Mauritanian security forces under Spanish supervision, the migrants were placed in a guarded meat hangar in the port city while their ‘cases’ were dealt with.

“mafias” (whether they are organized crime networks or not), thus the Spanish security forces must ‘save’ migrants from these ‘mafias’ (*La Vanguardia* 02/05/2009; *20Minutos* 07/28/2006; Moleno 2006). When speaking of migration in general Spanish politicians quoted in the media consistently refer to it as a “problem” or often called the “crisis of migration” (Aierbe 2007). In extreme cases this framing of ‘attack’ has grown into phrasings such as the following: “Spani under siege from an army of migrants” (Driessen 1998). All of this of course makes reference to undocumented migration which is a relatively small percentage of overall migration.²¹ The ‘crisis’ then seems to refer to non-European, or specifically non-EU migration, especially in its non-legal forms belying the racialised or colonial aspects of seeing migration as a crisis.

3.3. Struggles for New Citizenship Rights

Beyond these reports of human drama, and the crisis rhetoric that surrounds it, a series of other stories around migration are emerging. Migration is clearly changing what the future of ‘Europe’ will look like: what economies will look like; how nations will define themselves; and language usage just by way of example. Here, I focus on those processes that try to redefine the question of migration as a global question of rights as opposed to a crisis, in particular different processes of struggle over migrant rights and mobility. These processes have had direct impacts on the trajectories of many social movements. Most of these struggles have emerged from one of three social sites: self-

²¹This is interesting if one takes into account that the number one region of origin for immigrants in Spain is the European Union with its current 27 members (INE 2008). It should be mentioned that the number one group of migrants in this category in terms of numbers is from Romania, which only entered the EU in 2007.

organization on the part of immigrants; solidarity with immigrant causes on the part of non-immigrants; and joint efforts between the two.

3.3.1 Self-Organization

Organization by immigrant groups in Spain and Europe has taken many forms. One of them is the case of those working outside institutional structures, without relying on non-immigrant representatives or mediators. They fall under the rubric of ‘self-organized’ action, understood here as spontaneous and self-represented appropriations of political organizing. These are important for two primary reasons. First, these self-organized struggles have been central in reframing the debate around immigration from one of crisis or avalanche towards a question of new rights and inclusion. Secondly, they have constituted points of reflection for social movements (often comprised of non-migrants) trying to engage the shifting terrains of border and immigration in the EU.²²

In terms of self-defining immigrant rights debates, for many movements the hallmark goes back to the series of church-occupations, hunger strikes, and marches by the *Sans-Papiers* in France in 1996 and 1997.²³ This moment was also a reference point

²²A note is necessary here to clarify the confusing way ‘migrant’ and ‘migrant rights’ is framed or historicized. Especially for countries with recent and strong colonial pasts, when does ‘anti-colonial’ struggle end and ‘migrant rights’ begin? Are the Camden riots an explosion of an immigrant community or a post colonial revolt? As early as the 70’s there were demands being made by North African migrant workers in France. Less than ten years before that, these demands would be construed as anti-colonial demands, and probably repressed as such. Could not the banlieues revolts of 2005 in France be construed as a continuation of the struggles against a colonial dual city in North Africa only this time displaced to the ‘metropole’? Could the emergence of heavily segregated populations in Europe, who come from former colonies, be an ‘other’ form of colonization? What does this reframing lend or take away from our understanding of current struggles. This is more than a rhetorical question; rather it is a comment on how the re-spacing of Europe may also be a re-historicizing of the continent. Some authors have claimed that its interesting to see how, as Europe unites, it appears its colonial past and post-colonial ties seem to fade (DiMauro 2007).

²³Sans papiers is the French expression to refer to those “without papers”, the “undocumented”. The main strategy was based on “occupations” of friendly Catholic parishes reclaiming access to documents, creating visibility and denouncing repression.

for movements throughout the EU as a point of inflection and departure (interview: Ferrocarril Clandestino members 05/2007). The sans-papiers struggle signaled the arrival of a new social and political actor: the immigrant. These mobilizations demonstrated the capacity of this actor to organize itself and disrupt stable notions of nationality, citizenship and rights. In Spain, 2000 and 2001 were filled with a series of actions: large marches, long hunger-strikes, long marches that crossed the country, church occupations of friendly parishes, tent cities, etc. These actions worked at shifting public debate in Spain from one centered on the ‘crisis’ of migration or the migrant as victim, to a debate on ‘migrant rights’ and access to documentation (interview: ATRAIE member 02/2007; interview: Ferrocarril Clandestino member 05/2007).

These incidences of self-organization have continued taking different forms. They have varied from information sharing networks on how to resist or delay deportation processes (Ferrocarril meeting 10-2007), to prison revolts and hunger strikes at migrant detention centers²⁴, as well as mass attempts to cross borders. I present one instance of a mass border crossing below because of the impact this incident had on social movements in re-appraising their work on immigration issues and how activist cartography could engage this trans-border practice.

In Morocco, migrants waiting to cross into Spain have developed impressive camps with complex logistical organization and regular meetings or assemblies to decide on attempts to cross. These camps also include mobile phone hacking devices in order to maintain contact between camp members, people in Spain (other migrant, migrant rights

²⁴The actions at migrant-detention centers have been central in recent years for redefining ‘where’ the border is. With these detention centers, the border is reproduced in migration camps proliferating all over and even outside Europe. These are prison-like confinements, where many legal freedoms are suspended.

activists, press), and other migrants at other points in Morocco or along the transit route towards the border. Police raids in recent years from Moroccan security forces have led to mass attempts to cross the border based out of these camps.

In October 2005, there were several simultaneous attempts by upwards of 500 people to “go over the fence” at Ceuta and Melilla.²⁵ These collective border crossings were met with intense and lethal response by Spanish and Moroccan security forces. Over a dozen migrants were killed,²⁶ and thousands more people who had been in camps in Morocco waiting for an opportunity to cross over were deported to a desert location in Southern Morocco and left there with no resources. Thanks to the work of different migrant rights’ activists in Morocco, Spain and France a series of testimonies have been collected from the tense days of the “saltos a la valla” (fence jumps). The testimonies were reconstructed from text messages, cell phone calls, interviews and other material, much of it posted on the bi-national *Indymedia Estrecho* news website. The testimonies give names and bodies to the abstract news stories of migrants crossing the border, providing one a sense of the migrants’ agency, their interconnection with other people (as opposed to an isolated “Other”) and a sense of the chaos of the border as well as the ‘war’, as is put in some of the messages, against these very migrants. The testimonies recount the moments of the migrant camps being destroyed by Moroccan police forces, and group attempts to cross into Spain. The confusion of the fence zone can be sensed from the narrative: a double fence with a no-man’s land in between, motion sensors, military police patrolling throughout on both the Spanish and Moroccan sides. Shots,

²⁵Two Spanish-held enclaves on the North African coast that form part of the EU’s southernmost border

²⁶Migreurop (2006). *Guerre aux Migrants: le Livre Noir de Ceuta et Melilla*. (p. 93). See www.migreurop.org/IMG/pdf/livre-noir-ceuta.pdf

beatings or the rounding up groups of people puncture the different messages. A few are reproduced here from a couple of individuals' experiences during those days to give a feel of some of those moments:

We arrived to the fence. I cut myself with the debris of barbed wire on the path. We are 52 now. We split into three groups to make the jump. We said farewell. Now its time. I see Sali, he smiles and points to the other side with his chin. A phone call when we are there. We will see each other over 'there'. Guards in two trucks have seen us. The guards get out from the trucks. They shoot at us with rubber-bullets. They sound like canon shots. More cars and jeeps arrive. I was the first to jump the fence and tried bringing the ladder with me. They are coming fast and their steps are louder and louder. ... We jump the second fence. Everyone. It's no longer silent.

The ladder holds well. I see that Sam and Adama are bleeding. We look at both sides of the fence before we run. We are six people. Where are Nipa and Nam? The cloud of dust descends. There are two bodies in the [mark]. I close my eyes to open them again and I see they're alive. We fetch them. They are vomiting blood. Nam was hit in the chest from a pair of meters. Nipa doesn't speak but Arianne was besides her when the rubber-bullet hit her belly.

They're coming now, with their rifles in their hands. They encircle us. We see them but they can't see us. Nipa and Nam continue vomiting blood... Electric charges... I see that Nam is no longer moving... At least they stopped [beating] us. They start to lift us from the "mark": "Get up! Listen to me! C'mon Blackie! Get up!" They pull them along. Nipa's eyes are still open and she looks at me. Nam's body is still, inert. They take us down, they've opened the small door. Again, the small door. We're outside the fence again. We hear the Moroccans steps and we run, fast, we run, we run. We hide in the night.²⁷

...We are going to ask for support in the city. [Make] phone calls to confirm what happened and tell the rest of the world. We need to be seen and heard. The dead are not invisible. Everything is speeding up. Europe? Democracy defending itself with shots in the night.

...The Moroccan army comes into the camp. We hide in the woods but they take many of us but we don't know how many. [...] The choppers are still flying over the zone [...]. The army...took away food and blankets. They took everything

²⁷The small door mentioned here refers to a door in the double fence area used to immediately repatriate migrants. It is used for those caught in the no man's land of the fence area and requires no deportation procedures. Nipa and Nam mentioned here both end up dying from the wounds. The exact number of fatalities in those days is hard to measure given that some die in Spanish territory some in Moroccan; some bodies are picked up by the different security forces of each country and others by migrants to be buried at different camps.

away. They burned the tents. They worked the whole night. They worked in shifts. [...] We must gather again. We must jump. We will try again.

Despite the lethal response of security forces, mass crossings at this EU-North African border have continued to occur.²⁸

3.3.2. *Solidarity*

In addition to these forms of self-organization on the part of immigrant, there have been many solidarity movements that have emerged in EU countries composed mostly of non-immigrant members. These efforts have often focused on trying to reframe the ‘Europe’ under construction as a ‘Fortress Europe’. Fortress Europe refers to “the idea that just as the internal [European] community is strengthened, so outsiders are increasingly viewed as hostile invaders, who must be excluded through physical defense” (McNeill 2004: 146). These solidarity efforts can be of a very diverse nature but two in particular are salient due to how they have affected activist and larger public imaginaries of immigrant rights, thus helping to frame future mobilizing. One has been the strategy of the *No-Border camp*.²⁹ This consists in setting up protest camps at EU border areas, near EU summits or at important points in the EU migration policing system.³⁰ These have served to map the EU border through a “cartography of the feet” (Holmes 2004) via the large presence of activists and actions.³¹

²⁸In the summer of 2006 more than 200 people attempted to jump the fence at one time, despite the fact that its height had been doubled since the last mass attempt, several people perishing in the attempt. In July 2008, taking advantage of the final championship soccer matches of the European Nations Cup (where Spain won), other mass attempts were made to cross the fence, resulting in approximately 80 arrests and reports of gunfire to repel the migrants (*Diagonal* July 10-23, 2008).

²⁹See www.noborder.org

³⁰These include institutions such as at the headquarters for SIS (the Schengen Information System).

A second solidarity effort has been the “Kein Mensch ist Illegal” or “No Human Being is Illegal” campaign. Begun by artist/activist groups in Germany this campaign has tried to refocus discussion around migration by destabilizing the focus on ‘legality’. “Kein Mensch ist Illegal” emphasizes that a human being in and of themselves cannot be “an illegal”, thus defusing the vocabulary of ‘illegals’, ‘illegal alien’, etc. This simple phrase and a series of actions and public art projects around it have traveled around Europe and even to the US (Homann 2002).

3.3.3 Joint Efforts and the new ‘Underground Railroad’.

While self-organization and solidarity organizing continue to occur, recent initiatives try to construct joint-efforts between the two forms that might more effectively struggle over rights to mobility, asylum and residency. One recent example in Spain is the *Ferrocarril Clandestino*³² (or Underground Railroad, making reference to the historic group in the US), whose goals are cooperative campaigning and actions to win concrete goals (like the release or naturalization of some migrants). The Ferrocarril grew out of the *Caravana a la Valla* (the Caravan to the Fence) of 2005, a Spanish and European effort that traveled across the Spain and towards the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla just after the mass attempt by migrants to cross in the fall of 2005.

The Ferrocarril serves as an infopoint for migrants, through publishing guides for migrants, and holding office hours in Madrid. In this way it serves as a navigation tool for

³¹The first No Border camp took place at the EU summit in Tampere, Finland in 1998, only one year after the important ‘sans-papiers’ movements in France. That EU summit is considered key both by EU legislators as well as by migrants’ rights activists because the figure of the “extra-communitarian” was to a large degree ‘defined’. The Tampere summit is still referred to in the design of common EU positions or policies regarding migration.

³²See www.transfronterizo.net

migrants in their new environment. It also acts as a mechanism to politicize and mobilize small groups of migrants who are facing detention or deportation. The focus on coordinating solidarity and self-organization has led to campaigns that include a simultaneous hunger strike inside a detention center, while a picket with media attention took place outside the center; or simultaneous breakouts from asylum processing centers near the border timed with occupations of migration authority offices and legal mobilizing. These combinations, focused on concrete cases have already won several cases of asylum and release from detention centers.

From these stories of struggles a narrative of growth in political analysis and alliances can be observed. From the self-organized seizure of rights a political subject appears rather than a criminal or a victim. Efforts of solidarity have denounced the exclusionary practices of a new Europe by focusing on its Fortress-like aspects and its questionable use of legality. More recent joint efforts have signaled not only potentially powerful political coalition practices but also the slow but steady intermeshing of struggles and strategies as I argue in chapter 4.

3.4. A Genealogy of the Border: Fortifying the West?

After discussing the intensity, complexity and struggle that currently exists with regards to immigration and borders in Spain and the EU, several questions arise for this dissertation: how did the dramatic stories mentioned above come about; where did this border come from; how exactly is the border transforming and how are immigration laws changing in the context of European integration? I provide an introduction to the history of the European and the Spanish border as well as migration legislation here. The

question of migration -dealing with it, harnessing it, controlling it, repressing it when necessary- is a matter of hot debate in the EU, both at the level of the member states and in particular at the EU level. The European Union is building a common supranational border based on high-technology surveillance, a strong military presence and the increasing imprisonment of asylum seekers (Chalmers Diagonal 7/10-7/23/2008). A sort of global gated community is forming, marked not only by fences, but by the deaths of thousands of people trying to cross over into the EU. According to the protagonists of this drama, there is “a war at the borders”³³, at the limits of *Fortress Europe*.

3.4.1 Theorizing the EU Border:

Bigo, an analyst of recent European border policy made the following general comment about his research object:

The [border] is never ‘natural’ or a matter of physical geography. It is always a political process- an institution defining difference with the outside world and attempting, by influencing mentalities, to homogenize the diverse population inside the [border]. It is therefore a political ‘technology’ which records the balance of power at a particular time in space (1998: 149)

While this understanding of borders as a political process or construction is well accepted in Human Geography, in the case of the European Border researchers are able to witness a ‘border in the making’ almost from scratch. It should be recalled that less than 30 years ago it was just as easy to cross from Morocco to Spain as it was to cross from Spain into France. The idea of a common interstate border is then a radical break with a sovereign-territorial-nation-state past. The ongoing formation of the European border, if nothing else, allows one to witness and understand the continuously constructed and political

³³“Fronteras Internas y Externas”, *Apuntes de Contrapoder* (March 2006)

character of borders. The intricate negotiations among different member-states, EU agencies and contradicting legal systems also show the chaotic multiplicity of the process of border making. There is no single agency or legislation able to articulate the whole border regime. Thus not only is the border constructed but it is often constructed just as often through *ad hoc*, haphazard means, as through strategic, long-term plans. The history of the European border outlined below provides a sense of this complex multiplicity of agents, although I focus on some of the predominant agencies and institutions for the sake of clarity.

While investigating the genealogy of this particular border formation a double realization arises. As McNeill (2004) has pointed out, the construction of a Europe of mobility, via the erasure of internal borders among some member states, runs parallel to the emergence of supra-state and unified European border.³⁴ The formation of a borderless Europe where European students, workers, tourists, as well as trains and cell phones, can travel freely is simultaneous to a *fortress* Europe for those outsiders without appropriate visas. In fact, in some cases, the same institutions and laws are used for both facilitating mobility and increasing control. This is the case of the Schengen agreement, that facilitated the movement of European citizens within the EU and establishes mechanisms of control for non-Europeans both at the border and within EU territory.

At this point one of Balibar's arguments becomes pertinent again. The relationship between territory, sovereignty and border is currently under transformation. In this case, the border no longer marks the end of a sovereign's territory, but is *fractalized* as a mechanism of control both within and without. The European border

³⁴This is similar to the formation of historic nation-states and their borders where communication within the state, and especially with its center, was facilitated while movement beyond or through its borders was restricted.

under formation is on the one hand, externalized far outside of the EU, pushing outward beyond EU limits to non European member states which carry out migration policing duties. On the other hand, the European border is deepening at the heart of the very same European territory, via migrant-detention centers and coordinated inter-state visa regulations (Walters 2002). The following section identifies the main actors, agreements and technologies of this particular border arrangement.

3.4.2 A European process

When precisely the construction of a ‘common EU border’ became part of the idea of a united Europe is difficult to say. Nonetheless, a useful moment to tag as the technical and legal starting point of a common border, including freer movement within and a tightening of external borders would be the signing of the Schengen Agreement in 1985.

The creation of ‘Schengenland’ is an explicit shift away from borders as being at the margins of national territory, towards one where they are *central* to the construction of a European identity. And in adopting this geographical perspective, there is a very clear shift away from the orthodoxy of international relations (IR), which tends to assume that the state is an unproblematic starting point of research [...]Schengen rested on two pillars: first, it creates the foundations for a common European security policy, directed primarily against organized crime, drug and people trafficking, and illegal migration; second, it eased the basic principle behind the Single European Market that people, as well as goods and services, be supra-national. As in the neo-liberal ideology that underpinned the single market’s operation, so it was felt that labour had to flow to areas of demand, and abolishing borders was seen as central to this (McNeill 2004: 147 emphasis original)

Schengen can be taken then as a point of departure for the construction of a bounded Europe and a point after which an analysis of the border must include other processes not limited to the actions of member nation-states. With Schengen comes the Schengen Information System, a common database on individuals throughout the EU and the initial

stages of cross-EU police cooperation, the first pillar mentioned above by McNeill.³⁵ Schengen needs to be understood more as a process than an agreement with a clear start date. Even if signed in 1985, it was not until the mid 1990's that the circulation of 'people' began to really noticeably change. The sight of abandoned customs posts in between Schengen members' borders is the most graphic example of this on the landscape.

The Schengen Process

While this agreement provides the legal framework for the "borderless Europe" when crossing from Spain to France to Germany, it 'hides' all the displaced controlling of the border that occurs at the 'edge' of the EU and within the EU through police files and interstate cooperation. Thus while providing the building blocks of a unified labor market as McNeill (2004: 147) suggests it puts additional pressure on those significant elements of the European labor market that do not hold passports of Schengen member states. The Schengen Agreement, includes EU members and non-members, and is slowly being extended to new member states from Central and Eastern Europe via EU accession criteria known as *acquis*.³⁶ While the agreement facilitates the travel of people and goods within and among those countries, it also increases external border security and police cooperation. Although Schengen allows for much freer movement for those whose documents are in order, it implies a hardening of the borders for those 'outside' Europe or for those who have run afoul of the SIS. The Schengen Agreement has created a kind of *cordon sanitaire* through common migratory policies and border security technologies.

³⁵See www.schengen-jsa.dataprotection.org/, the Joint Supervisory Authority of Schengen.

³⁶*Acquis* is the term used to refer to the regulatory and legal reforms a country must implement to be 'in line' with the EU and its admissions requirements.

Though it ‘abolished’ internal borders between many European countries, if one tracks migrant deaths in recent years the vast majority take place at the outer borders of the Schengen area.³⁷

The creation of this sort of ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ space is in fact a pre-requisite for admissions to the EU. In the case of Spain a ‘Foreigners’ Law’ was passed in 1985, one year before entering the EU. This was first such law in Spanish history. It formed part of Spain’s EU *acquis* and the text of the law seemed to refer to a reality other than Spain’s (perhaps a portent of the future). Up until that law “Moroccans and Africans in general could go back and forth from Spain to the north of Morocco, in a relatively easy way; there were few problems apart from the economic ones, such as the cost of the [roundtrip] ferry from Tangier, Ceuta, Alhucemas, Nador or Melilla to Algeciras, Tarifa, Malaga or Almeria” (de Lama 2004: 201). It was only after the law that the phenomena of the *cayucos* and *pateras* (the boats used to illegally cross the border) began.

Schengen has been a spatially uneven process. For example not all EU members are signatories of Schengen, the UK and Denmark in particular, though the tendency now

³⁷Le Monde Diplomatique: *Death by the Thousands at the Doors of Europe*. Two members of the cartographic team of this French monthly publication, Olivier Clochard and Philippe Rekacewicz, created a striking map which uses color-coded concentric circles to show the number and causes of migrant deaths in the EU from 1993 to 2006. The densest area of circles coincides with a red line that represents the boundaries of the Schengen Agreement. Though the circles proliferate within the inner territories of the European Union as well, demonstrating how the impacts of the border expand beyond the political demarcations a nation-state or region. The map’s circles within the EU represent internment camps, work accidents in unsafe and unregulated conditions, police repression of migrants or racist attacks. Thus the insecurity and precarity of crossing the border follow one as they move within the new host country as well. The numbers speak to an increasingly lethal system of control: the map represents 7,000 (reported) deaths from 1993-2006, 3,000 of these from the last three years alone. Le Monde Diplomatique’s map visualizes widely-available data in a new way that powerfully evokes the level of urgency around border issues. As the outer “border” of the EU is ‘strengthened’ the effect of creating a ‘ring’ of deadly routes around Europe multiplies. This map produced in 2006 in fact represents a friendlier vision of the outer limits of Schengenland. The development of FRONTEX, multinational patrols, and better surveillance equipment has led to rather drastic situations. For example, known migrant deaths in attempts to cross into the EU for August 2008 numbered around 280, the vast majority in the attempt to cross into Schengen space (see “Fortress Europe” <http://fortresseurope.blogspot.com/2006/01/august-2008.html>).

is towards increasing cooperation between EU member states with regards to migration. Some non-EU members are also a part of the Schengen space such as Norway and Iceland. Since the signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997, all new candidate countries for EU membership must comply with *Schengen acquis*. This would include new Central and Eastern European countries. Ironically, in the case of these newer members of the EU while they must be implementing border control and homologated visa controls on non-EU citizens even before their official entry into the EU, their own citizens are not allowed the free-movement conferred upon other Schengen members for at least a period of several years after their entry date into the EU.³⁸

The Budapest process

Following the beginning of the *Schengen process*, and developing parallel to it, was the *Budapest process*. The Budapest process can be understood in simple terms as the pushing of the outer border formed by Schengen toward the East and South. Starting in 1991, this was the beginning of inter-governmental cooperation between EU countries and former Warsaw Pact countries on matters of migration, visas, asylum and in general the movement of people.³⁹ This process initiated the creation of the “International Border Police Conference” which included information sharing on topics such as document forgery. The Budapest process shows the flexibility of European border construction by being inclusive of non EU members or candidates. In many ways, it is a first example of the ‘externalization’ of the EU border regime. The principal agency or centre to come

³⁸Since this initial period has not passed since the first large accession toward the East (2004), its unclear what the results may be in terms of ‘visas for Poles’ for example.

³⁹The context of the fall of the Berlin wall and the wars in the former Yugoslavia can help to situate the discussions. There was a high degree of concern over large numbers of potential and actual refugees or migrants from the East, and especially the Balkans.

out of that process still exists: the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), still producing extensive work on what they term “migration management”. The current work of the ICMPD is the “Re-direction of the Budapest Process to the CIS region” including Central Asia and the Caucasus. The ICMPD has also helped facilitate the Dialogue on Mediterranean Transit Migration (or MTM dialogue). The MTM dialogue includes all EU members, some non-EU European countries, and almost all the states of the Mediterranean basin (minus Israel and the Palestinian authority) (ICMPD 2008; *MigMap* 2006). The project is focused on monitoring migrant streams from and through the Mediterranean and generating cooperation between regional police and military forces.

The Schengen process and the Budapest process signal how the current border regime has come into being and how it is currently developing. The fact that they are multi-year processes helps to track the trends and developments in the story of this border. However, there are many other singular instances -such as conferences, laws, negotiations, studies- that have contributed to this common border construction as well.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Though a thorough treatment of these instances would require a work of considerable length it is worthwhile mentioning several of these due to their importance in border and migration policy as well as indicators of how haphazard and piecemeal the process has been:

- the IGC, or Inter-Governmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugee and Migration Policies in Europe, North America and Australia. Essentially a type of ‘think-tank’ started in 1985. Initially this included the participation of the UNHCR and the IOM. The IGC is partly responsible for the creation of the ICMPD. One of the first places to publicly call for a ‘Europeanization’ of the border and strict interpretations of asylum law. Their rigidity and anti-refugee attitude lead to UNHCR leaving the Consultations process.
- EUROPOL. Founded in 1995, this is the EU’s version of Interpol. Part of its work included combating ‘human trafficking’.
- SCIFA- Strategic Committee on Immigration Frontiers and Asylum, started in 1998. A committee made up of officials from EU countries- to coordinate different work related to migration and border policy and to developed common points amongst countries.
- Different strategy papers designed by individual countries that becomes the basis for debate at the EU level, such as the UK paper and proposal by Tony Blair to set up- detention and asylum processing centers near “countries of origin” in order to manage flows (again, see footnote 12)
- Changes in national policy or law that then become benchmarks for the EU as a whole. For example the fundamental shift in German Border policing strategies that reconceived of the border as a “zone”

This strengthening of the ‘outer border’ does not consist only in more heavily policed external borders and coordination between national police forces. It also includes the development of pan-European border policies through agencies such as FRONTEX⁴¹, and the spread of prisons and holding centers for migrants strewn throughout the EU and beyond. Border and migration policy has been one of the biggest questions with regards to the political construction of the EU, and has intensified exponentially in recent years.

Frontex: the Exterior Border

The creation of FRONTEX is exemplary of a tendency to make border patrolling an international military operation. FRONTEX, currently based in Warsaw, is the pan-European Union agency for the management and coordination of the EU’s external borders. The actual personnel working for FRONTEX is not large, since most of the actual “policing” work still falls under the responsibility of the member states. The work of FRONTEX is to help coordinate the activities and information of different member states and other participants in border patrolling. Additionally, and perhaps more

and not a line. The Policing techniques shift in accordance and allow 30 km penetration into the “zone” as well as hot pursuit along certain traffic routes. This becomes the general EU understanding of “border”.

- Bilateral agreements that also become models for general EU policy vis-à-vis a region or country. The agreement between Italy and Libya requesting Libya to take a more active role in controlling migrant flows transiting through the country was seen as a something of a model and has extended as a practice.
- Emergency Action plans- such as those to deal with refugees from Iraq and Turkey, mostly Kurds in the mid-90’s. These include coordinated police and military responses (such as rapid detention and deportation) and the request for Turkey to build detention centers.
- Key EU summits where strategies and proposals have been debated and adopted. The Tampere summit in Finland, 1998 is seen as one of the key summits where increasing rights were guaranteed for EU citizens and the goals for hardening the borders and making stricter interpretation of asylum laws were set. It is here that the legal distinction between ‘extracommunitarian’ and ‘European’ is given flesh. ‘Common asylum policies across the EU’ were also called for at this summit within this broader framework of interpretation.

⁴¹www.frontex.europa.eu

importantly, is the work of FRONTEX in coordination with other research centers, or negotiating bodies, to develop studies or policy initiatives involved in expanding ‘border management’ both geographically and in terms of the tools available to border control. The ultimate goal of FRONTEX is the implementation of the “EU Integrated Border Management System” (FRONTEX mission statement). FRONTEX is a step in the realization of a Common European Border, Common asylum and visa procedures and the centralization of common databases on migrants (including forged document information, fingerprints, and more).

FRONTEX manifests fundamental shifts in the way the EU and its member states spatially understand “border”. Firstly is the understanding of the border as a “region” or “area” and not a “line” (FRONTEXwatch 2008a; FRONTEXwatch 2008b).⁴² This new understanding calls for a series of shifts in the kind of patrolling required, the definition of an area of operations, and even raises questions of legal sovereignty. Secondly is the pushing of the external border towards countries outside of the EU. The joint efforts coordinated by FRONTEX, which include marine and terrestrial patrolling and sharing of technology (unmanned vehicles, motion detectors, satellite monitoring, interception of communication) are not only taking place amongst EU member states. Increasingly there is more and more cooperation with military forces on the southern rim of the Mediterranean or on the Eastern border of the EU.⁴³

⁴²This can be originally traced to strategy shifts in the tactics of the German Federal Border Police that began to redefine borders as areas not lines, including main arteries of transit, whether at the border or not. (MigMap 2006) These spatial strategy shifts have extended to the EU as a whole.

⁴³Often times these efforts are tied either to investment packages from the EU or linked to broader integration initiatives such as the EUROMED project with the creation of cross-Mediterranean trade and travel infrastructure as well as the implementation of the EMFTA (EuroMediterranean Free Trade Area) (EUROMED 2009). They are also linked to the creation of military cooperation packages (the 5+5 initiative: Spain, Portugal, France, Italy and Greece + Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt and Libya) and the creation of the EDA European Defense Agency (FRONTEXwatch 2008a).

“Migrant Holding Centers”

With the spread of detention centers, asylum processing centers, and “hospitality” centers, the spaces of exclusion created via the hardening of an ‘outer edge’ of Europe is reproduced both within *and* beyond Europe’s borders. These spaces have become key sites of enforcing a new border regime that cracks down on ‘extracommunitarians’, segregating them in prison like spaces with unique and unclear legal regulation. These centers are spreading throughout the territories of the EU *as well as* in countries of transit. They have different names in different countries, ‘Internment Center for Foreigners’, ‘Center for Temporary Residence’, ‘Foreign Travel Center’ (*Migreurop 2005*). Immigrants are placed in these centers for the “administrative infraction” of not having papers. Since this is not legally ‘criminal behavior’, a parallel detention and prison system has been created for migrants. The ubiquity of these centers and the tense legal space they inhabit, lend another level of complexity to understanding where the ‘border’ begins or ends. These centers can exist near the national borders and airports of EU member states, deep within those same countries, in states requesting accession to the EU, in non-accession transit countries that share land or sea borders with the EU, and increasingly there are proposals for detention centers to be created in ‘source regions’ of migration (*No Lager 2005*).⁴⁴

⁴⁴Current proposals call for the construction of Regional Protection Areas (RPAs), asylum-processing centers in “refugee-producing areas.” For example, asylum seekers throughout Africa would file their cases in Cameroon, in Central Africa. Any African migrant that does not first go to Cameroon could be deported there whether or not it is their country of origin— keeping migrants at arms length from European soil. The RPAs reduce costs since it is much cheaper to imprison and process migrants in Cameroon than in Holland, for example. For more information, see Nsoh, Christopher Ndikum 2005: “European Union Camps System: Transit Processing Centers (TPCs) and Regional Protection Areas (RPAs)” at www.nolager.org/more/display.php?id=13.

The history of the European process of border construction and the main actors of this emergent border regime such as Schengen, FRONTEX, and migrant detention centers help to map out this new spatialization of Europe.

3.4.3 Back to Spain

As is the case for the EU as a whole, the development of the modern border has been a recent phenomenon. Spain's first foreigner's law does not appear until 1985. The border with Morocco was, relatively speaking, much more open. There was nothing similar to the phenomenon of mass numbers of boats crossing the straits, capsizing in the attempt, or other such dramas. The history of migration legislation in Spain is very short, and has progressed only haphazardly in response to the phenomenon of mass immigration and EU directives. After the law of 1985, as migration became an increasing reality in the mid 1990's and as the process of the 'Europeanization' of migration and border policy advanced, serious changes were proposed and initiated in 1996. Yet it took until 2000 for the next *Ley de Extranjeria* (Foreigners' Law or Law on Being Foreign). Considered an abusive law by many actors, its passing sparked the large and widespread sit-ins, fasts and marches that are now seen as the public beginning of the migrant rights movement in Spain. Minor changes were made in 2003 and 2004 and debates about reforms to the law are constant, given the very rapid changes in migration patterns toward Spain, the rapid changes in Spanish demographics, and the continuing EU developments in border policy.

Mass Arrests

A new EU Directive on Migration, signed in summer of 2008, establishes common detention and deportation practices across the EU. The directive on the one hand establishes limits to the amount of time a migrant can be detained but on the other hand signifies an attempt to crack down on undocumented residents of the EU. While the current Spanish government has declared it will not follow the strictest interpretations of the new EU Directive on Migration, its euro-parliamentarians from the majority parties voted for it in the European Parliament. Additionally, though the Directive had supposedly not yet been applied, the legal ambience in Spain had already soured considerably in the first half of 2008. Mass detentions of migrants were occurring with increasing frequency and brutality. These have included police sweeps of entire cities as happened in Torre Pacheco during June 2008. Security forces descended on the city of 29,000 setting up checkpoints and blocking movement. 1,000 people out of the 6,000 known immigrant inhabitants of the city were detained or arrested (*EFE news agency* 7/04/2008; *El Pais* 6/29/2008). Another example of this tenses ambience is the Ciudad Lineal neighborhood of Madrid. Police had been given a strange incentive system that rewarded police by virtue of the number of detentions and arrests of migrants. In just that neighborhood, 600 immigrants had been detained or arrested over a period of six months. The intense profiling practices led to stakeouts and ambushes of places such as the Bolivian embassy. Even the police union denounced the program (Sanchez 7/24-9/03/2008).

“Plan de Accion para el Africa Subsahariana” or “Plan Africa”: cooperation or recolonization?

Spurred on by the migration “crisis”, and in particular recent pressures on the Canary Islands as a landing point for migrant boats (*El Mundo* 5/19/2006; Romero 2006a), the drafts for *Plan Africa* were finished and released in 2006. It is a comprehensive plan reframing Spain-Africa relations, but within a larger EU framework. Demonstrating an interesting scalar imaginary the regional president of the Canary Islands stated “this [crisis] is not only a problem for the islands but for all of Spain and all of Europe” (*El Mundo*...elsewhere), and the vice president of the government of Spain stated in 2006 that “those migrants who enter Spain, enter Europe, therefore this is a topic to be dealt with by Europe as a whole”. *Plan Africa* positions Spain in a key point for EU-Africa relations and many of the policy prescriptions outlined in *Plan Africa* fit in quite well with the overall EU-Africa strategy (specifically the ‘European Union Strategy towards Africa’) (Romero 2006b). As the Secretary of State for Foreign Relations Bernardino Leon said, one of the goals of the Plan is to “serve as a bridgehead for the European Union” (*Europa Press* 5/22/2006). The plan details seven areas of intervention, including cultural and diplomatic though the most details are contained in the sections dealing with migration management and to a lesser degree commercial links and/or cooperation. In migration terms it includes strengthening joint patrolling initiatives and the role of African security forces in stopping migrants as well as a flurry of bilateral agreements allowing for the immediate or rapid deportation of migrants back to countries of transit as well as origin.⁴⁵

⁴⁵This plan stipulates the opening of diplomatic relations with several new countries and the creation of development packages which can favor the entrance of Spanish corporations in to Africa. Special mention is made of the Gulf of Guinea and the interests of Spanish energy companies (due to oil in the Gulf) as well as development loans that require the receiving country to spend part of the money from the loan on contracting Spanish companies (FAD credits), investor protection rules and international arbitrations (APPRI in Spanish) and other such goodies (Romero p. 5). These requirements can be read in line with the

Some early results of this framework of policy towards Africa, and the general extension outward of the fortifying of the border, has been the creation of the first Spanish military bases outside Spanish territory since the final decolonization of the Southwestern Sahara in 1975, and Sidi Ifni (Morocco) in 1969. Specifically, two (known) bases have been opened in Cabo Verde and Nouadhibou (Mauritania) containing observation planes, personnel, patrol boats and monitoring equipment. While small, they point to a radically new direction in Spanish and European foreign policy.

SIVE, el Sistema Integral de Vigilancia Exterior: “a Technological Iron Curtain”

The *SIVE* system is the technological cornerstone of Spain’s border policies. The SIVE acronym stands for Integrated System of Exterior Vigilance. It has become a show piece of border control for the Spanish government, the Civil Guard (the gendarme force that uses it) and the corporations that produce it. The SIVE is currently being exported from Southern Spain to other areas of the European border. It consists of a combination of radar, video, infrared, satellite monitoring with real-time communications, centralization of all info gathered in the ‘field of operations’ and other mechanisms to monitor movements and coordinate interceptions. SIVE can be understood as a form of ‘real-time’ mapping of the border since it not only monitors but can also synthesize information from a vast area and respond instantly to what is happening ‘on the ground’. Some quotes from bodies related to its implementation, or analysis helps to develop a keener sense of what it is and implies:

recent negotiations at the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon 2007, and the proposed EU-Africa FTA. Negotiations failed due to joint efforts by African negotiating teams.

- “SIVE is used in Spain with the goal of gaining more control over the Southern Border of the country, controlling illegal immigration and drug trafficking,” (Guardia Civil website)
- “The Integrated System of Exterior Vigilance is a technological and military/police operative for the ‘armoring’ of the coast” (Machado, *Diagonal* 25 2004)
- “...The SIVE is a technological iron curtain, formed by radars and video & infrared cameras capable of detecting the zodiacs [or migrant transit boats] in real time,” (Rodríguez, *El País* 2005)

The success of the SIVE in intercepting migrants, and its spectacularity, has led to a boom for some Spanish R+D companies, in particular Amper and the arms dealer Indra⁴⁶, designers of the system in its entirety. The results of the system on the Spanish southern border have led to a new generation of SIVE being developed and its expansion to others countries: Morocco, to control the Algerian border; Estonia, as a new EU member state and bordering a non-EU member; and Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) that has agreed to clamp down on the border as a way to receive more aid from the EU (de Soto 2006: 116-117)

The extension of SIVE from some parts of the Andalusian coast, to the entire Spanish Mediterranean, and finally to the borders of the Canary Islands has resulted in the extension of the boat routes used by migrants to extremely dangerous levels such that more than ten days may be required to reach land in tiny overcrowded fishing boats. It has been referred to as “an immaterial border” by activists. While SIVE does not imply

⁴⁶Interestingly, Indra (which has the largest contracts with the US armed forces of any non-US company) not only specializes in this sort of border control technology but also in electronic national ID cards (el DNI electrónico) and electronic vote counting (in the US for example). As if the company has moved from the arms industry to the 'methods of population control' industry (or the “biopolitics” industry?) (de Soto 2006: 117).

new fences, trenches, minefields or customs posts, it has had an incredible ‘hardening’ effect. (de Soto 2006:118)

3.5 Remarks at the Border

The border is not only ‘hardening’ but in fact beginning to multiply and fractalize both ‘within’ and ‘outside’ the razor wire fences. This challenges ideas of the border as a geographical edge of a nation-state, where the color changes on a school map. Furthermore the logic of this border goes beyond physical check-points to permeate labor, institutional, family and other relationships. As many activists are now discussing, the population is increasingly stratified according to “internal borders”⁴⁷ that create divisions between EU *citizens* and *extra-communitarians* as well as within each of these categories. This separation is marked by racialized overtones used to justify the increasingly aggressive border regime. The solidification of this new regime of governance seems to be inaugurating the division that Balibar described between an emergent “European citizenship” and “a new European apartheid” (Balibar 2004).

This is the context within which the activist process of *Fadai’at* engages the border and immigrant rights. The context is a shifting and multi-layered one. The scale of the nation-state is superimposed with a European scale of the border. A country of emigration shifts in a twenty year period to a country of mass immigration, second

⁴⁷See Marta Malo (2006). “Prefacio” in *Fronteras Interiores y Exteriores* special issue of *Apuntes de Contrapoder*, especially: “The proliferation of borders the reiteration of the experience of the border, the ubiquity of border spaces, intensifies the production of interior borders, or better yet we should say interiorized. Us and them: a line of demarcation of belonging” (2006:9, author’s translation). It is difficult to say whether the proliferation of these internal borders is actually different from the processes of ethnic and racial stratification that have occurred in many immigrant receiving countries (i.e. the USA, Argentina, Australia, among others). What does seem to be novel is the context within which the stratification is occurring. It is a context of intense inter-state integration, such that the categories are not only marked by nationality and race but also by inclusion in the suprastate entity. Whether this is merely a scalar addition to the hierarchy or something qualitatively different remains to be researched.

highest in the world in the number of immigrants entering per year for 2006 and 2007. The Southern border transformed from a series of checkpoints to militarized border fences and “technological iron curtains” while the borders with France and Portugal disappear. A series of diverse struggles have emerged around the rights to mobility and challenges to ideas of national rights. All these transformations demand a great deal of attention on the part of the movements involved in the cartographies of the border. As the next chapter suggests, the results take us far beyond the notion of the border as a line and towards reconfigurations of cross-border organizing.

Chapter 4

The Straits: Re-articulating the Border of Africa and Europe

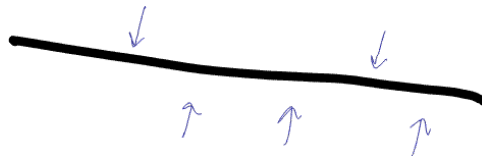
The Straits of Gibraltar as a mirror-territory of contemporary transformations: globalization, migrations, borders, citizenship, network-society, communication, vigilance technologies... (Fadai'at 2006)

Introduction

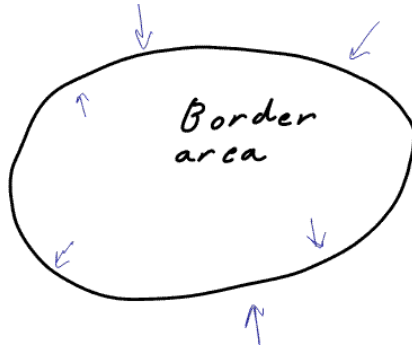
The European border has been the object of cartographic rendering by many activist groups.¹ Among those, one of the more significant projects, based in Andalusia (Spain), zooms in the controversial region of the Straits of Gibraltar for being a cornerstone of migrant transit and an avant-garde of border vigilance. This chapter engages the activist project of *Fadai'at* as challenging the scriptings of the border and migration regime described in chapter three. In particular, it focuses on the ways in which the initiative of *Fadai'at* deconstructs the notion of the border as a line or as an uninhabitable place. Through these re-mappings the line of the border morphs and remorphs into a more complex form, responding to the formation of the EU border regime and the struggles against it. These changing understandings of the border can be represented as follows (the following figures constitute figures 4.1-4.4):

1. The border as a line

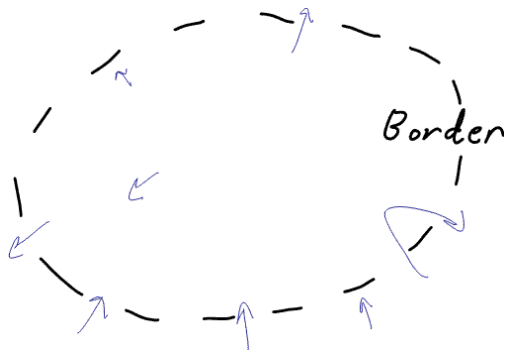
¹For a recapitulation of activist cartographies of the European border regime see Cobarrubias and Casas' piece on Atlas of Radical Cartography (2007).



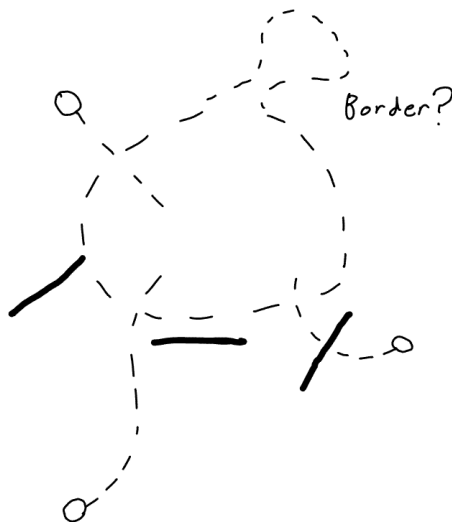
2. The border as a region



3. The border as a porous region



4. The border?



Conceptual Mutations of the Border

From a line as a non-place or even a no-man's-land we move to a region. The process of Fadaï'at (an Arabic word meaning "through spaces") shows that the border is a unique place, far wider than the line on a map of political boundaries. The border stretches into a place or even a type of space and governance, the border reproducing itself at different times throughout this space. This space may even encompass more than one nation-state. In this sense we go back to Balibar's original concern of the border as existing everywhere. This is a border displaced from the 'edge'. Rather, the 'edge' is reterritorialized throughout many territories, from interstate boundaries, to export processing zones to migrant detention centers. This spatially shifting border also changes in intensity from open and porous to hardened and armored: from abandoned customs posts to locked down detention centers.

Far from an 'end' of a given space –a country, a culture - through the work of Fadaï'at and their *Cartografía del Estrecho* (Cartography of the Straits of Gibraltar) I show how the border becomes its own space with forms of social activity, political action and cultural production particular to itself. In this way the border becomes a region and type of space that is inhabitable. In fact, for the activists involved, it is central to learn 'how' to inhabit this 'border space' in order to subvert its most negative aspects.

Theoretical Tools for Re-Mapping the Border

Here I want to signal the cartographic application of three theoretical tools these movement collectives use in order to re-think the border: 1) a Deleuzian-Guattarian mapping; 2) Haraway's cyborgs; and 3) Hardt and Negri's empire and multitude.

A Deleuzian-Guattarian vision of cartography has importantly influenced many of the activists involved in their approach towards mapping. This is translated as a following of the de- and re-territorializations afoot in the border region. Rather than imagining limits, boundaries and boundings as definitive of a space, this rethought cartography looks for different points of connection and flow across and lines territory. The accumulations of connections and interactions between them then constitute a new 'space'.

After mapping these flows as constitutive of an 'other border' a spatial practice is developed to hack the border via these flows. This hacking is enacted by a reading and application of Haraway's notion of cyborgs, in this case via attempts to create cross-border spaces of communication and action mediated through constant technological interface. The idea then is to re-inhabit the border as a unique space, rather than a division between spaces, and hopefully set the stage for the emergence of an antagonistic border space. This antagonistic border space would ideally strengthen different practices of mutual aid and self organization amongst migrants, solidarity efforts with migrants, and the combining of these two in new and different ways.

In trying to conceptualize the new border region that merges from these mappings I describe how Hardt and Negri's notion of empire and multitude are used by the groups as a way to address the unique space of governance they see emerging at the border. For the group comprising Fadaiat, this space of governance is one where political actors escape existing categories and need to be renamed and thought. In addition, these different theoretical readings are understood via a politics influenced by Zapatismo, local autonomous movements and global resistance organizing. It becomes important to

understand the combinations of political and theoretical influences at work in these projects.

The map and the mapping process act as ‘field connectors’. The mappings connects disparate fields such as the two sides of the Straits but also different social groups, such as immigrants and Andalusian youth, who likewise inhabit different territories even if they are superimposed. This brings us to another key contribution that these groups have made to rethinking cartography: the importance of the mapping process itself. Perhaps even more than the map object (i.e. 2D map, web-based map, or other visualization), it was the process of creating and ‘enacting’ the map that helped reconfigure a space and create a new one. The process of doing this collectively has led to a broader impact of these cartographies and more resonances of this remapping of the border with other people. The influence of these theoretical tools is weaved within the meticulous description of Fadai’at mapping process.

Structure: the Mapping Process and its Analytical Contributions

This chapter is divided into two main Sections. The first section engages the Fadaiat process, including their cartographic project and the collectives involved. The second section explores the different analyses of the border and migration that have resulted from these activist projects and my own readings and critiques of them. The numbering of the chapter components is continuous throughout though I signal the change from the more descriptive section one to the more analytical section two as a signpost to the reader.

The first section of the chapter opens with an introduction to Fadaiat, including the challenging political context in which took place.. In this intro called **Connecting the Castle** I present how Fadai'at constituted both a hacking of border space and the creation of a new cross-border space. Starting with the role and rationale of cartography and thinking cartographically for this project, I then discuss two of the principal organizations involved in coordinating the process, *IMC Estrecho* and especially *Hackitectura*. Instead of focusing on the organizational specifics I examine their approach and theorizing of political action and how this affects the border re-mappings below. The chapter then proceeds to **Cartographies of the Straits of Gibraltar**, Here the map itself is engaged including description of the different elements, the general approach to making the map, its creation and some of the cartographic theory that influenced the project. This is followed by **Why Mapping?** The collective project's understanding of mapping as object, action and process is explored here. This first section examines why cartography is appropriated as a tool, how it is rethought and reapplied, and how the space resulting from these remappings is intervened in.

The second section of the chapter centers around the contributions to understandings of border and struggle that emerge through these multiple interventions. These contributions have direct effects on rethinking migrant' rights struggles. I signal the following contributions in the first part called **Analyses emerging from Fadai'at Cartography**. First, the challenge presented at the very beginning of this chapter, that of the *border as line*, and how this is reconceived and visualized via a cartographic practice. The second is the idea of the *frontera fabrica* (border factory), or *the becoming productive of the border*. The creation of border economies and their role in larger

regional and global economies are examined. In this analysis the border ceases to be marginal to the economy but a central point of its organization. Again we hear echoes of Balibar's cry to look out from the border as a center of European construction. From this 'border economy' I move to what is called *the becoming migrant of labor*. This speaks to how two concomitant tendencies are merging: how immigrants are inserted into the workforce, often via lower wages, less protections, higher rates of contract fraud, etc.; *and* increasing labor precarity of the overall population –both immigrant and national– through flexibilization policies. This last idea looks at how conditions suffered by migrant populations are spreading to other parts of the population through the processes of 'precarization'. In this sense by focusing on the border, and how it creates spaces and populations one can glimpse generalizable trends of current economic configurations.

This more analytical part continues by examining several new understandings of migration that surface from this process and related networks. Assuming the *migrant as a subject* (as opposed to a victim or passive force) two interesting and interrelated concepts are debated: the *autonomy of migration*; and *migration as a social movement*. The *autonomy of migration* refers to an understanding of migration that goes beyond its structural causes tries to understand it as a force that today has developed its own internal dynamics. *Migration as a social movement* tries to challenge both what is meant by migration and by social movements. In this understanding migration becomes a socially transformative experience occurring at a massive public scale, leading to all sorts of alternative practices, new demands, subjectifications and struggles, in ways very similar to a social movement.

The conclusion of the chapter points back to the Combat of Cartographies. I pose the cartography of the Straits up against a typical rendering of the limits of the EU, as a way to illustrate the divergent and competing geographies being enacted via these cartographies.

SECTION I: The Mapping Process

4.1 Connecting the Castle? Moving ‘through spaces’: from borders to solid seas

In response to the growing complexity and density of the Spanish/EU border regime and as a result of the organizing and resistance efforts to the same, an activist project started in 2004. *Fadaiat* was an attempt to inhabit, subvert and recreate the border region through the use of convergence points, translocal and international networks and the creation of an inter-border Spanish/Moroccan space through the use of wireless technology, streaming and other instruments. The goal of the first edition called *Fadaiat/Transacciones* was precisely to inhabit some of the tenser and more militarized points of the border. The event was based out of a medieval castle on the coast of Tarifa, the southernmost point of continental Europe and near a detention center for migrants. The Moroccan counterpart was based in Tanger, a transit city for many migrants, in a café near the coast. These were the two nodes for the encounters and the points from which the “cross-continental” debates and workshops would take place².

More than understanding *Fadaiat* as a poetic project- some sort of virtual bridge, or as a symbolic North-South link (after the conflict over the *Perejil* island or the attacks of March 11th in Madrid)...the objective of *Fadaiat* as a temporary media laboratory is to constitute itself as a permanent infrastructure, part of the counterhegemonic cyborg that we imagine in this point of intersection between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.” (Smart Mobs 6/22/2004)

This short quotation helps to situate the goals and context of the original events of *Fadaiat*. First, the desire to eventually create some sort of permanent instruments or infrastructures of cross-border communication and organization, to allow movements to

²The success and response to the initial version of *Fadaiat* has lead to yearly editions of the encounter up until now. A book, edited by participants in the *Fadaiat* process, was released in 2006 that also captures many of the impressions, and lessons learned form those events.

inhabit the border space as one of contagion and action, not only of drama. The idea of a spatial cyborg, a combination of human networks with technological networks, would be the architecture of this infrastructure. Second, the context of the first edition sheds some light on how the debates around the border are developing at the time.³

“*Fadaiat/Transacciones* was a social, political, technological, artistic and geographic laboratory that gathered together a broad group of activists on migration, labor rights, gender and communication together with political theorists, hackers, architects and artists in order to think through the relations between freedom of knowledge and freedom of movement in the society of globalized and informational production. (*Editorial Collective* 2006:147)

The encounters in Tarifa and Tanger had different aspects, several of which were the conclusions of longer projects. These included: an archive of artistic projects related to the Straits of Gibraltar; encounters trying to tie together debates on freedom of information/knowledge with freedom of movement between both coasts; two days of TV programs for the local channel; several direct actions; and as a key intervention, a *Critical Cartografía del Estrecho* (Cartography of the Straits). In the words of *hackitectura*, an organizing node of the encounters, *Fadaiat* served as way to:

[...] make a spatial configuration emerge, for a few hours, that was freed from tectonic elements: architecture as the base for a process...we tried to subvert the framework imposed by the info-economy... We believe that in *Fadaiat* we were able to deprogram the system of automatisms with which we tend to react before a geographic reality...The result, overall, was a rhizomatic constellation of places, spatialities, temporalities and modalities of presence difficult to think through with the epistemological tools of architecture, urbanism or geography, insofar as we've understood these until the end of the 20th century....Another life is desired; other concepts are needed to think it... [*Fadaiat*] functioned as a sort of luminous mirror of the SIVE (2006:148).⁴

³In regards to the context it is especially important to signal the attack on March 11th 2004 in Madrid, which somehow symbolized the arrival of the war on terror to Spanish soil. Given the close proximity in time between the *Fadaiat* encounter and the attacks it was unclear how those attacks would reverberate in debates and policies about the border or attitudes towards Moroccans as such.

⁴Interestingly, despite the voluntarism to create this sort of trans-border space, the physical and real-time architectures of the encounter required some interesting legal negotiation. Negotiating with local authorities in Tarifa to use an unoccupied castle as well as local TV, and negotiations with Moroccan

Fadaiat represented a hacking of space. A highly militarized border, limitations on travel (especially from South to North), linguistic differences compounded by a tense political situation made the “border” appear as the end of one space and the beginning of another, more appropriately perhaps the end of one world and the beginning of another. The gamble was made to try and inhabit the border as a unique space in and of itself, as opposed to the clear delimitation between two spaces. Despite the guns and fences, the appearance of internet technology and its relatively easy access, the ubiquity of wireless technology such as cell phones as well as wi-fi, in addition to the growing networks of movements or activist groups both within Spain and Morocco and between the two countries (working on issues related to the border) allowed for the creation of an “other” border. The hints of possible futures could be gleaned from experiments such as Fadai’at. The dense use of cell phones, and text messaging by migrants in transit, linked to the wiki-like open media resources of activists in the region (i.e. Indymedia) can be understood as allowing in part for the gathering of migrant testimonies and voices during events such as the border jumps of 2005, or the real-time communication between networks of migrants and non-migrants that allowed for joint actions during Fadaiat encounter.⁵

In this process of “hacking” and “re-creating” space, cartography has played a prominent role. The Cartografia del Estrecho/Cartography of the Straits was one of the

authorities to occupy radio and other wireless waves. All of these were necessary elements to create that temporary inter (or intra) border space (2006: 152). These negotiations were taking place during that tense time around the March 11th attacks and the Perejil island conflict, when Spanish-Moroccan relations were at a low.

⁵These actions could result in things such as the freeing of a migrant detainee in the midst of a deportation process.

main products made for the encounter and one of its most potent symbols. A later edition of Fadaiat (in 2005) featured an encounter on “Tactical Cartographies” which gathered some of the better known experiments at radical cartography then existing in Western Europe.⁶ These discussions lasted three days just prior to the larger public encounters of Fadaiat where some of the cartographic discussions would be put before a larger audience. Key to these discussions was the notion of “perspective” in mapping, especially mapping within/for social movements: ‘perspective’ in this case meaning from what social or political point one maps- the references and territories one knows, etc. These discussions have been important for developing certain cartographic theories about perspective and non-objective mapping that would later permeate other cartographic projects. *Fadaiat* can be said to have played a rather important role in promoting or highlighting a reinvigorated role for mapping amongst movements based in Spain, as well as beyond. Many of the individuals and groups involved in organizing Fadaiat encounters are amongst those that also promote a sort of ‘mapping ethic’ amongst movements as a way to be sensitive to social changes- to develop analyses of those changes and to be able to respond to them in original ways.⁷

4.2 Re-imaginings, Re-appropriations and Re-combinations of Spaces:

Hackitectura and IMC Estrecho

4.2.1 Description of Hackitectura

⁶This included participants in projects such as the *Estrecho* map, the map of the *Forum des Cultures* in Barcelona focused on urban renewal and cultural spectacle, *Bureau d’Etudes* in France, and others. This encounter, and the ideas that emerged from it, will be further dealt with in the narrative on urban transformation when the *Map_Madrid* project is engaged.

⁷See for example Toret and Sguglia 2006a & 2006b.

One of the key actors in producing the *Estrecho* map and in organizing the *Fadaiat* encounter was the *Hackitectura* collective. In fact it can be said that *Hackitectura*, due to the spread of these and other projects has played an important/key role in introducing cartography as a social movement tool within Spain, in other parts of Europe, and beyond. The collective in and of itself is small. Between projects only several people comprise what we might call “permanent” members of the collective. Nonetheless this broadens out widely in the midst of a project, be it a spatial intervention like *Fadaiat* or a map like the *Estrecho*. These ‘broadening outs’ of members often constitute networks that continue to work long after a particular project. Thus defining *Hackitectura* is not like trying to define a precise collective or an organization⁸, in fact this may lead one to a rather poor understanding of what *Hackitectura* and other similar groups can do. *Hackitectura*’s role in social movements is better understood as a series of projects and interventions that serve to politically apply new concepts and create moments of collective reflection on an issue or struggle.

Hackitectura is based principally in Sevilla, Spain. It is situated within the increasingly dense social movement networks establishing themselves throughout the region of Andalucia, as well as other parts of Spain and beyond. *Hackitectura* emerged around 2003 (there is no founding date) and has been extremely active in creating mobilizations, maps, texts, and websites since then. As the name implies, it is a network of hackers, artists, and architects and others involved in activism in the area (see www.hackitectura.net).

Hackitectura is a group of architects and programmers developing projects and

⁸In this sense focusing on *Hackitectura* as a Social Movement Organization for example could lead to a conclusion of its frailty or limited relevance, and in this way miss the focus of the collective’s interventions.

theoretical research in the intersecting fields of space, electronic flows and social networks. Hackitectura.net stresses the use of real time communication, free software, collaborative work and the emancipatory use of technologies. Their work has dealt with the creation of connected, participatory public spaces and infrastructures. (hackitectura.net- about us)

As the descriptions of *Fadaiat* and the *Estrecho* map demonstrate, *Hackitectura* is situated in some very interesting and complex nodes of activity in the area including independent media and technology initiatives, migrant rights organizations, and emerging efforts at organizing around flexible labor markets.

The name itself, *Hackitectura*, comes from the name they have given to a set of spatial practices that have become the center of their activity and thinking:

“From Foucault to the Zapatistas people are talking about “how to take power without conquering the state?” Hackers of all kinds are blazing the trail. In the terrain of habitat we have named these practices as *hackitectura*. [italics original],” (de Lama 2003: 7).

Here ‘hackitectura’ is understood as a method of appropriating power without prior necessity of state concurrence, the appropriation of ‘habitats’ such as the internet and the street, in order to exercise power (interview: *Hackitectura* member; de Lama 2003: 21). In reflecting on social movement practices of the time, in particular the influence of global resistance movements, the new project formed a central question that would inform, guide, and inspire their future projects: “what architectures could correspond with, or better yet, precipitate the production of new antagonist habitats? Here we imagine architecture as any action that transforms the space which we inhabit.” (de Lama 2003: 21).

As time has progressed the group has added new nuances or definitions to *hackitectura* as a term, practice and ethos. The progression has been presented

schematically as such:

hackitectura.01:: use of architectural or urban systems in an unpredicted- and usually subversive- way... *hackitectura.02*:: a constructed action, event or situation resulting from the *agencement* of hackers and architects... *hackitectura.03*:: social networks + telematic networks + spaces/territories; tactics of spatial production linked to emergent processes of the new [rhizomatic, fluid] geographies of the multitude.

This move can be seen as one from the appropriation of existing spaces, to the articulation of new ones, to the recombination of multiple forms of space (in particular- network, cyber and ‘territorial’) to create new spaces.

Mapping, as a practice and a product, becomes a way of finding, following, socializing, articulating and at times visualizing the antagonistic appropriation and creation of habitats and different recombinations of networks, territory, and cyber-space. In this way, mapping can suggest ‘other’ spatialities made possible by those practices.

The Estrecho map was not the first one by *Hackitectura*, or its members, and their spatial thinking has evolved after each cartography.⁹ Interestingly, one of the first cartographic projects engaged in by what would become *Hackitectura* (and now forming part of their genealogy of mapping) was not in Andalusia, Spain or Europe, but in Los Angeles! This first mapping project was of a large global resistance counter-summit at the 2000 Democratic National Convention. The focus was to chart the diversity of protest actions and events at the protests. This was to serve both as information to protestors as well as for a future analysis. The vision of the map was based on a theory that the totality of those actions created a new architecture of space, both the protest actions and the police responses as well. The project was carried out in conjunction with several

⁹See Appendix C for detailed descriptions of other mapping projects by *Hackitectura*.

California based collectives such as Ultra-Red¹⁰ and their ‘acoustic mapping projects’ (interview: *Hackitectura* member 10/2007; Perez de Lama and de Soto 2005; Ultra-Red website).

A second mapping project was Sevilla Global. This incorporated a longer-term participatory mapping project involving different community groups in the city working on neighborhood-level struggles and art groups. The idea was to discuss and try to represent different effects of globalization on the city, using Zapatista frameworks of understanding (Perez de Lama and de Soto 2005).¹¹ The challenge of collectively thinking through these Zapatista concepts in a radically different context aided in building a common set of discussions on what was happening in the city as a whole and how to see Sevilla as part of a global context (interview: *Hackitectura* member). This mapping process took place during a semester of powerful mobilizations against the EU and the Spanish presidency of the EU in 2002. These mobilizations in part set the stage for the map-making.

The mappings of *Hackitectura* or the broader *Fadaiat* process should be understood as part of a process of spatial intervention. These interventions can include the re-use of existing spaces for completely different ends than those intended, such as the castle in Tarifa for *Fadai’at*. As the experiences of *Hackitectura* have accumulated, this usage of maps to facilitate other process of spatial intervention has developed. This has been suggested above when mentioning the changing definitions of the practice of

¹⁰Ultra-Red is a political art group that use sound art and electronic music to carry out “Militant Sound Investigations” and acoustic mappings of politically contentious spaces (see www.ultrared.org)

¹¹The framework from the communiqués ‘Seven Pieces of the Global Puzzle and the ‘Fourth World War’ were utilized the most.

hackitecture. More recent *Hackitectura* projects have focused on developing maps conjointly with spatial appropriations and interventions.¹²

4.2.2 Initial theoretical tools¹³

Engaging different projects of *Hackitectura* I was able to trace some of their main influences.¹⁴ First, there is no clear genealogy of activist mapping in Spain that has any influence on *Hackitectura*. In fact when speaking with a member of *Hackitectura* they were completely unaware of any sort of previous experiences or genealogies. More than a concrete experience it seems that the decision to map came from a theoretical influence. On the one hand, architects' sensitivity to space and on the other hand the writing of Deleuze and Guattari, in particular their discussion on mapping versus tracing. "Trying to visually enact some of Deleuze and Guattari's theory- mapping not tracing, rhizome not tree etc. lead to a choice to engage mapping," (interview: *Hackitectura* member).

While Deleuze and Guattari provided some of the motive for mapping, one can see a strong presence of the theories and practices of *zapatismo* and global resistance in

¹²These have included an intervention at an abandoned nuclear facility and the hacking of military situation room techniques, see Appendix C for further description.

¹³In terms of how these movements are engaging theory, one can find instances of groups that become strict adherent to a set of theories (i.e. becoming Deleuzians or Nergristas), or other examples where the theory can appear a shallow overuse of metaphors. A third engagement with theory is what I call *tactical usage*, or an intent to make theoretical tools immediately productive. It is as if the usage of theory at first resembles a *degustation*, a tasting. If a theoretical concept can be productive then it should be tried. If it does not work, or cease to do work, one must reformulate or move on, and quickly! A concept in this sense need not be perfect or perfected, it can be critiqued but need not be completely deconstructed prior to its application.

¹⁴The first mapping project engaged, one which has influence on the later thinking and practice of the group, did not take place in Spain or Europe but rather in the US. This is another suggestion of some of the low-lying conduits of trans-Atlantic influence that occur in these networks and that become quite apparent in the experiences of activist cartography. This is of special interest since in many case it is groups and practitioners in the US looking towards experiments in Europe- notably *Hackitectura*. The fact that one of their first experiment occurs in the US itself poses some interesting questions about how networks of political practice function.

their work. Members of *Hackitectura* often identify with the spirit of those movements, especially that of constructing spaces of confluence of many diverse actors, operating autonomously from large state institutions (though *Hackitectura* is always willing to negotiate space and resources from local state authorities), and the construction or maintenance of diverse ‘worlds’. These three elements are still emphasized through the group’s projects, regardless of the state of the larger ‘movement’.

Other theories additionally have an influence on *Hackitectura*’s praxis.¹⁵ In this regard the work of Donna Haraway should be mentioned. From Haraway they take the idea of the cyborg and in particular the mixing of technological elements and networks with human networks and subjects, out of the mix can come new wholes with a distinct agency form any of their commensurate parts.

Haraway proposed the concept of a cyborg identity at the beginning of the 90’s; and starting from that we propose that of cyborg architecture, that would be an architecture composed of interchangeable and autonomous parts/subsystems, assembled in a rhizomatic network, and whose process of production and construction is also undertaken by a horizontal network of autonomous teams” (Perez de Lama et al 2004: 23)

4.2.3 *Spatial Recombinations*

By way of concluding, in order to understand the different projects of *Hackitectura*, the theories they deploy, and the role of mapping it is central to highlight the importance for the collective of combining different types of spaces and spatial interventions. For example:

¹⁵In an interview with a *Hackitectura* member, in addition to Haraway, Latour was also mentioned: “[we take a cue from] the ideas of Bruno Latour- experiments are no longer done in a laboratory, but rather at a 1-1 scales: climate change, migrations, etc....it is no longer just scientists that lead an experiment, rather we are all subjects and objects...that is a horizon of reflection more than anything specific...”(interview: *Hackitectura* member). For the moment this engagement with Latour seems to be a generic type of inspiration and has not been engaged explicitly in *Hackitectura*’s work as of yet.

- The appropriation of existing structures and the attempt to create new ‘architectures’ with them. Architecture here understood as the support for some sort of social process. This includes the re-use of the castle in Tarifa for the Fadaiat convergence.
- Using cyberspaces to intersect with physical spaces, often the very spaces that have been appropriated, and by way of this aiding in creating a third space. The importance of cyber-space and accessibility to it is also seen in the groups’ emphasis on struggles around freedom of knowledge, open-source software, copyleft and GRASS (open-source GIS programs). These sorts of recombinations of physical and cyber space can be seen in projects such as Fadaiat and a more recent proposal to create ‘wiki-plazas’ (see mcs.hackitectura.net)
- The importance of bringing together diverse groups of people or diverse types of collectives to interact with each other and with the cyber/physical spaces that have been created, the result being a new ‘third’ space.¹⁶
- Cartography, in the above-mentioned mix serves as a way to articulate/create some of those new geographies: whether it be the temporary habitats of a countersummit in Los Angeles; the city of Seville understood as a series of neighborhoods struggling with or against a set of processes; or the idea of a new territory called the “Straits” called into being in opposition to the ‘border’. In this sense their cartography helps to explicitly create a ‘reality’- not only to represent one- which is what all cartographies ultimately aim to do.

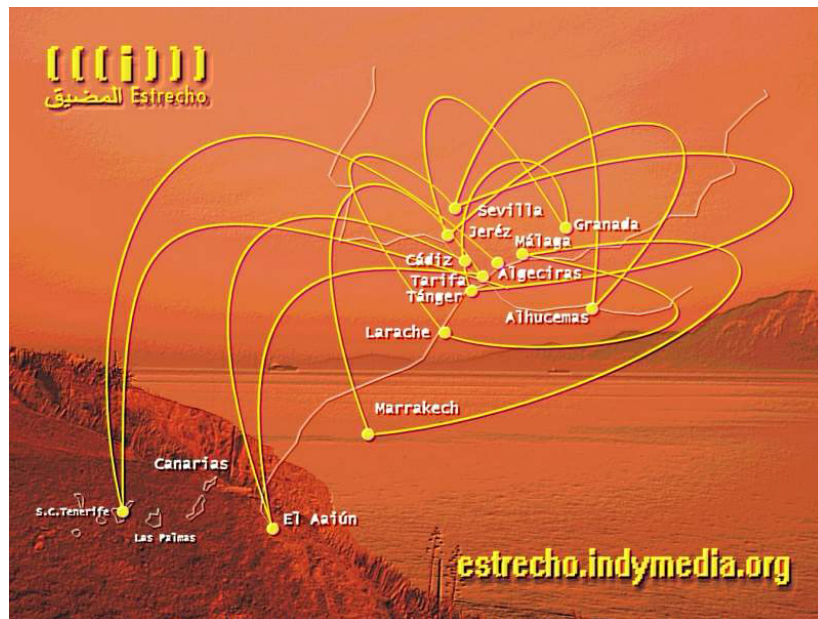
4.2.4 *Indymedia Estrecho*

Though it does not receive as much treatment as *Hackitectura* in this dissertation, it is important to mention the *Indymedia Estrecho* (or IMC)¹⁷ project in order to understand the interventions of *Fadaiat* and the *Estrecho* map. The proposal to map the territory of the ‘Straits’ in fact originally came from the IMC. In many ways it was the process of creating *IMC Estrecho* as well as *Fadaiat* and the *Estrecho* map that, all

¹⁶This triple combination is in fact their recipe for what *hackitecture* is: “social networks + telematic networks + spaces//territories are the materials with which we propose to produce architectures of flows that will act as war machines- in the Deleuzian-Guattarian meaning of the term. These elements are not as strange as they may appear. Even though conventional architectures of modernity try to represent themselves as autonomous objects, in reality, [using] a critical and broad perspective, it is also necessary to see them as a complex *agencements* of the capitalist/statist production process in which we find the Architect-,+ a dispositif which would be the architectural object, a habitat more or less conformed to the performance of its users.” (de Lama et al 2004: 15).

¹⁷Indymedia Centers, or IMCs, are independent largely web-based media platforms. Though locally, regionally and nationally based, they operate in a global network that spans dozens of countries often sharing information and stories. The network emerged out of the 1999 Seattle protests against the WTO and has seen incredible growth since then (see www.indymedia.org).

together, lead to this rethinking of the border. The calls for founding some sort of regional IMC started in early 2003. Initial debates about what the group would be, dealt with what kind of territory it would cover: “very early on the idea of creating a new type of Indymedia could count on the support of large part of the group, an indymedia that wasn’t based so much in a city or a ‘community’ but rather in a new territory that crossed the border,” (de Soto and Perez de Lama 2005). For this reason this Indymedia node is named for the Straits, rather than a city, province or country, and is referred to as Estrecho or Madiaq (Arabic for Straits). In fact an initial map/graphic of this potential territory helped to conclude the debate about the IMC’s focus: “It’s significant that the debate about what would be the area of focus of the new indymedia was resolved with the help of a first map – and ideogram where we represented the connections between different potential nodes of the Project,” (de Soto and Perez de Lama 2005).



Map 4.1: IndyMedia Estrecho schematic map

The IMC Project started “understanding that the territory of indymedia Estrecho/madiaq was going to be a new one, desired for and geopolitical, more than

physical, based on a community of projects and conflicts, more than in conventional geographic demarcations”. This geographic desire, to visualize a territory of low-intensity conflict, and to create a territory out of the potential links between different practices, conflicts, and projects has marked the path of the IMC Project and many other movement initiatives in the area. It is a desire that seeks to destabilize the notion of the nation and border and to create a common territory upon which to rethink identities and solidarities.

They build walls, we build bridges. They propose fear, we propose contagion. They are order, we are movement. The struggle of global citizenship is open. 14km separate the two shores of the Straits. 14km separate –the world- Europe and –the world- Africa. (Pili & Perez de Lama 2006:136)

In fact, members seek to define the IMC as more than a project or tool, but rather as a “community of projects and social subjects that produce the project as well as transformation in the territory in which they live” (Pili & Perez de Lama 2006:137)

4.3 Mapping the Chasm between the EU & Africa: a Cartography of the Straits

One of the main projects for the first edition of *Fadaiat* that *Hackitectura* and *IMC Estrecho* helped to coordinate was a critical cartography of the Straits of Gibraltar.

As struggles for immigrant rights and against precarious/casualized work grew in the Andalusia/Northern Morocco area one flashpoint for their articulation was the “border” and this, in turn, made it more urgent that alternative spatial logics and imaginations be mobilized. The creation and use of a rethought cartography became one strategy for beginning to reconceptualize the terrain of the ‘border regime’. Producing these maps included assembling the contacts of people who had done prior work on the border area (artistic, political, research) and also, forming a network between social activists in southern Spain and Northern Morocco to increase the participatory input into the new cartographies. Through these efforts new conceptions of economic change, global flows, as well as innovative ways of thinking about community action began to emerge, seeing mapping as an important tool for making these emerging geographies visible (Perez de Lama 2005).

Instead of accepting the border as a fixed entity that separated ‘us’ from ‘them’, constraining bodies and movement, the groups involved tried to map all the different flows that made up this “border” region: including flows of capital, police, detention centers, as well as networking between movements, migrants, new technologies.¹⁸ A method was chosen that ignored the geo-political and epistemological borders between worlds that have been naturalized through the sea that ‘separates’ them. Instead, a particular item was chosen and then its paths were *followed* leading to links and pathways that traveled across the Mediterranean between Spain and Morocco and between

¹⁸These different types of flows are referred to on the maps as “geographies of empire” and “geographies of the multitude” respectively. The use of terms and concepts such as “empire” and “multitude” is explained further on in this section. For the moment, it is important to note that the use of these terms does not represent a wholesale embracing of those concepts. Rather it may be representative of the fact that these efforts are trying to cope with what they see as new realities and are experimenting with different concepts currently in debate in order to grapple those realities.

‘Europe’ and ‘Africa’. Thus, for example, migrant flows regularly move across this space as do the police networks and detention centers set up to repress them. Capital flows, whether in the form of Moroccan debt repayments, immigrant remittances or European corporate investment (i.e. factory relocation) are constantly in flux back and forth. Cell phone coverage and web-streaming technologies span the region of the straits facilitating the ever-densifying nodes of contact and coordination between social movements on both sides. The result then is a map that doesn’t *reproduce* the border as a space of separation but *follows* the flows across the Mediterranean in order to articulate the border as a space that is created, inhabited and traversed. To further help the reader see this new relation colors on the map do not change according to nation-state or regional borders and the North-South axis is inversed. In this way the map user will not automatically look for assumed relationships (North-South, Europe-Africa) in space but will zero in on the icons and the density of flows between them.

Most of this is on side A of the map. On side B is a different image of the region, but building from that previous analysis. North-South is turned horizontal, with South on the left and North on the right. This map traces a series of events, key ideas, networks and organizations that are important to social movements first in Andalucia and Northern Morocco, then stretching out to Spain-Morocco/Southwestern Sahara, and finally to Europe-Africa. These include events and groups that have already happened or currently exist, as well as an intentional projection into the future in order to suggest that it is an unfinished process and needs to be continued (interview: *Hackitectura* member). The aesthetic is thought to reflect that of PureData (interview: *Hackitectura* member), a data format very popular currently with hackers and copyleft proponents for organizing all

kinds of data (textual, audio, and video) and for making complex mixes of information available to users in an easy format (i.e. linking texts with image, audio, video, etc. a sort of Metadata platform) (interview: *Fadaiat* participant). PureData is basically a “machine to process data- for music to come out you have to compute an algorithm”, and this was what this side of the map hopes to suggest. The map itself as an algorithm in order to compute data and obtain results (interview: *Hackitectura* member). The data to be computed was quite dense: “They were quite pertinent years, the first EuroMayDay of the South [of Spain], the anti-EU calls to action for the movement¹⁹, *Fadaiat* as a moment of evaluation... what were the trajectories, the technical compositions, the collective imaginaries that contrasted with the hegemonic narratives at that time?” (interview: *Hackitectura* member). The digital aesthetic makes the map, especially side B, more difficult to interpret, this being one of the critiques of the usefulness of Side B in particular (interview: *Hackitectura* member).

The idea was to represent a sort of history or path of militant processes related to networks in regional autonomous movements, or the ‘area of autonomy’ as it is often referred to by many activists, especially as linked to the Indymedia process:

“the most interesting thing about this composition consists in the setting up of a collective memory of all the events that have marked the process of creation/accumulation of *indymediaq* [Indymedia Estrecho]...The imaginary to mobilize has to do with the rebellion of the ‘mig-prec-cog in the Straits. A cyborg, a machine that is preparing itself to attack the enemies in the techno-republic of the Straits. The enemies are the border and precarization, militarization and the exploitation that the empire exercises” (Toret in Perez de Lama and de Soto 2005)

¹⁹These refer to different social movement mobilizations over the past few years. EuroMayDay is a trans-European process that started in Italy focuses on denouncing situation of precarity and articulating new sets of social rights. It is further engaged in Part III on Precarity. The “anti-EU calls to action” refers to a campaign against the Spanish presidency of the EU in 2002.

An attempt was made to mix events, relationships between groups, and key concepts in vogue at the time: “A language was used that related bodies and concepts with dates and geo-referenced events,” (*Estrecho in Area Ciega*). A gamble was made to try and represent and relate groups, events and concepts as constituting a particular terrain. Related to the representation of concepts this side also includes a set of short texts that try to present some of the analyses circulating at the time related to the struggles represented.

More on Theoretical Tools

In the *Cartografia del Estrecho*, the method of ‘following’ is inspired in a reading of Deleuze and Guattari’s comments on mapping versus tracing: “What distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely oriented toward an experimentation with the real [...] It fosters connection between fields. [...] The map is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 12). A Deleuzian-Guattarian notion of mapping is used to de-structure and de-territorialize a particular border. The ‘followings’ of flows and itineraries are visualized to enact a different space. As the description of this mapping project progresses though, another purpose of these followings becomes apparent. Via *Fadai’at* and the *Estrecho* map distinct social subjects, practices and spaces are highlighted with the hope of provoking new assemblages of antagonistic practices and new ‘war machines’ that could create an ‘other’ border or an ‘other’ space at the site where the EU border now exists.²⁰

²⁰This chapter also shows how an understanding of Haraway’s cyborg identity is used to aid in provoking the de- and re-territorializing assemblage desired by the *Fadai’at* process. Additionally a notion of a Latourian experiment at the 1:1 scale is enacted in order to ‘practice’ this other space at *Fadai’at*.

On both sides of the map the following of networks and flows creates an image of connection not only of distance. Their map shows how maps can be seen as tools that ‘connect fields’, in this case by stressing the multiple rhizomatic linkages of flows across the border. The ‘structured axis’ of the sea as border is rejected, and a different engagement with the real is desired and pursued, resulting in the representation or even creation of a different space. The border as such is no longer reproduced, even if some of the same techniques of mapping historically necessary for its very production are being used to subvert it.

One of the main results and goals of this methodology of mapping was to redefine the area of the Straits itself firstly as a unique geopolitical space central to the current historical conjuncture: “We use cartography in order to map the geopolitical territories of the Straits, with the objective of changing the perception of the Straits to one of an area of conflict, of low-intensity warfare and central to the contemporary,” (‘Como se Hizo’ in *Area Ciega*). Second, was to figure out ‘where were’ the Straits: “The Straits are composed by the territories stretching from Madrid all the way to Mauritania and the Canary Islands,” (‘Como se Hizo’ in *Area Ciega*).

There is a dual process of mapping structures and flows of oppressive power as well as alternative social processes subverting those same manifestations of power:

If on the one hand, we tried to map the mechanisms of militarization, the extensions of Europe’s border further south, and the productive-economic flows-tied to neoliberal globalization, on the other hand we tried to map those processes which challenged the imperial system and its border, processes that trespass and deconstruct it permanently, -processes which we call, in a general sense, flows of the multitude. Among these, some salient elements are: migrations linked to work, but also social movement networks and the multiple flows of communication” (Perez de Lama 2005).

Hackitectura has referred to these two distinct geographies as “geographies of empire” and “geographies of multitude”. The use of these concepts was not necessarily due to a strict adherence to the understanding of the terms brought up in the books *Empire* and *Multitude*. For example, while the debates about immaterial labor would resonate with the networks involved in Fadaiat, many would question its hegemonic role in these texts. Rather these concepts served as a “narrative” to talk about different spatialities being created and creating each other in the Straits, in particular a spatiality of flows. As one of the designers of the map controversially said “in a globalized world, flows condition power much more than a perspective focused on places... The idea is to show how the ‘empire’ tries to channel, modulate or control flows” (interview: *Hackitectura* member). Hardt and Negri’s notions of Empire and Multitude are used as a way to temporarily name shifts in sovereignty in this redefined border space and the multiple social subjects that come up against it. Partly it is an experiment with concepts: what concept or name will serve for this strange multi-state, suprapstate, non-state, a-legal or semi-legal space called the ‘border of Europe’?

The use of “empire” and “multitude” in these maps may be due in part to the appeal of these concepts in the years running up to the first edition of the map of the Straits in 2004. These were concepts regularly debated in movement circles. More importantly though these activist groups perceive a lack of vocabulary to describe existing conditions at the border. The flexibility associated with the terms empire and multitude, as well as their popularity at the time made them readily available to use. I entertain for a moment here the idea that “naming” what is going on is difficult and see why these terms appear to be of special service.

I assume the term *Empire* to be referring to those forces enacting and producing the border regime as some participants in Fadaiat suggest. In regards to what is going on in that particular border region, it is hard to name a particular center of power. The use of 'Empire' may be the search for a term to communicate the texture of something that is poly-centric, the result of a coalition or network of forces, etc. Additionally, from the analysis in Fadaiat and similar projects one can perceive that this *border is dynamic*. It can coalesce with additional force and severity throughout the Straits region and it responds to social pressure such as movement's campaigns or migrant strategies. Involved in the production of the border you have: multiple states- both in the North and the South; supranational entities (i.e. the EU); private sector involvement (i.e. Indra corporation); and NGOs that play a humanitarian but also a management function.²¹ In this scenario, terms like "capitalism" or the "state" say very little indeed. Recently there is increasing use of the term "border regime" amongst migrant rights networks, and in some circles the use of "governance" as a term is beginning.

The diversity of populations and the search and desire for antagonistic concatenations between these actors on the part of these activists make it difficult to find a term that can easily apply. The use of *Multitude*, which can suggest a latent radical diversity that can be combined, disassembled and then recombined²², points to both a

²¹NGOs can often find themselves playing this dual role through places such as hospitality centers where they can care for 'illegals' but are also assumed to register and monitor them, with a need to report to relevant migration authorities.

²²Examples of this diversity of bodies and strategies are: A) multiple ethnicities (both on the migrants side where you can have Nigerians, Chadians, Moroccans and Bangladeshis trying to cross the border at similar times; and on the host/receiving side where you can have different sub-national populations, other 'EU-ians', multiple countries of destination, and different social groups that interact with migrant populations or share their work and living spaces); B) different forms of collaboration and organization (i.e. for example the camps in the Moroccan forests mentioned in chapter 3; and C) solidarity or networks with non-migrants

description of the ‘bodies in the border’ and a potential strategy. Other terms that may apply to a clear-cut or definable group can limit strategizing. To overemphasize ‘migrant’ makes the border a sectoral question affecting a population whose ‘othering’ could then be reinforced. ‘Working class’ can be understood as glossing over important differences, especially hierarchies that do not pertain strictly to class. ‘The oppressed’, stresses victimization and hides the ability of self-organization that is emerging in the border region. Curiously, it would appear that in the version of empire and multitude used in these projects the question of ‘migration and mobility’ appears as more central a defining element of the current epoch than ‘immaterial labor’.²³

4.3.1 *Creating the Map*

An initial step in the mapping process was a call from the UNIA (Universidad Internacional de Andalucía) to recompile artistic interventions occurring at the margins of art galleries focusing on the Straits and related issues. This led to a network of contacts of people who had spent time working on issues related to the border. Current work on the part of people involved in both *Hackitectura* and *Indymedia Estrecho* on migrant rights as well as previous experiences of activist mapping led to the decision to conduct a cartographic project. The idea was proposed initially by the *IMC Estrecho* network (interview: *Hackitectura* member 10/2007). One reason for proposing a map project was

(whether through communications networks such as *Indymedia Estrecho* or through networks like the *Ferrocarril Clandestino*)

²³The use of Deleuze & Guattari and Hardt & Negri here also speaks to the presence of these authors amongst autonomous movements in Spain and other parts of Europe. In part the innovative ways these authors provide for engaging shifting spatialities, shifting sites of power, and shifting subjectivities and categories, seem useful to many movement activists. In addition, these authors provide a focus that empowers political strategizing that reformulates classical notions of direct confrontations with state and capital, whether via elections or arms, and notions of organization building.

also simply a way to break out of communiqués’ press articles, essays, speeches, etc. As one participant in *IMC Estrecho* stressed: “for this project we wanted to do something non-textual, another way of communicating with people” (interview: *Fadaiat* organizer 2/2007). But beyond this, it seemed that some sort of a mapping was needed to simply reimagine how the regional Indymedia network would function. It is the only IMC out of the international network (of approximately 170 nodes) that is composed of a bi-national space that does not respond to some sort of institutional geographical arrangement.

Our companions from Malaga proposed mapping social movements and networks on both sides of the Straits as a common objective. After this, contact is initiated with networks in North Africa. (Perez de Lama and de Soto: 2005)

Early contacts about the map project were made with the *Al-jaima* collective in Tanger (Morocco). Other activists, critical artists, musicians, and researchers were brought progressively included. “A broader research process began, we got in contact with expert groups as well [even] groups working on tides in the Straits, all sorts of things going on in the region,” (interview: *Hackitectura* member 10/2007). “We sifted information available in *IMC Estrecho* and its networks, through all kinds of press, [...] we set up a tiki-wiki²⁴ for the project where we could debate how to map that ton of information,” (interview: *Hackitectura* member 10/2007).

The work in the tiki-wiki converts the production of the map into a public process. The debates, work images and successive versions were and are accessible via internet. Additionally, in various moments calls to participation and summaries of the work were published in indymedia estrecho, [and we] received interesting feedback.” (Perez de Lama and de Soto: 2005)

²⁴Tiki-wikis are platforms for producing collaborative online projects. They’re based on the sort of open posting/publishing logic of the wiki (which is its technical base) and includes other tools to facilitate collaboration: shout boxes, blogs, email lists, and more. See www.tikiwiki.org

Physical encounters were held in Sevilla and Tarifa as well to put ideas in common though due to the geographical spread of the group, frequent physical encounters were difficult ('Como se Hizo' *Area Ciega*). The local nodes and networks of *Indymedia Estrecho* served to recompile the majority of the information, while *hackitectura* helped coordinate the production, design and more artistic aspects of the map-making (*Area Ciega como se hizo*). For the design side "the objective was to make the map as seductive as possible, an irresistible cartography".

Interestingly the model for a seductive cartography was *Bureau d'Etudes*²⁵: "the antecedents were the maps of [Bureau d'Etudes] U-Tangente, maps of capitalism that were not referenced, at that point the idea was to reach that level of seduction but with a geo-referenced map," ('Como se Hizo' *Area Ciega*). The experience of *Bureau d'Etudes*, and in particular their map of the *Normopathic Complex of Europe* and how it was used to intervene in a No Border camp, was seen as an inspiration of how a map could attract and become valuable. The *Normopathic Complex of Europe* provided a radically different view of the Europe via maps of power networks interlinking with legislations and standards, institutionalized networks of civil society, and more sporadic or de-institutionalized forms of resistance. This map spread through many networks in Europe, as a flyer, as a poster, and as a workshop tool ('Como se Hizo' *Area Ciega*).

According to one of the members of *Hackitectura*, one of the most important things about the *Estrecho* map was the process itself: How to collectively "map a new territory...one that isn't necessarily so apparent..." (interview: *Hackitectura* member

²⁵Bureau d'Etudes is a conceptual art group based in Paris whose work consists primarily of radical network maps focusing on different institutions such as states, particular corporations, or more often a sector or issue such as "Governing by Networks". Their work and the writings of one of their collaborators, Brian Holmes, are key references internationally for activist mappers. Bureau d'Etudes, was one of the earliest examples of the activist mapping discussed in this dissertation, their work dating to the late 1990's.

10/2007). Many new conversations were forced upon the groups through the broad networks involved that crossed geographies across Spain and Morocco, and that moved between sectors and specialties from labor organizers and farmworker groups, to migrant rights, to anti-military groups, free software groups in the area, artists, and even people working on tides! Rethinking the region from this diversity became the high-point of the project, even if that richness can be hard to communicate in a 2-D format:

“The more geographic side of the map, with its different flows, military, migration, capital, outsourcing, etc. was very relevant to people who wanted to work on these issues and helped to bring a lot of collectives together. The layer of communications [literally communications but also as in social movement networking] was more difficult to represent...but this was the challenge, building a new common territory from below, Madiaq, the geography of the multitude a territory constituted from below,” (‘Estrecho’ *Area Ciega*)

Different drafts of the map began, people made comments, debates were held on the tiki-wiki. Approximately 15,000 copies were initially printed with sides A & B (‘Estrecho’ *Area Ciega*).²⁶ Versions of the map were presented in *Fadaiat* 2004 and the Social Forum of Malaga (Perez de Lama and de Soto 2005). For the maps themselves no GIS or special cartographic program was used: “just Corel Draw and FreeHand” (interview: *Hackitectura* member 10/2007); “PureData for 3D forms, Adobe Illustrator for vectoral design,” (de Soto email 2006). Beyond *Fadaiat*, the map served as a debate tool in various movement encounters. Many people involved in the process came to critique the product itself, the significance and usability of the map. Also, while IMC Estrecho and the *Fadaiat* book of 2006 were multilingual including versions in Arabic, French, English and Spanish, the map was *only* in Spanish.

²⁶The PureData aesthetic of side B gave it a technical or mathematical feel and made its usefulness as a map on its own quite limited, unless in the framework of a workshop.

Though one of the map's purposes was precisely to serve as a tool of debate for movements and as a collective process at reinterpreting the territory, there was an additional strategic situating of this mapping project which had to do with inter-connecting networks and redefining their usability by actors.

“One maps to socialize the counter-hegemonic digital networks (both those of social [movement] collectives and migrant movements). In this way we map social and militant dynamics, the spaces linked to these movements- for example the camps of refugees. One maps for movements themselves, one maps a power of autonomy as an instituent power and how- through the use of these digital tools and its information, a support network exists for migrants. This was also the hypothesis of Indymedia.

As a network that supports migrants but also a system of information that could [recount emergency situations]. The existence of a network, and the possibility of a digital cybernetic network to support that other network. For example: a person dedicated a whole morning to recording videos of how the police intercepted pateras [the little boats], these videos have to have a place. The idea was that there were many initiatives but no umbrella existed for these; so, with Indymedia Estrecho and this map we illuminate and express all of this, we're also in the particular context of the Perejil island, with an extreme right government here and the ambassador of Morocco that wasn't in Spain, he had been out for a year, and there was an extreme situation in the diplomatic dynamic. It was in this context that the hypothesis of transnational projects emerged. (*'Como de Hizo' Area Ciega*)

In some sense then the project of this map was inserted into those broader projects of linking both self-organization on the parts of migrants, movements that support them and doing so in a cross-border manner. It could be said that the Fadaiat network and its thinking allowed the rather rapid spread of the news around the “jumps at the fence” of Ceuta and Melilla in 2005 and the recording of migrant voices and experiences of those events. While many participants feel that much was accomplished and learned in the process, there is a sense that it was only an initial step. “For the moment there has been quite a bit of description but moving beyond an initial phase of description would be fundamental to a research process,” (*'Como de Hizo' Area Ciega*). “We need to create a living organism that can reflect all the continuous common work being done... we are

looking into incorporating a GRASS, open-source GIS platform in order to do it,” (Perez de Lama and de Soto 2005). Additionally there is the recognition of the fact that there was not as much input from the ‘other’ side of the Straits as was desired. For the moment the map itself reformulates these territories in two ways: “a geopolitical layer and another [layer] of a social algorithm. It results in something like biopolitical machinery that allows you to know where you are moving.” (‘Como de Hizo’ *Area Ciega*). Currently a new version of the map is beginning. This new version is attempting to incorporate technological changes in map-making since the first version from 5 years ago as well as create an online map interface that could incorporate more people in creating the map and deepening the analysis.

4.4 Why Mapping? Theorizing Cartography

Why do collectives such as *Hackitectura* or *Indymedia Estrecho* and projects such as the *Estrecho* make cartographies or maps? How do they understand Cartography as a tool or themselves as cartographers? A series of quotes from the collectives and projects will help to understand some answers. These quotes demonstrate a certain theoretical understanding of mapping as a continual process of inquiry, research and subjective creation (more than a finished product), an understanding inspired in the vocabulary and description of mapping by Deleuze and Guattari. Additionally they show that a project can in and of itself be a cartography, rather than just engage in a cartographic project, and that this ‘being’ cartography can aid in the creation, as well as the representation, of territory.

On the notion of ‘making’ cartography:

“To make cartography: mobile, continuous and collective- cartography: a map oriented towards lines of flight, to lines of attack, to subtraction... The cartographic method that we used as a form of production of minor knowledges, or reorganization and recollection of latent collective knowledges, is situated in the context of the need to know and invent the Madiaq territory,... Map Madiaq is to ‘do’ an ‘other’ territory, Map and mythopoeisis...a mobile cartography, open to emergent processes...Continuous as producer of ‘other’ truths, of insurrectionary and rebellious knowledges...of situated truth...Collective as joint construction through the active participation of the knowledges of the different subjects that inhabit the networks linked to the project.(Pili and Perez de Lama 2006: 137-8).

As suggested above activist mapping processes are often considered sites for the production of situated knowledges, part and parcel of (or as a form of) militant/activist research projects

“Cartography as *not knowing*, as permanent research, as a survey of the composition of the social and the interstices of reality [...], a survey of social processes in conflict. A cartography that connects knowledges and subjects. A cartography of the points of attack of the imperial enemy and the forms of attack of the movement. To map is to resist- capitalist territorialization-, it is to create – spaces of mutual contagion of the post-national multitude.” (Pili and Perez de Lama 2006: 138)

The research envisioned is (ideally) a way to leave behind categories that no longer serve or that can constrain strategies on the ground:

“We have never accepted the disjuncture between dedicating ourselves to *knowledge and research* about reality, or a simple form of activism based on revolutionary rhetoric and discourses inherited [acritically] from the past. Its impossible to try and transform society while looking through an ideological prism that’s situated outside the very social magma of knowledges that are secreted by emergent processes of social self-organization.” (Toret and Sguglia 2006a: 107)

In fact this research and mapping practice is seen as a sort of general ‘ethic’ for movements, a way of reinventing oneself constantly: “we are research subjects, and at the same time, we are the product of the research projects that we’ve carried out,” (Toret and Sguglia 2006a:107). These same authors identify that “[a] genuine ‘becoming militant

researchers' is currently afoot; the prosthetic use of research methodologies by social movements, the production of cartographies and maps," (Toret and Sguglia 2006b: 1) maps that can rename, rediscover, and remake worlds.

The above quotes makes reference to a particular understanding of mapping, or situates the mapping impulse in a larger field of movement recomposition. What about the option to map though? At times it responded to the desire to move beyond text or the fact that 'text' in and of itself did not capture what needed to be communicated (pili interview 2-2007). In other cases it was the extension of intellectual, disciplinary, or theoretical formation. For *Hackitectura*: "Our formation as architects combined with the suggestions of Deleuze and Guattari brought us, naturally, to make maps" (Perez de Lama and de Soto 2005).

The inspiration in Deleuze and Guattari has also marked other participants in the *Estrecho* map and *Fadai'at* process beyond *Hackitectura*. Specifically some participants have written about the importance of linking cartography and war machines as key concepts to guide current processes of militant research and of the recomposition of social movements in the region:

Cartography and war machine are for us two magic-concepts in order to understand the limitations that we have referred to in regards to militant research. These concepts are useful to think and attack these problems at one and the same time. Cartography understood as the capacity by movements to investigate and map the real: craft-work to detect and make the appearance of interferences in the societies of 'consensus' resonate. Cartography understood as an abstract prototype for the analysis of a problem in map form, diagramming blueprints of potential composition/assemblage. They are open maps for orientation, "connectable in all of its dimensions; detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 12) War machine understood as organizing-or-assemblage processes capable of transforming points into vectors: "like a lineal disposition constituted by lines of flight". (Toret and Sguglia 2006b: 2)²⁷

²⁷To expand on this we could include further discussion by the same authors on how:

Here we begin to see a more explicit link between map-making and space making: “Cartographies render territories but also construct them; territory inhabits our minds, it is constructed as knowledge, ” (Editorial Collective 2006: 83). They continue that this territorial creation can be done in more than one way: as a unidirectional creation of statements and representations of a territory that inhabit the minds of “citizen-consumers”; or as a “live-cartography” that is in continual construction changing and readapting itself. Additionally, territory is understood as something more than physical space: “We don’t understand territory solely as physical space but as a space of emergent processes (key points of conflict, symbolic),” (‘Como se Hizo’ *Area Ciega*). Mapping then becomes a way to highlight or even “propose” these emergent processes and in this way to create territory.

“The tool of cartography allows us: To identify the hot spots of contemporary conflict, its dynamics and actors, its movement and those trajectories that go from temporary uneasiness to the desire of building an alternative to one’s own situation. To think codes that articulate communication among the subjects implicated in a given issue, to learn from them and to experiment with communicative devices able to generate a new field of feeling and common reference.

To test those statements that would allow naming a given situation, in order to confirm its capacity of influence. Take on, then, the need to prefigure new, mobile and situational statements. The production of new names and concepts is not the task of a militant, but it will always be a collective and choral exercise of enunciation.

To introduce the ephemeral as a variable that accompanies every organizing process. From that point on, doubt and experimentation will become constituent elements of all militant practice. To generate groups able to transform themselves through constant recombination in interactions with “others”, understanding the outside as an asset and a singularity to be desired and appropriated. To transform militancy into a research process that surveys the passions, affects, humors, pathologies, fantasies, stories and becomings of social figures. In this way, the figure of the militant, as both researcher and nomad, loses all exteriority and is criss-crossed, through and over, by the dynamics of the situation which s/he inhabits, its crises, doubts and recompositions. This same figure then, being able to map excesses, pushing them beyond and composing them; linking statements, desires, and bodies. Transforming militant groups in analyzers and creative intercessors of social desires and statements.

SECTION 2: ANALYTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

4.5 Analyses emerging from Fadaiat Cartography

The Straits of Gibraltar are a territory-laboratory of the contemporary world. Multiple processes coexist in combination (Editorial Collective 2006: 83).

This quote captures much of the spirit with which Fadaiat maps, to understand their own territory as a laboratory of contemporary processes and a site from which to think issues that stretch far beyond that particular site. What are some of the analyses resulting from the laboratory of the Spanish-Moroccan border, the Straits, which emerge from these projects? Here I present five central points resulting from these spatial projects: the *border as line*; the *becoming productive of the border*; new understandings of migration; a longer engagement with how Haraway's notion of *cyborgs* was applied spatially; and finally the importance of the *mapping process*. In addition to presenting these analyses, I take them as starting points to re-theorize the border and see how they be can understood or explained beyond the maps themselves

4.5.1 The 'borderline'

The first contribution of the analysis resulting from these projects and central to the remaining points is the challenging of the "border" as a no man's land, as separation, as only a divider. Without ignoring the intense violence of an increasingly militarized border the *Fadaiat* and *Estrecho* collectives state: "borders are inhabitable territories that cannot be reduced to lines on a plane," (Editorial Collective 2006: 83) they are spaces of exchange and dynamism as well as policing, which itself can be dynamic. From this first

result of the analysis comes an initial conclusion: “The metaphor of Fortress Europe gives way to the image of a porous border...” (Editorial Collective 2006: 84). Thus we move from a line in the sand to a space of exchange, from an impenetrable Fortress to a porous filter.

From examination of the map and texts of the collectives involved as well as from the very intention of the *Fadaiat* intervention, that of creating cross-border wireless spaces of dialogue, we move on to see the border area of the Straits as a space of multiple and often directed flows. The way these collectives interpret this ‘space of flows’ takes a further step in making the ‘flows and scapes’ of Appadurai²⁸ a rather tangible space. These flows, their density and tensing around the region of the Straits, constitute that space as something unique: that those living in that ‘border’ region, defined broadly, share more in common with one another than perhaps they may share with fellow countrymen. These factors not only make it a unique territory but a unique geopolitical space, the object of international policy, of clashes between countries, etc.: “This enclave, natural entryway of Africa in Europe, underlines an abyss, a paradox of the global geo-economic order. Minimal geographic distance, maximum distance of levels of wealth and life possibilities,” (Editorial Collective 2006: 84).

From the border-line the project moves to a border-region, the *Straits*. The *Straits* as a geopolitical region stretches from the border between Spain and Morocco, out from the regions of Southern Spain (Andalucia) and Northern Morocco (including the two

²⁸Though evocative the processes by which Appadurai’s flows constitute and transform actual places seems unclear. Though Appadurai (1996) discusses the intersecting processes of indigenization and homogenization via his five types of global flows, the dynamics these have are unclear and how flows interact also remains a question. The analysis emerging from *Fadaiat* may suggest how a productive engagement with the analysis of global flows in very specific ways can help to understand the creation of space via pathways of flows.

Spanish enclaves there-Ceuta and Melilla), to become a territory going from Madrid to parts of Mauritania including the Canary islands. The designating of this territory is twofold. On the one hand it is descriptive of what is increasingly becoming a space of shared governance where migrants and others become the objects of shared policies and even shared technologies on the part of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania (i.e. the expansion of SIVE into Morocco). But more importantly, and consciously on the part of the collectives involved it is propositive, a “desired” territory. The desire for shared coordination, exchange of information as well as experiences, a denser network of projects and communities of movements whether they be migrant groups, precarious workers, the Polisario²⁹ and their solidarity movements, free software and hacker groups, or others.

The *Straits* thus identified and proposed is also designated as a space of ‘low-intensity conflict’, a space of war: “war at the border”; “war against migrants”. While all the talk of a ‘war against terror’ circulates, these collectives and other migrant rights movements look at the levels of militarization and the number of deaths of migrants and use this to identify this region as one of war, dirty and undeclared but very similar to war. The force of this metaphor (or perhaps it is not a metaphor) comes also from the fact that it is not a war between states, nor a war against a rebel group, in fact there is no group responding with violence to the border regime itself. But when confronted with the armament deployed against migrant flows: first rate military surveillance technologies;

²⁹The Polisario (or Popular Front for the Liberation of [Saguia el-Hamra](#) and [Río de Oro](#)) is the political and military organization of Saharai separatists fighting for the independence of the Western Sahara. This struggle began in the 1970’s against Spanish colonial rule and then against territorial claims by Morocco and Mauritania. The issue of the Western Sahara is currently at a stalemate, with Morocco having assumed much control over the territory via occupation. Saharai protests continue though, and the potential for a reopening of armed conflict remains.

un-manned planes; the deployment of troops-gendarmes-police from multiple countries; the setting up of prison camps; and the use of force, it is hard not to say that someone or some groups is/are managing this as if it were a war.

Fadaiat understands this territory to be a laboratory of current processes: “We understand the Straits of Gibraltar as a territory-mirror of the transformations going on in the contemporary world,” (Editorial Collective 2006: 83). Thus, though unique, it becomes a site from which to begin to comprehend much larger phenomena, a point form which to generate situated knowledges about processes transversing other territories and scales far beyond the Straits.

Reflection on the notion of Border Space

In projects such as *Fadaiat* and *Estrecho* a significant stretching and tearing apart of the notion of a border is taking place. The simple line where colors change on official EU maps or school textbook maps is unrecognizable. Interestingly, it is precisely the map, the instrument used to naturalize those national borders in the first place, that is used to subvert the border. Yet as described in this chapter, the *Estrecho* or Straits of Gibraltar project did not seek to ‘trace’ the lines of an entity in order to bound it but to locate the different flows along the territories designated as ‘border’ and follow them.

A profound re-imagining of space is at work in these mappings. The border ceases to be an end or dividing line and is reinterpreted as a: 1) social laboratory; a space inhabited and traversed by flows; 3) a geopolitical region; and 4) a war zone. Additionally, through *Fadaiat* and other mappings the spatial understanding of the EU is transformed. There is a move from a vision of the EU as freedom to fortress; then to

internal borders & camps; to the externalization of the border in third countries; to specific trans-continental geo-political regions (i.e., the *Straits*). The beginnings and ends of Europe are thrown into question and the affective spatial inscription of Europe (as a borderless space, a defender of human rights and freedoms) is challenged. Thus a fairly radical shift has occurred in the relation between state-territory-people-border, a simple unity that made the world easily chartable has splintered in multiple ways (Mezzadra 2006).

Instead of a particular place, though made up of many places, the “Border” becomes a type of space, a type of space that often does not share the clarity of modern-Cartesian-congruent-adjacently organized spatial boxes (such as nation-states, civilizations or developmental blocs). The ‘border’ becomes amorphous in these analyses, more like a way to organize societies. As a way of organizing a society it can encompass all sorts of territories: edges of states; interiors of countries; and multi-state regions.

Following Gregory’s critique of the notion of “camp” in Agamben³⁰ (2005- talk at UNC), in the same way that the “camp” is not an isolated space and is connected to and created by logistics, laws, infrastructures, the “border” is more than a no man’s land between countries or the customs post. The ‘space of exception’ that exists in a camp may be excluded from the juridical protection offered in other state spaces but it is not an outside nor produced merely via ‘absence’ of state or law. This ‘space of exception’

³⁰The ‘camp’ is the site of social death, a space of exclusion where the homo sacer is disposed of at will, a unique space in and of itself, beyond the laws and regimes that apply outside its confines. Yet for Gregory this space seems too isolated in the way it is told. Camps do not just ‘exist’, there are trains or roads that take inmates there, legal frameworks or loopholes exist that permit the camp’s existence, infrastructures for the camps construction and maintenance are required as well. In this vision the camp expands outside its walls to the surrounding society, the society that provides the necessary conditions for the ‘camp’ in the first place.

needs to be declared, produced, and maintained. In a similar sense the border, as that space of intense violence exemplified by the jumps of 2005, is actively produced and maintained through fence technologies, military patrols, and legal accords between Morocco, Spain and the EU. Agamben, commenting on former President Bush's constant renewal of National Emergencies, suggests that there is an attempt "to produce a situation in which the emergency becomes the rule" (Agamben in Gregory in press). Exception in this way becomes a form of government providing the rationale for the continued production and maintenance of spaces of exception.

When applied to the border, a new understanding of the border as regime becomes apparent. While the 'border' site between states can be seen as a locus of exception, as these activist projects point out, the "border" becomes a form of government, a way of creating an "us" and a "them" in a given society, and in turn helping define that society as such. Additionally, these cartographic projects highlight it is an unevenly applied mechanism. The 'border' seen more as a filter, can be turned 'up' or 'down' in intensity much like a faucet, helping create an "emergency" or responding to social pressures of various sorts³¹: the overwhelming presence of migrants and the inability of states to respond; migrant-rights mobilizing; anti-immigrant mobilizing; elections; helping create a space for investment of friendly or important companies.³²

³¹This broader image of the border could serve as a challenge to notions of a state's space or spaces of jurisdiction in fields like Political Geography and may even to help enrich the field of Border Studies

³²The questions of border management and governance are still being developed by these and related activist groups. The role of international agencies such as the IOM and FRONTEX is yet to be fully tackled for example. In the past couple of years all the work about the proliferation of camps within the EU and the extension of migrant policing for the EU beyond its own borders has led to the idea of "*interior and exterior borders*" as way to think these together while highlighting their differences (*Contrapoder cuadernos* 2006/7). Some projects have even proposed the idea of extending some of the work done by the Estrecho map and attempting a "map of the border" focusing on Barcelona, how the border functions

4.5.2 *Frontera Fabrica: the “Border Factory”*

Another key analysis to emerge from these processes is the idea of the ‘becoming productive’ of the border itself, alluded to by the alliteration *Frontera Fabrica*. We’re witnessing “the intensification of control systems...the externalization of borders to third countries...[and to contrast] the development of the border economy, this is to say, the becoming productive of the border space.” (Editorial Collective 2006: 84) An analysis of the border space as economically productive, or as a specific border economy, helps to understand concentration of certain economic sectors on each side of the Straits of Gibraltar. On the one hand, the number of Spanish and European enterprises setting up shop in Morocco near the Straits of Gibraltar. On the other hand, on the northern side of those Straits: “... the consolidation of productive sectors that are sustained because of their proximity to the border zone and the presence of a migrant labor force (care work in Ceuta and Melilla, intensive agriculture in Huelva and Almeria, etc.)” (Editorial Collective 2006: 84). Delocalization of companies on the one hand, and intensive agriculture + care work on the other.

This economic geography of the border also leads to a new understanding of the border as a space. Continuing on the notion of fortress mentioned above: “... [*The metaphor of Fortress Europe gives way to the image of a porous border*] selective, that tries to insert migratory movements in specific productive circuits,” (Editorial Collective 2006: 84). The border acts then as a filtering mechanism for a particular type of economy, the border regime is part and parcel of this economic development.

within and from that urban site, even though it is physically distant from the legal border (interview: *Ateneu Candela* member 05/2007).

Intensive agriculture is one of the highlighted icons on the dense *Estrecho* map. Much of the intensive agriculture, especially in fruits and tomatoes, in the South of Spain is heavily dependent on migrant labor, often with mobile camps of laborers moving around from one harvest to another³³. The mixing of local day labor with migrant day labor has led to an explicit commitment on the part of the farmworker's union there to anti-racism (SOC- website). It is also these regions that are host to some of the deeper tensions around migration: security fears on the part of locals, and the fear of racist pogroms or police raids and abuses on the part of migrants.³⁴

With regards to the other side of the 'border factory', the *Estrecho* map also calls attention to some of the relocations of factories, call centers, energy plants and more to Northern Morocco. According to a participant in Fadaiat, this insertion into an economy of relocated production and export production is exemplified by the fact that: "40% of employment in Morocco comes from investment in textile production, and in the region of Tanger [on the border], almost 60% of the jobs are centered on those activities. 95% of the production is dedicated to export," (Moleno 2006: 104). In an accompanying text under the section 'capital flows' on Side A of the *Estrecho* map is one of the only non-specialist references to a program called the TangerMed platform. The mega-development project officially opened in July 2007 though many parts are still to be finished. It includes the creation of a mega-port on the Northern Moroccan coast, at the entrance to the Mediterranean, along with a Special Economic Zone for export based

³³The tradition of mobile landless labor in the South of Spain goes far back historically and played a role in early twentieth century anarchism in the region.

³⁴The last major pogrom took place in 2000 in El Ejido, a town in the region focused on intensive greenhouse agriculture. This pogrom required the police takeover of the town for several days. Smaller incidents have followed since. El Ejido is also not far from Torre Pacheco. This is the small city described in chapter 3 where migration police swept in and rounded up a thousand people for documentation checks based on physical features.

production. In its planning stages at least, this SEZ would stretch the entire length of the tip of Morocco that appears to “jut out” toward the Spanish coast (Ceuta to Tanger concretely speaking) and would include the infrastructural investments necessary to make this Zone and the port workable (Tanger-Mediterranean Special Agency: www.tmsa.ma).³⁵

Becoming Migrant

In direct relation to this analysis of the border factory, the collectives involved make a link to other transformations going on within Spain and other European countries as well. They give a new way of understanding both labor flexibilization as well as the increased mobility of European citizens.

The centrality of migratory movements gives us clues for understanding important transformations that are rocking both the labor market as well as the very notion of citizenship in European space. The characteristics that defined migrant work (intense mobility, temporality, contractual informality, low salaries, low union protection, invisibility, etc.) are extending themselves to the entire population. We are before a *‘becoming migrant’* of labor. (Editorial Collective 2006: 84).

Thus understanding the dynamics of ‘migration + labor market’ function helps to understand processes that are taking place far beyond ethnic enclaves and border regions, such as the flexibilization of work, temporary contracts, and the attempts to increase the mobility of the workforce (European Year of Workers’ Mobility: 2006) in the EU.

³⁵Both this particular development plan and the broader notion of the ‘border factory’ can also be read in tandem with the EuroMediterranean, or EUROMED, integration program. This encompasses a broad reworking of the political and economic relations of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean into an EU-led economic bloc (see European Commission Directorate General of External Relation EUROMED program: http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/euromed/index_en.htm). Interestingly the negotiations required to put this EUROMED process into operation are occurring simultaneously to agreements between North African and Mediterranean countries to open processing centers for migrants trying to cross into the EU. Perhaps one cannot assume a direct correlation between these processes, but as these collectives suggest, to not think about them in parallel fashion would risk making our analyses and prescriptions for the situation out of touch.

Precarity: labor and beyond

The suggestive conclusion mentioned above, of a “becoming migrant’ of work belies an important component of the analysis in these groups and the ideas that underpin their actions and interventions. They do not see the border as a sectoral issue, one that affects migrants and a ‘we’ gets involved only as those who are in solidarity with an ‘other’. Rather they try to think through changes in the border regime together with transformations ‘on the home front’. In their case they look at both transformations in the border regime and in work and labor in Spain as well as other parts of the EU. As they put it: “migrations and work as the key words for reading the transformations underway,” (Editorial Collective 2006: 83). Several participants in these processes in fact understand thinking these processes together as a direct growth of global resistance struggles: “The global movement in its so-called second cycle and its *European territorialization* (especially after Genoa) has detected and instigated this centrality: the intersection between work and migrations,” (Toret and Sguglia 2006a: 108).

Their emphasis on labor focuses on the ‘transformations of work’ occurring in the area. These refer to the tendencies toward: temporary contracts; self-employment; lack of insurance coverage; non-unionized sectors; and service work; all key elements of the ‘Spanish economic miracle’. Especially given the young composition of these groups, this responds in some sense to their direct experience of salaried work. Their analysis starts from a critique of representational institutions, in particular union and party leaderships as having been unable to respond effectively to these changes and to accompany the different processes of struggle that have emerged in these new sectors

³⁶(map text side B & Toret and Sguglia in Fadi). In part, this disenchantment with the behaviors of unions and parties that gained their strength during the struggles of the democratic transition in Spain (the 1970's and early 1980's in particular) has motivated this mapping and research project. The project attempts to understand transformations in work lives on the one hand; and on the other hand attune itself to different types of struggles emerging from these work experiences. In this way there is an attempt to build new networks or infrastructures of support for these populations.

As with many current activist initiatives in Europe, and more so amongst youth and autonomous networks, their focus on work hinges in large part on the concept of precarity. This concept and the multiple understandings of it is explored in detail in Part III. To give an impression of what these collectives identify as precarity and what they see as key to struggle with and against in the context of the *Estrecho*, we can examine part of the text from the *Estrecho* map on side B:

We are invisible and nonetheless we produce the world. We are the seasonal workers that cultivate and harvest fruits and vegetables, the attendants that work at stores, the cooks that cook the food, the construction workers and brick layers that build houses, the drivers that guarantee transport, the designers that create whatever is needed (webs, logos, houses, etc.), the operators that attend calls, the house and building cleaners, the caretakers that look after the elderly and children, the artists and spectacle workers, the researchers, grantees, teachers and professors, students, sex workers, and a very long etc....

We are invisible and nonetheless we suffer labor transformations in the first person. In our territory, stable and secure employment is an endangered species. The constant industrial restructuring and delocalizations as well as the application of neoliberal reforms have brought us to a situation where 89% of workers in the region are distributed in agriculture (10,48%), construction (14,13%) and most of all services (64,02%). These key sectors for the market are noted for their temporality, informality and the absence of labor rights (non-

³⁶This is a critique shared by many activists in autonomous networks. In some cases, institutions such as the majoritarian unions are seen as converting themselves into *lobbies* at best or corporatist representatives for the types of industrial sectors where they have traditionally organized the best (some public services and some factory based industries such as auto, shipbuilding, and others) (Toret and Sguglia 2006: 109), in other cases they are directly accused of "opting to accompany and manage the application of neoliberal measures," (map text side B)

compliance with or absence of collective agreements, unending workdays, low salaries, unjustified firings and all kinds of abuse in contracting and labor conditions). It is in this type of context where precarity has become hegemonic and traverses increasing numbers of workers. A precarity that goes beyond labor conditions and extends to life itself as a whole, where the access to such elemental rights like housing, health, education and culture, have become a balancing act that millions of people find themselves in.

Though precarity in this map text is assumed as ‘hegemonic’, as actually existing and as all negative, many of the members in these collectives also see a certain ambiguity in the process and also many opportunities. The multiple skills one learns in different jobs, the multiple social networks, the multiple languages learned, etc., for example are also understood as new possibilities, even enabling of a new politics (*Precarias a la Deriva* 2004). Additionally, some of the members involved stress that although there is some sociological description of things already underway (flexibilization, reduction of certain labor rights, etc.) precarity is not ‘only’ descriptive: “The notion of the precariat is not descriptive for us but propositive. More than the description of a reality, it announces a potential. It is not a sociological category, it is a program of intervention,” (Toret and Sguglia 2006a: 109-10). The propositive power of precarity as a concept for these groups lies precisely in the fact that it is composed of so many actors, sectors, and is symbolic of the mobility of the epoch that they perceive, whether mobility between jobs and jobsites, or between countries and continents. Precarity becomes the base for multiple alliances across these differences, a ‘something’ in common, that tries not to erase the differences under a call for ‘class unity’.³⁷

The Border Regime as part and parcel of economic transformations:

³⁷An exploration and critique of precarity is carried out in Part III.

In discussing the analyses of the maps above, we have seen how the border itself becomes “productive”, very literally. The dispositifs of policing, closing, othering, filtering, channeling, etc., produce a unique economic geography. This economic geography is three-fold for the groups analyzed here: 1) defense oriented with all the investments and contracts for surveillance equipment, R&D, patrol boats and planes, detention center construction, hi-tech fences, etc. 2) intensive industries clustered around the border itself- principally for export in Northern Morocco with more ‘factory’ type jobs with care and agriculture being more key in Andalucia; and 3) a ‘becoming migrant of labor’ that is spreading beyond migrant populations to a more general precarious condition of the population as a whole.

The border, as Balibar has said, is no longer “peripheral” or at the “edge” but now central to the political constitution of a people but also to the economy. In some sense the militarized border becomes the “side B” of the knowledge economy that Europe claims it is trying to build based on the Lisbon Strategy of 2000³⁸ (Europa Glossary: Lisbon Strategy). Many collectives related to the *Estrecho* and *Fadaiat* projects have stressed the centrality of the ‘border regime’ in the current conjuncture viewed from their ‘situation’, both in terms of its “othering” function and in the way it produces economies. These two functions are not mutually exclusive. If one takes this claim to the extent that the *Fadaiat* participants do where the conditions placed on migrant labor are gradually becoming the norm for all, then the centrality becomes more tangible. The border regime then is no longer a sectoral question (i.e. only for migrants) but a defining and

³⁸The Lisbon agenda refers to a series of agreements and documents discussed at a 2000 EU ministerial meeting in Lisbon. The agenda set as a goal for the EU to become “the most competitive knowledge economy in the world”. A set of cross EU reforms, goals and benchmarks are set in order to achieve this goal. Some of these include labor flexibilization, harmonization between higher education schemes, and privatization and securitization of some remaining state enterprises.

paradigmatic element of what is happening, of new forms of labor, of new geopolitical regions (of the *Straits* but also of Europe itself). The ‘border’ becomes transversal.³⁹

The mapping projects discussed above have explicitly engaged the complex construction of the EU’s border regime as an integral part of the new economic and social regime being put in place. The processes of *othering* mentioned above then become an integral part of the formation of the EU and the new sorts of state-economy-society relations that are being proposed, produced and pushed. As suggested by *Fadaiat* one cannot understand increasing labor precarity in Andalusia without taking into account the racialization and militarization of the migration question. It works almost as a three step process: 1) the border economy channels population flows into particular sectors; 2) the militarization of the border and the hardening border regime place the migrant in a more ‘precarious’ situation in the host country, without documents and with less guarantees of rights, the border in this sense ‘precarizes’ the migrant population; 3) those conditions of migrant precarity become the extreme expression of a more general trend in labor markets towards informalization and an exit of the state from the contractual relation.

Recombination and Experimentation: Freedom of Movement, Freedom of Knowledge

This way of analyzing the border has fed the desire to think precarity and migration together, at times stretching out to include what has been called cognitive

³⁹The identification of the border regime as a key component of new forms of economic organization and regulation could be seen as a key contribution to relevant literatures. I have not yet seen much reference made in economic geography to the construction of a particular border and migration regime. In addition, relevant literatures such as work from the Regulationist School, that have dealt quite exhaustively at times with issues such as labor flexibilization, post-fordism, new forms of social regulations (things that these movements often refer to when discussing precarity) do not necessarily make such strident connections between the forms of regulation around the border (and its concomitant othering and racializations) and the recreation of an overall regime of accumulation. This type of approach could also lend insights into how processes of ‘othering’ are actively at work constituting the current economic order.

labor.⁴⁰ Debates around cognitive capitalism and immaterial labor have placed emphasis on those figures of labor whose primary work engages the production of codes, knowledge, innovation, culture and ideas. These could include figure such as computer programmers, scientific researchers, translators, culture workers and designer to give a short list. Debates around these have centered around journals such as *Multitudes* in France and the work of authors such as Hardt, Negri, Corsani, Lazzarato, and Virno. Part of the reasoning is that in the current phase of capitalist development it is with these figures of labor that capitalism is obtaining its surplus value. ‘Knowledge’ in this regards becomes the vanguard of capitalist development. The workforce engaged in these sectors becomes hegemonic in the sense that its conditions and ways of organizing become paradigmatic for all other sectors of the economy that in some sense feed into it (Hardt and Negri). Some interesting struggles around precarious labor have in fact emerged from these sectors, problematizing the role of knowledge in the economy and classical notions of labor rights.⁴¹ Yet as other authors have stressed (Federici 2008), this over emphasis on a cognitive vanguard misses the radical de-possession occurring in different parts of the world and often translating themselves into a very different form of precarity for groups such as migrants. Can cognitive and migrant labor be thought together? Is it not incorrect in fact to assume that they are not at times the same?

The idea of recombining these heterodox forces comes from a serious consideration of (and a willingness to experiment with) ideas such as “intersecting lines

⁴⁰Something of a misnomer since it reifies a divide between ‘brain’ work and ‘manual’ work assuming that cognitive work is not physical or that ‘non-cognitive’ work actually exists.

⁴¹These include struggles such as that of: the ‘intermittents’, temporary cultural workers in France; becarios precarios, or scholarship and grant funded research and teaching positions in Spain; Internship and free labor mobilizing in Germany, France and elsewhere problematizing the mass use of interns and the link between universities and companies that recruit interns.

of flight that can form new plateaus” and “the creation of vectoralized war machines”. What would it mean to put those into practice? What might result? The demands in the first edition of *Fadaiat* and those expressed on the *Estrecho* map are summed up by: “freedom of movement; and freedom of knowledge”. Recall the strange mix of hackers-geeks-migrants-labor activists. Though many participants were aware that it might not work, and some believe it did not, they were willing to try it. The mixing of groups around a set of common themes in and of itself was seen as something that could create a new force.⁴²

Part of this re-combining of elements, issues, and populations is based on a particular analysis of the present as well as certain postulates, such as the creation of new war machines. At the same time, it comes from a desire to politically experiment. The organizing experiences within these sectors, cognitive and migrant, are some of the “freshest” in the region. There are no large unions involved, no large organizations and thus there is room for experimentation without the difficulties of relations with or between highly institutionalized organizations. For groups involved in the Fadaí’at process this translates as an ability to experiment on these subjectivities in emergence. If recombinations of populations, sectors and demands are tried now, before these emergent subjects harden into an identitarian politics, what new strategies might be possible and what new rights would be required? This experimental desire is also graphically expressed in their cartographies.

⁴²Some important political lessons can be taken from these sorts of approaches. For example how do we rethink alliances outside of the strictest pragmatic terms that plague political work (i.e. “we’re all against this” or “we must share demands before working together”)? How do we think multi-issue and cross-sectoral struggles in societies termed “atomized” or in increasingly fragmented labor markets?

4.5.3 *New Understandings of Migration:*

In challenging the rhetoric of an immigration crisis or avalanche, and in moving away from the victimization of immigrants as helpless (and requiring ‘aid’) Fadaiat and related networks have developed a series of new understandings of immigration. The first notion, the ‘migrant as subject’ is the sine qua non of that latter two more provocative concepts: “the autonomy of migration”; and “migration as a social movement”.

Migrant as Subject

In this discussion of a ‘productive border’ and the list of abuses to which migrants are subjected (policing abuses or labor abuses) the migrant is not left as a helpless victim. The collectives involved here insist on the idea of the ‘migrant as a subject’ and an agent in their own affairs.⁴³

Migrants in transit through Morocco, temporary camps and spaces of self-organization, sit-ins and mobilizations that demand the right to have rights, union organization in Huelva and Almeria. Immigrants have ceased to be a mere consequence of the structural disequilibrium of the world-system, and they erect themselves...as political subjects capable of organizing themselves and articulating concrete demands that question the model of European citizenship of the 21st century (Editorial Collective 2006: 84).

In different parts of the *Estrecho* map one can see representations of these migrant camps in the forests of Northern Morocco, and symbols referring to migrant campaigns for rights in Southern Spain. The voices and testimonies recorded after the ‘mass fence jump’ of 2005 (see chapter three) do not give only an impression of victims but also of self-organized collective attempts to communicate, to find solutions and to make demands either on the Moroccan police or the Spanish media. This is not only a taking

⁴³This has actually become and increasingly general claim of many migrants rights groups in the EU as of late, see especially the work of the Frassanito network.

into account of immigrant ‘agency’ in their own affairs, it also stakes a claim for understanding the immigrant as a political actant and not only the object or result of policies.

The Autonomy of Migration

In regards to “the autonomy of migration”, this idea sees that migration and the global circulation of people and populations have become such massive and transversal phenomena that it has produced its own dynamics and processes. These dynamics supercede the different “structural” causes and dynamics that analyses of migration have described. In other words while factors such as push/pull, chain migration, family reunification, states promoting certain flows as escape valves for labor shortages in key sectors, etc. may all be useful and might even have explanatory force in particular cases or for individuals, the process of migration as a whole has superceded these according to this argument. It has become something else. It is no longer a “consequence” of structural disequilibrium (economic reforms, neo-colonialism, etc.) but must also be understood as a process on its own terms (Caffentzis and Federici 2008 & Frassanito 2005). The autonomy of migration idea speaks to the idea of migration as a whole, as something greater than the sum of its parts. While individual decisions and structural dispossession are still producing immigration, the phenomenon of human mobility has taken on such proportions as to signify something other than the sum of decisions and causes.

Migration as a Social Movement

In regards to migration understood as a “social movement” there is first a need to clarify that these networks are provocatively rethinking what is meant by ‘social movement’. In this case they are trying to move beyond the “representational” form that many movements take (with explicit organizations, spokespeople, an emphasis on public communications, etc.). Even if movements often question standard representational politics, they take forms that depend a lot on ‘representation’.⁴⁴ Here social movement is seen as a mass “movement” of peoples that is spurring all sorts of social processes in its wake such as: multiple forms of self-organization; attempts to repress, manage and control it; changing notions of citizenship. The use of the term “social movements” is an intentional one, to help de-reify what we mean by social movements and rethink the massive social process of migration as something more than the sum of desperate individual actions (Frassanito 2006; European Social Forum 2004).

If these two notions are thought in tandem, that migration is a social movements with autonomous dynamics, and combine these with the ideas expressed above of the migrant as subject and the becoming migrant of labor, one is faced with a massive transformative phenomenon. Instead of only a negative result of globalization, a consequence that must be dealt with either via concession or repression, migration becomes a radically transformative force and one that is at least partially independent of the structural shifts in geopolitics or economy. This approach could devolve into an over glorification of the migrant as the ‘new revolutionary subject’ or something similar and in some activist rhetoric this does appear to happen. Seen differently, these understandings of migration could force a more serious re-engagement with the questions of mobility,

⁴⁴In some sense this can be said to have led to the heavy focus on factors such as organizations and public framing on the part of Social Movement Studies.

citizenship, rights, and state sovereignty. Mass migration, in this view, is transforming notions of nation and reshaping entire geopolitical regions. Migration and mobility are becoming the benchmarks for a new set of labor and life standards. The evolving border regime of the EU and its displacement within and outside ‘EU space’ can be seen as a reaction to this autonomous force.⁴⁵

A Shift in Migration Studies?

Can these concepts and approaches imply a rethinking of migration studies? Often the literature on migration examines causes and dynamics of migration.⁴⁶ These studies, while very useful in and of themselves, can often make the migrant (as an individual or collectively) an object. In some sense, it might be ironically said, that they look like a science of governance attempting to understand but also manage these flows and populations.

The studies embodied by these projects take a slightly different approach, making the border regime itself their focus. Possibly going a step beyond *border studies* proper, the focus is on the regime of norms, regulations, physical instruments, spaces and sites, that create the ‘foreigner’, ‘extra-communitarian’, that define that person as an object of laws and actions by the state; how the migrant is legally and physically (with fences, camps, etc.) created as “other”, as vulnerable, etc. In some sense we can say that these studies look ‘up from the bottom’ at a particular regime of governance and power, instead of looking at the migrants and their behaviors as objects.

⁴⁵In this framework this ‘autonomous force’ and this ‘movement’ can be understood as a form of Foucauldian resistance, ontologically prior to the governance technologies arrayed against them.

⁴⁶These can include other not mention above under the Autonomy of Migration such as: the integration of migrant communities through enclave formation or surveys of identity and language use over generations.

What would research on the geographies of migration and mobility look like if it grappled with the ideas “the autonomy of migration” and “migration as a social movement”? How would analyses of immigrant insertion into labor market reason from a position that engages a “becoming migrant of labor”? What would the objects, methods, and goals of this type of research be? Even if these concepts are seen to be theoretically or empirically wanting, how might they point us towards rethought analyses of immigration, of sovereignty and government, and of socially transformative movements?

The understanding of migration as a social movement also suggests questions for Social Movement Studies. The definition of migration as a social movement de-centers an important focus of SMS on issues such as organizations, networks, and concrete frames or demands. Some SMS scholars have broadened understandings of these types of politics via the concept of ‘Contentious Politics’ (Tarrow, Tilly and McAdam 2000). An issue that some have raised with Contentious Politics is that it can include everything from community complaints against a garbage dump to genocidal actions, in this way the concept reifies ‘institutional politics’ from all else (Wiklund 2005). Parliamentary procedure, state management, party politics are reified as ‘normal’ or ‘non-contentious’ even if contention might occur therein.⁴⁷ Migration understood as a movement escapes any one moment of ‘movement’ since there are many struggles both visible and clandestine. It is a process of movement but one that escapes representational forms.

⁴⁷In defense of the SMS approach, Charles Tilly has stressed that a ‘social movement’ should not be understood as a sort of generic term for forms of social resistance but that it is a very specific form that evolved in parallel fashion with the modern nation-state (Tilly interview 2007). The effort of Contentious Politics was in part to think resistance more broadly. Yet the attempt to categorize resistance and movements with a very specific typology of categories has disturbed some activists who believe it is to distanced from the messier practice of social mobilization (Wiklund 2005).

Additionally the lens of the autonomy of migration leads to a separation of the dynamic of migration from 'structural causes'. Migration as a movement is not a mere consequence of structural problems and will not merely disappear if demands are met. Rather, the 'movement' of migration will morph and change accordingly but as an autonomous dynamic. The autonomy of migration thought alongside the migration as movement approach also forces a transnational approach. The itineraries and struggles of migrants often occur in (and through) multiple states. This could add a new layer to studies of transnational activism not only looking at transnational actions, campaign and organization but also transnational bodies and itineraries of struggle.

4.5.4 Cyborgs

While it may appear tangential to the way the concept of cyborg is rethought is important for understanding how these collectives understand the possibility of creating new territory. Cyborgs and spaces become intrinsically related contributing another sphere to cyborg thought. The thinking on 'cyborgs' seems to work in a sort of three-step progression for the participants in these projects. First it is a tool to understand the contemporary connection of individuals and communities in a series of pervasive networks and technologies with profound effects on daily lives and itineraries: "We use the term cyborg in order to refer to this new ecological multiplicity in which individual and social bodies are continuously connected to networks of machines that function as mental and physical extensions of those bodies and relate them actively to the worlds".⁴⁸ Building on this, and the notion of 'freedom of information', they discuss the idea of the

⁴⁸As examples of these machines they refer to things such as cell phones, local markets connected to global logistical networks, satellite emissions and more.

multitud conectada (interconnected multitude). This is a concept that *Hackitectura* in particular has been working on for a while. It is something they are projecting forward, not a reality they are describing, but they argue that the bases for it can be gleaned for the numerous projects that incorporate new technologies into their work and the attempt to democratize them.⁴⁹

Secondly, the point on cyborgs, or thinking cyborgly, brings the groups involved to the question of new types of compositions of forces and coalitions and what type of results, actions and strategies those may lead to. As one of the members of *Hackitectura* said, a focus of their work is: “the construction/composition of heterogeneous elements and concepts,” (interview: *Hackitecctura* member 10/2007). At the *Fadaiat* encounters there has been a deliberate attempt to put together groups like migrants/migrants rights activists alongside hackers. These are two disparate groups to say the least with no clear “common” between them. For that moment, a common did not need to be forced. It was enough to have the two groups together sharing/creating a space, this may develop into something more or it may not. This is part of the experiment (Perez de Lama 2004). The idea being an attempt to create a bricolage of multiple social and technological bodies into a force or a mobilizing mechanism.

Building on these notions of: 1) connectivity to networks and new technologies; and 2) the combination of heterogeneous forces/populations, a third understanding arises. This is probably best reflected in one of the definitions *Hackitectura* has of hackitecture itself: “redes sociales + redes telemáticas +espacios/territories” (Perez de Lama 2004:14). Here again the re-appropriation of technologies that we inhabit and that inhabit us + a

⁴⁹The democratization of new technologies refers to the free software movement, Linux, collaborative online media and other similar processes much of whose work focuses on de-linking these technologies from intellectual property regimes.

mix of social networks + physical territory, lead to some sort of new agency, machine, cyborg, capacity to intervene, etc. This last point speaks to the importance given to territory and place in the creation of ‘cyborgs’. The specificities of particular territories have effects on the types of cyborgs that can emerge there.⁵⁰

4.5.5 The mapping process as most important.

As a final note here, I stress the importance given to the process of map-making itself. While this is not a unique contribution of the Fadai’at process or the Straits map towards understanding the border, it aids in understanding what role maps, and concretely the *making* of maps has on these social movement collectives. This is a recurrent theme amongst many activist mapping projects. Various activist cartographic experiments have stressed how the mapping process in and of itself was the most important part of the cartography. The research involved, the decisions on what to include, deciding what the base should be, what different layers are, different items or icons, the networks formed in producing the map, and design considerations all of these were often as valued by some of the map-making practitioners as was the resulting map.

In the field of critical cartography how the map-making process itself can have important effects on the map-makers and on the cartographic spaces created has often been overlooked. In the case of these activist cartographies, this is even more important to look at. The process of map-making is seen as a network and community building

⁵⁰Besides the Fadaiat encounters themselves, probably the most clear public example of this thinking being put into action is reflected in the reporting of and the solidarity efforts with the mass border jumps in the Fall of 2005. It is hard to imagine that coordinating effort without the previous work of mixing sectors and populations and technologies in a specific space. While not all the networks established in 2004 & 2005 have persisted, the blueprints for action and even some of the infrastructures (through websites and the like) still exist, in this way facilitating future coordination and mingling across borders and populations.

activity, an exploration of space by different groups with different backgrounds and knowledges. Given the fact that these are collective projects undertaken by groups and networks, with feedback coming in from even larger numbers of people, there is not only a ‘territory-making’ capacity to these cartographies but a higher-possibility of creating ‘territories-in-common’. The result is a process of creating a ‘common’ territory from that encounter of difference. These maps are the results of a collective debate, a decision to present a certain territory(ies), and in addition to act on it. In this way, there exists a group of people that experienced the transformation in the territory via the collective mapping process. The commitment to inhabiting the ‘territory’ in the resulting map may guide future alliances, campaigns and other practical spatial interventions on the ground.

Most of the groups that stressed the importance of the process spoke about how developing this vision of the territory forced all sorts of debates and encounters that would have been difficult to realize in other venues. This included communication between types of movements that do not normally coordinate; or the sorts of back and forth necessary to produce some sort of common analysis. Especially given the diffusion of map-making technologies, art mapping and the growth in activist mapping the question of the effects of map-making on the makers themselves (and the subsequent actions or spatial strategies/practices they engage in) may be increasingly important to consider.

4.7 Conclusions:

The activist projects described in this chapter have appropriated map-making and map-making tools in order to achieve the goals of mapping another territory at the border

and another image of Europe and its limits. Their mapping have been filtered through a rethought cartography whose technique is inspired both in the theorizing of Deleuze and Guattari as well as in the “caminar preguntando” of the Zapatistas. This rethought cartography works in at least three ways. First, mapping is used to follow practices in the border region, to engage flows, rather than to define and bound distinct entities. Secondly is the importance given to the mapping process itself, both in terms of making it participatory and in terms of the effects that the process has on transforming the territory. Thirdly is through the notion of ‘being cartography’, enacting and practicing the new territories being mapped through new spatial practices, such as the cross-border virtual bridge between Spain and Morocco created during the Fadaiat event days.

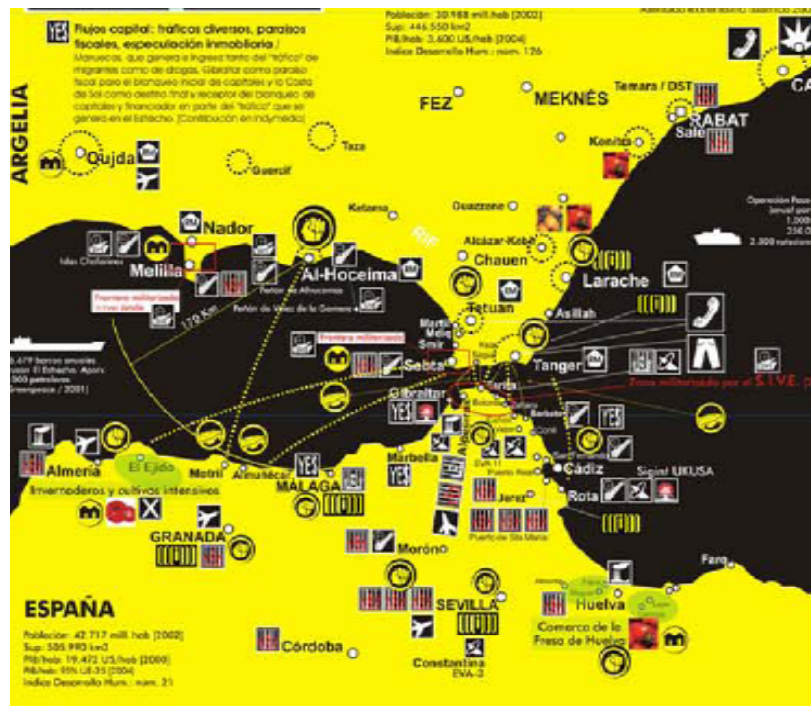
Due to the resonance of these mappings, and the new analyses of the border area that have been detailed above, the map of the Straits and Fadaiat have been key reference for other activist mapping efforts. The 2005 Fadaiat encounter solidified a new set of debates for activist cartography throughout Spain and parts of Europe in this way being a significant contribution to the development of activist cartography as a tool. Hackitectura website serves as an online archive of both the map of the Straits as well as information about other map-making projects, in that ways serving as a resource for other movements efforts.

Besides its resonances, the significance of this project lays in the role it plays in the current Combat of Cartographies struggling to define Europe. The experience of the Critical Cartography subfield suggests that maps are not merely representations of the real but creators of territory. Competing visions of a territory can in effect become confrontations between types of spaces, and can result in political or social clashes over

‘spaces to be’. In the case of the border at Gibraltar this becomes a clash with very real consequences in terms of lives.



Map 4.4 The Spain-Morocco border: political boundaries where one ends and the other begins



Map 4.5 The Cartography of the Straits: a map of border space that follows policing practices, detention centers, migrant flow, capital movements and struggles as constitutive of the border as a space

The two maps above give us radically different images of the space of the border, and each implies or demands a set of spatial practices, social rights, and ethical framings. The border as line and end implies that movement across the border requires controlling, submission to the entity being traveled to. The border as set of flows implies a territory

united by this communication, a space with its own dynamics that requires new structures of solidarity and communication, and a set of rights that move through the places being traversed.

This visualization belies the other maps that are being superimposed over each other in these lands. The lines that separate Spanish from Moroccan state sovereignty in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla are traced out via a map on the physical territory itself: the double border fence. The coasts of Spain and the Canary islands are re-mapped through the SIVE system, in and of itself a real-time map of the sea boundaries able to compute information happening at the border into a central command structure. The SIVE is a continual remapping. These two maps are superimposed on maps of cross-border trade practices that have existed for decades, migrant flows, and cross-border networking. Balibar's suggestion of a competition between a European citizenship and a European apartheid echoes here. Understood as a series of superimposed realities, these two are not mutually exclusive though they are in competition and tension with one another. Will a new cosmopolitanism be defined in the border regions of Europe with a new set of rights not bounded exclusively by blood and territory? Or will an ugly regime of 'we' and 'they' emerge between those deemed 'European' able to travel freely throughout the new Europe while their trains pass by migrant-detention centers? At play (or at war) is a competition over territories that are and will be. The battle at the border is on, written with the gunsmoke of the Spanish and Moroccan states and the fence-torn flesh of Europe's citizens to be.

PART III. PRECARITY

Class Re-composition and the European Social Space

Part III

Precarity:

Class Re-composition and the Formation of European Space

The formation of precarious subjectivities is not only emerging on the sites of labour struggles in different sectors and groups, such as intermittent, affective, part-time, temporary, freelance, casual, immaterial, contract, seasonal, informal workers but also traverses the whole constitution of the European social space: migration and mobility, gender politics, queer politics, politics of embodiment and health (...)

The European regime of power on precarity...[is]... the regime of power across Europe and the different political actors participating in controlling social movement and political initiatives against precarity, such as the various governmental organisations on national and European level, traditional trade unions, corporate agents of neoliberal globalization and MNCs, employment agencies and institutions of public policies (Precarity_WebRing founding document,2007)

Precarity as a concept has been a salient element of critical discourse in European social movements for well over a decade. The discourse of precarity has been used to denounce growing flexibilization and casualization in labor contract relations. However, the concept has recently expanded to encompass a broader critique of social life, including questions such as migration and gender. Precarity is actually a transversal element in many activist mapping projects, those that have been explored in-depth in this dissertation, as well as others that I have encountered during my research.

Precarity, as a term, as a way of denouncing tendencies in labor markets and social services, and as a critique of the construction of a certain type of 'Europe', has become generalized in many EU countries. It would be difficult to engage contemporary issues such as urban social movements, current scholarship on labor reforms or political debates on social policy without encountering the term. In fact in some countries, such as Spain, France and Italy, it could even be difficult to hang out in a local café without hearing the term thrown around. In many cases, the networks examined in this dissertation have been part of this introduction of precarity as simultaneously a sign, a discourse, an analytic tool as well as a site position, with which to intervene in current socioeconomic transformations.

The significance of the concept of precarity and its growing presence both in public discourse and cartographic representations is linked to the following processes taking place in many Western European countries: a) a unique phenomenon of class re-composition is transforming what had been a dominant conceptual base for political organizing in Europe, especially notions of class position and class struggle; and b) the attempt by many movements working on precarity to rearticulate a "European space" other than the institutional European Union. Chapter five of this thematic part engages this entanglement of the current configuration of Europe with the unfolding concept of precarity.

The spatial re-articulation becomes a pivotal question. For social movements, though precarity is not understood as exclusive to Europe, the forms that precarity takes on the continent are tied to the creation of a European space and the economic imperatives that this entails. Perhaps precarity is not European, but there appears to be a

specific European precarity. This specific place-based approach to the notion of precarity is developed by the *Precarity_Map*, the cartographic project analyzed in chapter six. This project is precisely an attempt to understand the construction of Europe as intimately linked to precarity. The *Precarity_Map*, as a trans-European effort, aims to reframe the terrains of Europe as those of interlocking sets of precarities. The formation of the EU is understood as part and parcel of this territorial reorganization.

While Part II on migration opens by engaging Europe from its borders, following Balibar's imperative on the border as the center, Part III on class transformations starts by looking at Europe from its institutional arrangements. This brief discussion of the institutional history of the EU stems from a serious engagement with one of the main arguments posed by precarity struggles: the specific re-articulation of class within European space. In this case Europe is not just the 'context' of precarity but European space as such is *precarious space*. The argument of the movement networks involved is not that precarity equals Europe, nor that precarity is the 'vanguard' struggle on the European continent. The point is that despite the multiple local and national variants of class-recomposition and precarious struggles, understanding precarity and the forms it takes requires thinking at a 'European' level. Via this new spatial and new scalar understanding groups will be able to better comprehend the context within which they are struggling and the connections that may exist among seemingly distant places.

Occupying a "European" Social Movement Space: "Europe" as the Terrains of Precarity

The opening quotes of Part III suggest that for social movements working on the question of precarity the emergence of diverse precarious subjectivities is part of the formation of a European social space. Furthermore a particularly European regime of power is necessary to deal with that very question of precarity. Given such a European spatialization of precarity, these are some of the dilemmas posed by many precarity struggles: How to articulate those precarious subjectivities to struggle against or away from that European regime of power? How to produce a European space for movements and struggles, as well as what it would mean to inhabit, act and agitate in that space? These are now central questions of debate. In part these questions are emerging due to a perception of increasing commonalities between struggles in different countries. These debates are highlighted by the concerns of a Rome-based activist group working on the intersections of university reforms and precarity:¹

In just one or two years we are witnessing a series of massive struggles in different part of Europe linking questions of the university to precarity: the CPE struggle in France; the Greek struggles against university reform; strikes about labor reform in Denmark...These aren't just regular student mobilizations, often they are sparked by a reform in labor law or something else. It's as if there were communication between these struggles and a strong sense of resonance. We have no way of clearly understanding this or of harnessing and facilitating this sort of spread, this sort of communication. This is why it is so important for us to understand *what* this European space is and how to *act* in it. (ESC April 2007)

The concerns indicate new realities resulting from the process of regional integration afoot in Europe: a new scalar politics, a European scale; an apparent tendency toward convergence in national policies across member states of the EU; the formation of a European sense of identity and a European field of common experience; and perhaps more interestingly the emergence of an antagonistic European space. This last point is central. Many understandings of struggle against anti-EU sentiment have posited a sort

¹This group, called ESC, is not picked at random. They formed part of the initial network that proposed a trans-European map of precarity: the *Precarity_WebRing*.

of dichotomy between becoming European vs. staying national. These national resistances to the European process can emerge from either left or right positions. In this case though, what is at stake is an equally 'European' space of resistance: a European resistance that exists both within and against the institutional construction of the EU by the European Commission. This sort of antagonistic space in formation may also be in direct confrontation with those national anti-EU forces. In this way a field of political oppositions rather than a dichotomy begins to emerge.

These questions of the articulation of a European space of struggle and how this fits into simultaneous processes of massive regional integration occurring in Europe are addressed in the two following chapters. Conceiving of Europe as a set of terrains of precarity has helped lay the groundwork for these debates. I show how the attempts to map out these problems form part of a new spatial understanding of Europe for the social movements involved.

New Geographies of Europe

The construction and inhabiting of a European movement space can be understood as a new form of European Geography. In this way, these movement questions indirectly build on a growing literature asking to rethink European Geographies more generally, transforming the "taken for granted study of Europe" (McNeill 2005: 353) into a set of new critical geographies of Europe. These debates have been highlighted in a Special Section of *Area* and expanded on in the work of writers such as Donald McNeill, John Pickles, Claudio Minca, Etienne Balibar and Salvatore-Engel DiMauro. This literature insists on the immense and rapid changes occurring throughout

Europe: the 1989 revolutions and the fall of the Warsaw Pact; the institutional solidification of the European Union; the growth of the EU to the South and East; massive numbers of immigrants both amongst EU countries and from outside the EU; and a growing security architecture. “These tensions and trajectories have generated rich fodder for new geographies of Europe,” (Pickles 2005: 356).

The challenge to think new and critical European geographies is “a challenge to think through a Europe of flows, of transnational or Trans-urban movements of people, ideas and things moving into, through and beyond the European territory, however defined, yet without losing sight of the importance of fixity and embeddedness,” (McNeill 2005: 353). Pickles responds to this challenge by calling for:

“a ‘Europe of Europes’ that is increasingly diverse and differentiated in regional, socio-economic and racial terms [...] A new ‘European studies’ will be one in which there is a growing recognition of a ‘Europe of Europes’, a social and political project whose logics are no longer located in a particular space, no longer a hearth captured by the binaries of colonial thought (Pickles 2005: 356-357).

For Pickles, to enact and begin to understand this “Europe of Europes” a “new cartography” open to multiplicity rather than bounding is needed. Using Deleuze’s theorizing of Foucault’s work, Pickles sees this:

“‘new cartography’ was engaged not with the tracing of reality (representationalism), but with the productive possibilities of knowledge and its practices, with questions of diverse geo-histories,... the ‘new cartography’ links the geopolitical transformation and decolonization of Europe to a parallel transformation and decolonization of European science; to a thorough-going critical geography of ‘Europe’,” (2005: 357).

With this arm of a ‘new cartography’ one can ask if these new understandings of Europe can lead to a European project other than that of official EU discourse or of nation-states.

Can Europe then:

transcend its institutionalised/bureaucratized form and become a new locus for critical praxis? Can we imagine other common European political spaces and

write and teach about other Euro-geographies besides those that are importantly located around the national state and the project of European Union? Can the European project move beyond the unabashedly neo-liberal socio-economic goals upon which the EU was founded to promote a new ‘trans-national ideal of social justice, belonging, and cultural tolerance’ (Amin 2002: 14)? (Bialasiewicz 2003: 17)

The social movements working from and against precarity that are explored in Part III are asking precisely this question. What are the “new cartographies”, the “new European geographies” emerging from social struggles on the continent? What geographies of instituted power are they responding to and how are they producing their own European spatialities? The cartographic project engaged in chapter 6, the *Precarity_Map*, addresses this via a trans-European project. Different activists from different countries, including participants in other mapping initiatives, pooled their efforts in order to engage these new European geographies and create their own. The *Precarity_Map* became a site where the ‘Combat of Cartographies’ was played out. In this way I show how radically different European geographies are written from different situated positions around the theme of precarity and flexibility.

From workers to precarious lives?

With reference to class, precarity has contributed a whole new set of discussions, interpretations and in general new energy about an old concept. One can find discussions of ‘precarity’ in much recent political and analytical work on topics such as flexible labor markets, immaterial and affective labor (Hardt and Negri 2000; 2004); cognitive capitalism and the information economy (Blondeau et al 2004); and more recently on different politicizations of immigration (Frassanito 2005) and gendered work (Mitropoulous 2005; Federici 2008). The understanding of class under the optic of

precarity is not as a closed category. Especially if one includes the most recent debates around precarity in the form of “precarization”, it is not referring to a subpopulation or a rethinking of the “lumpen proletariat”. The clarity with which a writer such as David Harvey writes about class as a clearly and objectively definable group (such as in the *Short History of Neoliberalism*, 2005) becomes muddied through these debates, muddied to the point that some may ask if it is even about class anymore. Yet no one involved in precarity struggles would deny its heavy class component. It may help here to think class analysis in a slightly different way. Narotsky and Gavin, in their recent work on regional economies in rural Spain (2006) felt that while class was a key concept for them in sorting out complex realities: “...we were not so much interested in the various structural properties of class, be they Weberian social strata of Marxian relations to the means of production (Ossowski 1969), as in the principles that led theorists to stress class in the first place” (2006: 9). Principles such as attention to processes of social reproduction, to conflicts and collective action organized around property and/or the selling of labor, and more (Narotsky and Gavin 2006: 9-10).

Precarity is less about an ‘accurate’ description of current conditions than a political gamble to destabilize current social arrangements of work and life. Two participants in the Fadaí’at project indicate this explicitly: “precarity is not a sociological category, but a political proposition,” even an invitation. Precarity is a proposition, but not a telos toward an inevitable ‘dictatorship of the precariat’. Its politics is better understood as one of constant experimentation, evolution and combination. As chapter five develops I show how the discussions around precarity move debates about class

away from either questions of *ex se* or *per se* (Foti 2004), as in class in itself versus class for itself:

Even though the conceptual analogy to the proletariat seems obvious, in comparison the precariat as a movement and organization of the scattered precarious is a monster that knows no sleep. There is no teleological movement here from sleeping to class consciousness; neither the empiricism of the class in itself nor the political invocation of a class for itself, but rather a constant becoming, questions, struggles. Hence precariat appears neither as an in any way empirically comprehensible problem nor as a future model of salvation [...] Yet there has been and still is a concept of the proletariat going beyond sociological fixation and political teleology that is to be localized in the proximity of a social becoming, as it is sketched in the image of the precariat as a sleepless monster: it is that which already conceptualized the proletariat as the struggle against classification, fixation following the logic of identity and homogenization (Raunig 2007)

This political gamble has for the moment allowed for the conceptual and strategic flexibility to engage multiple and disparate struggles ranging from examples such as: unemployed middle-aged men; undocumented female migrant domestic workers; and subcontracted architects. This engagement via the tool/optic of precarity has been achieved even though these different collectives do not belong to the same union and do not all call themselves proletarians. On the other hand the very “flexibility” (as flexible as the labor markets!) of this term has also potentially hampered its sharpness. From its beginnings as an almost technical reference to temporary labor and worsening contract conditions it has stretched incredibly in recent years. This is one of the concerns to be addressed in the following two chapters.

Debates and struggles combining these two elements -“precarity” and “Europe”- have led towards an emergent discussion within movements of the types of rights needed in the present, a new conception of what are often called *new social rights*. Given the existence, even if yet unfinished, of “Europe”, and given new forms of labor and labor legislation, what kind of rights should be created and demanded? What rights of human

mobility would be appropriate in a context of massive immigration and labor mobility? What kind of welfare should be stipulated, and should it even be called welfare? At what scale should these demands be made? These questions and movement debates are addressed in the two chapters below. While rather fine-tuned analyses have been produced of how to name this shifting present -be it ‘post-fordism’ or the ‘post-Schumpeterian workfare state’, both of regulation school fame (Aglietta, Lipietz, Jessop...)- a re-articulation of rights has not necessarily followed suit. What rights to demand, what to call them, how to base them on material social struggles has become the central challenge for analyses of the present for the social movements discussed below. Both elements, precarity and the re-ordering of Europe, gain additional significance, intellectually and politically, in how they are thought together. Transformations in class composition and struggle are thought through the transformations of European spaces and the creation of an antagonistic European space.

Structure and Empirical Questions:

Chapters five and six, speak directly to the conceptual debates outline above, but also address the important empirical questions. In chapter five I answer research question one: what are the *Contexts of Interaction* these movement groups are dealing with? I introduce the reader to the two interrelated topics mentioned above: precarity as a set of struggles against certain forms of work and life; and the EU as an entity and as a new space. These topics will be presented and situated to a large degree within movement debates and points of view. The goal is to better understand the approaches and insights that will emerge during the mapping projects on precarity. Chapter six follows one

particular mapping experiment that emerged from a trans-European network whose primary focus is the question of precarity. By seeing how one project developed from its very early stages a series of conclusions, realizations and analyses of precarity, Europe and mapping are exposed. In this way I show how the *Cartographic Practices* (Research Question #2) and the *Analytical Contributions* (Research Question #3) develop side by side. The final section of chapter six focuses further on cartography, reflecting on the role given to map-making and thinking cartographically to articulate distinct struggles as well as to invoke a new space emerging from the intersections of those precarity struggles. Map-making and the long process of discussion, research and debate it involves helps to highlight limits and provoke imagination in this process of thinking through current class-recomposition and spatial re-articulation of Europe.

CHAPTER 5

Precarious E.U. rope?

Introduction

Chapter five presents the reader with an understanding of precarity as it is currently used in European social movements and institutional politics. This chapter also contains a brief introduction to the European Union, its history and processes of contention within its construction. The links between a developing notion of precarity and the deepening of the European Union process begin to emerge toward the end of the chapter and are dealt with further in Chapter six. The first section of chapter five, **the Terrains of “Europe”**, begins presenting some of the concerns about European space from a movement perspective. This is followed by some basic institutional history of the EU and its metamorphoses, as well as a description of how debates at the level of the EU become ‘localized’ or ‘nationalized’, hinting toward the mechanisms by which those supra-state policy questions become the ‘stuff’ of everyday life. Chapter five also highlights the difficulty of critique against the EU due to a dichotomy that has emerged between the representation of the EU as ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘progressive’ and its opposition which then appears as ‘provincial’ or ‘nationalist’ in the worst sense. Resistance by social movements on the left to the current process of EU construction has been present from some years now though. This history is briefly outlined here, indicating how the heightening of protest against the EU’s direction coincides with the public arrival of global resistance mobilizing in Western Europe. Those social

movements engaging in public action against the current EU and its tendencies are often the same as those mobilizing against the IMF or the G8. Additionally I stress how this merging of global resistance and the EU is linked intimately to the networks that would be fighting precarity.

The next section of chapter five, **Precarity**, is focused on the concept itself. While there is no claim to tack on a date and place when and where precarity began to be used to denounce labor conditions, this section does signal a history of the term and the debates that surround it. The term precarity was originally used to denounce temporary labor and subcontracting in the 1980's. From the mid 1990's on it seems to morph and stretch as a concept. I describe how the unemployed movements of that time and the mass arrival of temporary work represent significant shifts in how *precarity* would develop as a concept. By the early 2000's it becomes a prism with which to tackle new forms of labor, migration, and crises in care work. The history of precarity's conceptual stretching ends with the subsection *Expansion until implosion?*, where current debates and concerns by activists are presented about how the concept has stretched too far and may have lost the strength it had a few years ago. The chapter then ends with the social movements' analytical proposal that the questions of the European Union and precarity should be understood as being intimately linked.

5.1. The Terrains of “Europe”

How can ‘Europe’, as a terrain of struggle, be engaged by social movements? This is a question currently posed by many movements working on precarity and by the Precarity_Map project itself. After years of EU laws, directives and policy goals *a*

European space appears to exist. How should social movements and especially autonomous groups in this case, act in the light of the transformations happening at the EU level? Could *another* European terrain, a *counter-terrain*, be created or are movements so constrained as to only be able to react defensively to the construction of the EU?

While many left social movements had grown quite proficient at setting up protests outside EU summits, the question of how to deal ‘differently’ with ‘Europe’ had not been engaged deeply. Even how much emphasis to put on thinking and organizing at the European level is up to debate. At one trans-European activist meeting held in Sevilla called “Precarity, the Welfare Crisis and New Social Rights” several divergent opinions were expressed. One approach emphasized the urgency of this ‘EU’ scale or space. Even if European networking was hard to imagine, it could not be ignored. “This is some of the most important potential stuff going on! This European networking should be the center of the meeting!” (interview: *Chainworker* member 4/2007). Yet other participants at those same meetings, while recognizing the relevance or potential importance of a ‘European movement space’ saw it more cautiously. “It [Europe] is still too distant, it doesn’t relate well to the everyday” (interview: *Precarias a la Deriva* member 4/2007) was one response. Another participant expanded on this by saying that: “realities are still lived within the state and movements still operate within that framework. But more and more there are increasing resonances in common: policies enacted in one country are also enacted in a slightly different form in another, policy trends are moving in the same direction, etc.” (interview: *Precarity_WebRing* member 6/2007) This same person also emphasized after the meeting that despite the difficulty of maintaining a European

network “What if we don’t have a Euro-wide network when we really need one?” in order to carry on a particular campaign or share tools and strategies? (interview: *Precarity_WebRing* member 7/2007).

As McNeill, a geographer central in debates to rethink Europe, suggests: “the pace of change in ‘the area we call Europe’ is, of course, remarkable” (McNeill 2005: 354). This is even more so in the case of the recent institutional construction and expansion of the European Union. In many regards it is this rewriting of institutional and regulatory geographies that is provoking this interest on the part of social movements in reconfiguring European space. A brief overview of the “European process” as it is often called is thus necessary to situate the shifting debates on Europe, the state and the economy, that are occurring within movements networks.

5.1.1 The Institutionalized form of the EU

Following World War II the first initial steps in the architecture that would become the EU take place, in particular the formation of the WEU (Western European Union) and the European Steel and Coal agreement in 1952 (the Treaty of Paris). In 1957, the Rome treaty is signed. This is the first major step at integration and still considered one of the most important documents. 1957 is considered the institutional ‘beginning’ of the European Union. The Rome Treaty establishes the EEC (European Economic Community) and was signed by six countries: Belgium, France, Italy, West Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Other treaties and agreements follow in the coming years, the Merger treaty in 1967 and the different budgetary treaties among others.

Though European integration has been a long process stretching back at least to the 1950's, it is in the mid 1980's and the 1990's that the fusion of economic policy and regulation really begin to pick up pace. It is with the final agreement on the Single Market in 1985 that the (proto) neoliberal economic shift becomes clear. This marked a clear beginning of the convergence of member state's economies along the lines of an increasingly hegemonic global paradigm: low to zero deficits; combating inflation; an increasing role for the private sector; and a focus on 'competitiveness'.¹ This convergence is egged on by the pressure of newly formed European level lobby groups (like the ERT: European Roundtable of Industry), a lobbying world that has formed rather quickly to occupy that institutional European space (Coen 2007; Balanya et al 2002). Brussels now constitutes the second largest lobbying world after Washington DC (Balanya et al 2002). The Maastricht treaty of 1992 solidifies this architecture even more but adds a new twist. This is the first treaty of the EU that begins to hint toward more overt political and military integration as opposed to only economic integration (Duran 2005).²

At the Lisbon summit of 2000 the goals of increasing economic restructuring for the EU are honed. The idea of becoming the "most competitive knowledge economy in the world" is agreed upon as a policy goal for all member states. In fact the turn of the

¹This has been and is a contested process. The European Union was not pre-defined as a pro free-market and deregulation institution. Tensions and debate still exist around the question of "the European social model", a trope used to compare a 'continental' economic model to more Thatcherite-Reaganite liberalism. In fact, up until the 1980's it remained an open question whether the predominant direction of the EU was to be more along the lines of German corporatism, French socialism, or the ascendant market liberalism of Britain.

²Though the WEU was in many ways a previous experiment in political integration, the context of already existing, and rather profound, economic process of convergence did not yet exist. In the case of Maastricht, it was this other economic process that provided the rationale for a push towards increasing the 'state-like' characteristics of the EU.

millennium marks the beginning of a series of massive shifts occurring in rapid succession. In 1999 The Euro begins to circulate in markets and in 2002 it is the daily currency of twelve out of the then fifteen countries. Prices for daily consumer goods jack up across the *eurozone*. In less than three years the EU nearly doubles in size adding ten new countries in 2004 and two more in 2007.³ With such huge expansion and an increasingly strong currency (that some suggest could work as a global reserve currency as the dollar does) the initiatives towards increased political and military integration speeds up. In 2005 the European Constitutional Treaty (ECT) is put to ratification by member states. While passing in many countries it is voted down in France and Holland via referenda. Despite a temporary crisis in the 2007 June EU summit the “Reform Treaty” is agreed upon which replaces the ECT project while maintaining most of its features (it primarily ceded in symbolic terrain and in allowing some member states more maneuverability for the time being). Though the ‘Reform’ or ‘Lisbon Treaty’ was voted down via referendum in Ireland, its ratification process continues.

This timeline of treaties helps give an idea of how European integration has proceeded more rapidly in recent years as well as the directions in which this process has been going up to date: more free-market oriented economies; expansion; consolidation of more state-like powers; and a greater global presence. The list of treaties and key summits is far from the whole story. The creation of the European Union has resulted in attempts to inaugurate complex social-political-economic changes in multiple sites and at multiple scales that are often enough at odds with one another. On one level, there is a

³Though the EU, and the previous EEC, has always added new members it has often been in a piecemeal fashion. The addition of 12 countries within 2 and a ½ years marked a big assertion of the EU’s belief in its ability to absorb and integrate new states as well as a rapid thrust into the former Soviet Union’s sphere of influence.

particular notion of economy being enacted, a certain version of neo-liberal or free market economics marked by the importance given to factors mentioned above such as growth rates, zero inflation, and ever-increasing roles for the private sector. These visions of a new European economy and its role in the world are being heavily promoted by a series of think-tanks at the nation-state level (such as the Institute of Economics Affairs of Thatcher-era fame) and the EU level (such as the Stockholm Network⁴), as well as by the powerful corporate lobbies working primarily in Brussels to directly influence the European Commission or one of the Directorate Generals of the EU.⁵ At the same time though, this vision of free-trade and Hayek-ism (marked by the number of think-tanks that carry his name) is accompanied by high degrees of relatively unchecked monopoly for key European corporations, large state subsidies for key economic sectors (notably agriculture as has become salient at the WTO), and state or EU-level involvement in promoting strategic economic roles and moves abroad.

This economic vision of the ‘new Europe’ is accompanied by a complex process of political integration and ideological realignment. The EU Constitution project, and its replacement by the Lisbon Treaty are examples of the former. They are the latest in the series of accords and treaties that have created a dense and increasingly powerful set of institutions and sites at the supra-state level. These sites are providing a new

⁴The Stockholm Network is a pan-European network of over 100 think-tanks with a large degree of convergence in the type of liberal economic policies being promoted. When functioning at its best then, this network can almost simultaneously coordinate lobbying efforts at the EU level as well as at the nation-state level (CEO 2005a; www.stockholm-network.org).

⁵These include the ERT (European Roundtable of Industrialists), UNICE (Union des Industries de la Communauté Européenne), and AmCham (American Chamber of Commerce-EU committee). Interestingly, it has been noted by NGO studies that these corporate lobbies have found much more space to maneuver at the level of the EU and its Brussels’ based bureaucracy, than at the level of the nation-state where countervailing forces (unions, environmental movements, etc.) are stronger and have historically focused their energy and where parliamentary political space allows for more contestation of corporate friendly policy (see Balanyá, Doherty, Hoedman, Ma’anit and Wesselius 2002).

political reality beyond macro-economic coordination between nation-states. Examples of these include: the European Commission itself (often considered the executive of the EU), the European Court of Justice, the European Parliament, the European Central Bank, the European Investment bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development as well as the regular Councils of Ministers and Intergovernmental Conferences where much legislative debate occurs (Watkins 2005).

Thus it is important to state that the EU does not only comprise economic integration, building up towards the constitution of a global trading bloc. The EU is to be analyzed as an emergent and multifaceted entity. Through the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) by modifying the previous treaties -Paris, Rome and the Single European Act- the initial economic objective of the Community of building a common market, was outstripped and for the first time, a distinctive vocation of political union was claimed. Other spheres of integration were included thereafter. These included the initial stages of development for a far reaching Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters among members. Many different programs fit under these policy umbrellas and their slow but steady progress does point towards the potential for a common EU-wide approach towards internal and external security, diplomacy, and criminal law. Examples of this 'beyond the market' integration include: the development of coordinated border and migration policies and the creation of the FRONTEX agency to facilitate multi-state border controls; the creation of EUROPOL (a European compliment to INTERPOL); the EDA (European Defense Agency) and EUROCORPS military units as well as increasing cooperation between European militaries in things such as arms development (the famous 'Euro fighter') or joint

missions (such as those of 2008 in Chad and Somalia⁶; and the creation of the EGF (European Gendarme Force) a common paramilitary police force. Despite all the spheres of policy making and implementation and the initial stages of the political and military integration, the creation of an internal market is nevertheless the EU's main development and asset so far.⁷

Jorge Monnet, considered one of the ideological founders of the European Union, did state that the primary need for European countries was economic integration in order to pave the way other forms of integration: "... The current communities should be completed by a Finance Common Market which would lead us to European economic unity. Only then would ... the mutual commitments make it fairly easy to produce the political union which is the goal."

Becoming "National"

While the list of treaties or the projections of ideological founders are important, how is it that decisions taken at the EU level by relatively new institutions, becomes law in different countries or have effects in different locales? How do issues discussed in Brussels 'trickle-down'? How is the process of decision-making carried out and how do

⁶The complexity and 'unfinishedness' of this process of 'union building' is evidenced by some recent headlines. One would be the inclusion of both 'EU' representation and French, German, British and Italian representation in the Fall 2008 G20 meeting (the so-called beginning of Bretton Woods II). It is especially ironic since France is currently head of the rotating European presidency and thus is somehow 'doubly' represented there. A second example is that of the installations of the missile-defense shield by the Bush administration in Czech and Polish territory. This was done to the chagrin of much of the EU (especially those not part of the former Warsaw Pact). These events symbolize the confusing and even contradictory construction of the 'political union'.

⁷It should be noted that this development of an internal market is not limited to abstract treaties on trade in general, or the creation of a monetary and banking system. There are deep processes of convergence and common governance that exists or are forming in sectors such as Agriculture, Energy Policy, Higher Education, and Infrastructure. It is also worthy of note to mention the formation of a common European Space Agency, and a growing EU-wide sphere of environmental management.

policies become implemented? The exact answers to these questions are quite varied and at times the paths are difficult to trace.⁸ Different policy sectors follow distinct procedures. The following brief itineraries may contribute in understanding this structure. Official decision making bodies at the EU level, especially the European Commission and the COREPER (Committee of Permanent Representative to the Council of Ministers), are often in charge of drafting or even enacting future Union-wide legislations, requirements (i.e. for new members), and regulations. Oversight by the European Parliament or European Court of Justice is still a work in progress. This process of drafting is often strongly informed by unofficial research groups and think-tanks and influenced by increasingly powerful lobbies such as *Eurochambres*, *Business Europe*, and the *ERT* (Pickles 2006; Balanya et al 2002; Coen 2007). These groups develop a series of reports and proposals, many of which directly inform the debates of the EC and COREPER or become initial drafts of legislation themselves. Other sources for common legislation are existing laws in member states. In fact the ‘benchmarking’ of ‘best practice’ in a particular policy is common place, these benchmarks becoming the initial framework for EU-wide law.⁹

Drafts of policies or legislation (whether originating from a member state’s existing laws, or from a new proposal) may be signed at the bi-annual Councils of Ministers, where different national ministers of members states can agree to put some particular stipulation or guideline into law. These drafts though can also find their way to eventually become one of the many EU ‘directives’. Most directives are mainly

⁸In fact one of the most frequently contracted lobbying services offered in Brussels are specialists at navigating the complex bureaucratic and legislative structure of the EU-see Balanya et al 2002.

⁹These two sources for future policy in the EU are not necessarily at odds with each other. Different lobbies or think-tanks often base their policy recommendations on existing laws (Balanya et al 2002).

informative/suggestive, technically speaking and not totally legally binding. They do enact pressure though on governments to adapt national legislations, by acting as paradigms for national legislation on certain topics. Other types of legislation decided in this manner are binding and involve sanctions in case of violation, like the infamous Stability Pact (this agreement requires that the fiscal expenditure of member states does not exceed 3% of the GDP).¹⁰ There are other methods of ‘trickle-down’. One key set that should not be forgotten is the *acquis communautaire*. These are the requirements that candidate countries have to fulfill before being accepted as members. They often imply a drastic re-writing of laws and regulations to match Brussels’ expectations. These could include questions such as tightening or changing food regulations, loosening foreign investment and ownership restrictions, and fighting “illegal traffic” (as in persons and goods). Other important EU mechanisms include: 1) the use of the many different funding agencies (supporting a wide variety of issues, from trans-European research projects, to transport infrastructure), and 2) the developing role of the EU’s court system whereby legal norms or projects in a member state maybe declared ‘illegal’ according to EU law, thus implying that the member state in question must abide by the court decision.

In addition to this institutional landscape is the slow but apparent creation of the contours of a particular ‘European identity’, a reinforcement of a feel-good sense of being the ‘heart of the West’. This affective creation of Europe is occurring on several fronts: through programs that encourage intra-EU student exchanges, such as the Erasmus

¹⁰This pact though is enforced often according to political and economic weight of a member state, thus showing how dynamics of center-periphery operate within the EU itself, not only vis-à-vis non-members or former colonies (Duran 2005).

scholarship or the *Euroyouth* internship exchange program¹¹; but also through an almost sectarian hardening of the lines between “extra-communitarians” and “Europeans” (Balibar 2004). The mechanisms through which these lines and ‘borders’ are drawn is described in Part II on Migration. Debates around ‘integration’ of those whose origins are ‘extra-communitarian’, technically meaning citizens of non European Union states, have taken on aggressive overtones in the ambience of the ‘War on Terror’ and the French riots of Fall 2005. The question of ‘what’ to integrate to still remains up in the air though given the flux at work in Europe itself (Baudrillard 2006).

It is this ‘flux’, this destabilizing of the categories of European identity , that the new literature on critical geographies of Europe has engaged in (McNeil 2005; Pickles 2005). This literature has contributed to unsettle a particular form of identity based on the ideal of ‘Europe’ as an almost teleological end of history towards which the continent is evolving., The unification of European countries is portrayed as a natural process. At the same time, this narrative of ‘union’ tends to erase the historical connectivity of the continent with other parts of the world, emphasizing a ‘stand-alone’ position. For example, the ancient understanding of the Mediterranean as a conduct of communication is replaced with a notion of the Mediterranean Sea as a clear separation of Europe from Africa and the Middle East.¹² Other historical connections based on colonial and neo-colonial histories and its concomitant geographies are also erased. While in official maps

¹¹The EuroYouth exchanges are an interesting program where position descriptions often ask the volunteer to go to a region that does not ‘feel’ too connected to ‘Europe’- the volunteer becoming a sort of popular ambassador.

¹²The Euro-Med project of EU integration and cooperation with other Mediterranean states (see Chapter 3 for further detail) can be cited as a counter-example of this trend. Nonetheless even this project assumes an integration of a “Europe” with other states of the “Mediterranean” as opposed to stressing an integration that highlighted the historical connection between the different parts of the Mediterranean coast as a common region.

of Europe images of EU accession proliferate, showing the different years in which member states joined, few if any include the colonies those countries had just prior to or even after EU accession. In fact many exclude current overseas provinces and holdings of some member countries. As European identity advances, an erasure of colonial history and geography seems to occur (DiMauro 2006; DiMauro 2007).

5.1.2 Different critical understandings of the “European project”

The European Union has been and remains a contested project. Both how to carry it out and whether to participate in it, have been matters of heated debate and lost elections. In this regard it is important to signal what is often referred to as *euroskepticism*. The question of euro-skepticism has been an important feature of the debates around deeper integration and EU expansion. In some countries such as the United Kingdom and Denmark, despite their longstanding membership in the EU, euro-skepticism is still an important feature of mainstream politics. This is materialized by the fact that both countries have rejected adopting the Euro up until now. The European Parliament in Strasbourg, in fact has several groupings whose main point of agreement is to block deeper integration within the EU and in the case of some more right-wing parties to withdraw their own particular country from the EU.¹³

Euro-skepticism spans from left to right. Rather than a coherent political term, it is a general label used to name critical voices against the EU. It has actually become a straw man for pro-EU parties and institutions in order to frame the debate on the EU in dichotomous terms: “you are either for Europe or you are a provincial nationalist with a

¹³An example would be the Independence and Democracy Group or the Europe of Nations group, these two groupings associated with the electoral right.

fear of the future”. This dichotomous framing has often led to simplistic understandings of unexpected events such as the ‘No’ votes in the referendums on a European constitutional project in France, Holland and Ireland.¹⁴ Most mainstream and centrist parties in power in European countries are pro-EU and this framing, *pro-Europe* versus *Euroskeptic*, has allowed mainstream center-right and center-left parties to portray more critical discourses in their respective ideological fields as either proto-fascist or archaic leftists. This framing of the debate has brought about a dangerous fallacy: that Europe, and its peaceful integration, is equivalent to the current EU and its present structures and policy priorities. Those efforts that try to ascertain other ways of ‘integrating’ or ‘uniting’ are sidestepped or silenced in this framing of the debate.

Generally speaking, there has been much confusion of what to make of the EU on the part of alternative and left parties, as well as social movements, unions, critical scholars and activists. Engaging critically with the EU has in fact been something of a stumbling block for many groups for many years. What follows below are a series of arguments on the part of leftist tendencies that highlight the positive hopes for the promises of European integration. These arguments have echoed in different countries in debates around the EU. And demonstrate some of the challenges of articulating a left critique towards the EU:

- Wasn’t the EU there to solidify the vision of a “warless” Europe, given the horrors of WWI and II isn’t that a victory? How can one position themselves against that mission?
- For countries such as Spain, Greece Portugal and others- isn’t Europe equal to modernity and development? Coming out of dictatorships shouldn’t these countries run to embrace Europe as a democratic ideal and project? For much of the liberal left in those countries, Europe (always a mythical ‘other’ place yet to

¹⁴The ‘No’ votes in these countries has often been billed as symptomatic of racist tendencies towards outsiders or ignorance of the EU. This has hampered more general debate about the contest of the constitutional project.

be achieved) initially represented the land of human rights, enlightenment, freedoms, and had to be emulated.

- Wasn't the confederal/federal structure at work something promising? Something that could bypass overly centralized nation-states? For minorities in EU countries (especially historic minorities) wouldn't the EU be a new promise of rights and a defense against overly nationalist central-states?
- Couldn't the integration of EU countries be used as a platform for struggling for more rights? In the same way that corporations were benchmarking market-friendly policies across the EU, couldn't one look at the social policies of member states and push for the best policies to be implemented across the board via the mechanism of the EU (this was part of the argument of the "Social Europe" slogan as opposed to "the Europe of Capital" that spread during the late 1990's)?
- What about institutions like the European Court of Human Rights and the European Parliament aren't these incipient institutions helping solidify a new level of democracy and rights in the region?
- Isn't the EU providing funding needed for underdeveloped regions (particularly in some rural regions of the EU)? Why would one want to bite the hand that feeds them?
- Isn't the EU the promise for a greener more sustainable Europe? Can't 'Europe' and 'Brussels' be used to counteract mega-projects or lax environmental concern on the part of national and local governments?

For these reasons the EU project has inspired hope for many critical activists, politicians, and scholars. Yet, at the same time, this hope has hampered critique of the EU and debate on other forms of integration.¹⁵

"L'Europe Sociale n'est pas de Capital!"

¹⁵One Geographer, Salvator Engel DiMauro, has been very critical of scholarship on Europe as being unwilling to theoretically engage Europe in a thoroughly critical manner. DiMauro (2006) and other authors highlight in the volume *The European's Burden*, much scholarly work has been highly celebratory of the EU, stressing that new member states have only to gain through membership. As DiMauro states, a "forfeiture of critical reasoning is met with the unabashed support of most intellectuals for the transposition, through enlargement, of the EU norms," (p.6); and later "The sheers abundance of instances of such practices suggests a rugged determination among most academics with reinforcing colonial constructs through inveterate repetition," (251) (in this case repetition of praise for the EU and its policies).

Nonetheless, there are many efforts to articulate a rethinking of what a ‘union of Europe’ might look like and even where exactly Europe is located, given the problematic racial and colonial overtones of the geographic imaginary of Europe. For instance, in the same parliamentary hall as the right-wing *Independence and Democracy Group* sits, the *European United Left-Nordic and Green group* has called for a refounding of the EU’s institutions based on social concerns. The cry for a “Social Europe” became popularized in the 1990’s as protest slogan of the different unemployed movements that were networking across the European continent and calling for a shift in the direction of European construction. The goal of a Social Europe has developed into a simple but powerful demand that the same policy procedures of benchmarking best practices from member states laws for creating competitive business environment be used for social policy. In this way those states with the strictest environmental legislation, best unemployment protection, broader medical coverage, and other social benefits, would become the models that other member states would have to aim for in their own legislation.¹⁶ It is within these debates on ‘other’ Europes, that escape the boundings of the EU and the nation-state, that social movement debates on European space are taking place. The process of identifying the question of Europe as important and the EU project as problematic has not always been obvious and is the fruit of a history of debate and protest.

5.1.3 Social Movement Resistance and Engagement with ‘Europe’

¹⁶This has happened in the cases of some particular laws such as those around certain environmental crimes, and debate on ‘flexicurity’- creating a secure environment for a flexible workforce (See the work of Vicente Navarro for further development of this position on a ‘Social Europe’).

Social movements' engagement with the EU has been a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of European integration. It has accelerated rapidly though conjointly with the recent rapid pace of integration and expansion of the EU. Several analysts see the anti-NATO movement in Spain in 1985-86 as an expression of civil society against a particular idea of "Europe", in particular because for Spain the NATO entry coincided with entry to the EEC (Duran 2005a; 2005b; Exposito 2006). By the early to mid 1990's though, explicit resistance to the UE became more and more visible. On the day following Denmark's "yes", via referendum, to the Maastricht treaty the roughest rioting in Danish post-war history occurred, rougher than anything in 1968 and only approached by what has happened after the eviction of the *Ungdomhousen* squat in 2007. On that day in 1993, many rioters and police were wounded and eleven people shot during the intense rioting. By the middle of the 1990's EU summits rotating around the cities of the respective country holding that semester's presidency were sites of mass mobilizations and protest. By 1999, the EU summits became clear targets of global resistance movements. The famous Gothenburg (2001) protests were at an EU summit¹⁷ and the protests against the EU summit of Barcelona in 2002 were the largest, numerically speaking, at a summit against a 'global' institution (approximately 500,000 people). The idea of coordinated protest across targets in Europe began to develop as well: from the early unemployed Euro-marches in the mid 1990s, to the more spontaneous fuel protests of 2000 and 2008. The emergence of European spaces of networking has also increased: the ECN (European Counter Network); PGA Europe (People's Global Action); the ESF (European Social Forum); EuroMayday; and other networks focused on particular sectors such as migrants, unions, women, etc.

¹⁷These gained notoriety as the first time Swedish police had opened fire on protestors since the 1930's.

Targets, Networks, Campaigns

Thus the continuous construction of the EU and the speeding up of reforms, treaties and legislation from the 1990's on has been paralleled by the emergence of *another* European union: formed by the increased communication among social movements in the continent and their focus on the EU, or the 'Europe' that is actually being built, as a site of struggle. This 'Europeanization' of movements can be seen via the three means signaled in the previous paragraph: through new targets of critique; joint actions or campaigns; and new networking practices. Through these mechanisms the EU has been denounced as an agent of a controversial and often unpopular economic agenda, and as an actor with increasing powers but also increasing lack of accountability and transparency to inhabitants of the EU. These movements have played a key role in bringing about another representation of the EU besides that of progress, development and a peaceful power, as well as helped to legitimate critique of the EU without critiquing the idea of integration in and of itself (cultural, political or economic).¹⁸

In terms of targets, meetings of the EU have been selected as sites for counter-summits for some years now, at least since the mid 1990's. In the post-Seattle wave of mobilization, this targeting only increased and helped to solidify the link between critique of the EU and a critique of global capitalism. In fact the summit at Nice in 2000 was one of the first EU summit protests understood as part of the "Seattle-Genoa" chronology. This linking between protesting the EU and resistance to global capitalism has

¹⁸Given these processes the reader may say that a European space of movements has already been produced. To be sure, these practices may form part of a potential spatial becoming, but these steps are seen as very tentative and temporary by many movement activists.

contributed to the development of the ‘movement of movements’ in Europe, in fact they must be thought together.¹⁹

Besides targets, there has been an impressive growth of forums for European social movement networking. As hinted at above, on the one hand these are pushed together due to a need to be able to pressure that super-state entity. At the same time, it is easier to network (among some EU members) thanks to agreements such as Schengen or scholarships that support multi-state research projects, student travel, and interships. Besides specifically pan-European networks though, the easing of movement for some has allowed for increased sharing and cooperation between movements and activists on a more ad-hoc or case by case basis as well.²⁰

Another facet of that ‘other’ Europe in movement has been the development of joint campaigns and actions. This has been where movement development has perhaps least blossomed. How this grows or does not in the future remains to be seen. Early examples of this are multi-country farmer protests against the EU, including international caravans going into Brussels (1998); and multi-country strikes against plants or offices of the same corporation but by members of different unions to stop a particular company policy (eg. the Renault *Euro-strike* of 1997).²¹ Joint ‘Days of Action’ have been another

¹⁹Other EU-related targets include the No-Border camps mentioned in Part II.

²⁰This includes exchanges between movements that occurs in the midst of ongoing struggles, with activists traveling between one site and the other to share lessons and experiences. These ‘just-in-time’ exchanges have been facilitated by the new space of movement that Schengen provides. Examples of this are striking fast-food workers from France joining non-traditional worker mobilizations in Italy (Foti 2004), Roman students joining the mobilizations against the CPE in Paris (Do 2007), and student activists from Italy sharing experiences of the 2005 university strike in Spain during or immediately after the actual mobilizations (Malo 2007)

²¹This was also called the ‘Euro-strike’ at the time. It was seen as a potential signal of future trade union action targeting multinationals across countries, and exploiting the existence of Europe to do so (Rehfeldt 1997).

method used for to build this type of coordination, such as the *EuroMayDay* of precarious worker marches in multiple European cities.²²

The critiques of the EU and the networking of European movements should be understood in connection with the development of ‘global resistance’ movements or ‘alter-globalization’ movements. This goes beyond the counter-summits against the EU. Two of the networking spaces named above: the ESF and PGA are explicitly part of the most ‘public’ or recognizable faces of alter-globalization’ movements across the world (the World Social Forum and the Zapatista [and South Asia] inspired PGA). The incipient creation of a European social movements space is thus tied to the creation of a global movement space.

This linking between the global justice movement and the contemporary struggles around precarity are important to understand how movements in Europe are developing. While it would be wrong to say that activists that used to say ‘globalization’ a few years ago now say ‘precarity’ (Malo 10-2007) there is indeed an important connection between the two waves of mobilization. According to organizers active in both, grounding global resistance critiques in questions of precarity is a form of “European territorialization of the global movement” (Toret and Sguglia 2004: 108). Situating current European movements against precarity as part and parcel of the global resistance movement is important to understand how this new European geography is tied to broader transnational geographic imaginaries.

²²These have also included central and eastern European cities, as well as two days of action against migrant detention center across the EU.

5.2 *Prearity: the Combative Re-composition of Class and Life*

Struggles around precarity have become a central actor of that *other Europe* in movement. Precarity as a concept, as a critique and an analysis has become almost omnipresent among many European social movements. Its use has grown to be so common in fact that in at least several countries it is a question of mainstream political debate by large newspapers, governmental officials, or large political parties. The use of the term amongst autonomous social movements is even greater and the complexity of analysis associated with precarity has been most developed and experimented within those networks. Precarity's unique contribution has been the ability to conceptualize fragmented and what appear as isolated problems or struggles under a collective rubric. In the earlier stages, precarity focused on a critique on labor arrangements. The concept was useful in thinking such different situations such as unemployment, temp work and day labor, independent contracting, flex-timers, 'knowledge work', and unpaid or informal work, together as part of a common trend though with differences amongst them (Brophy and de Peuter 2008; *Precarias a la Deriva* 2004). In recent years this labor focus has stretched to include a critique of the border and immigration regime in Europe as well as gender politics and the restructuring of social services (Frassanito 2005; *Precarias a la Deriva* 2004). It is precisely this ability to think and act expansively as well as to suggest new unlikely political alliances that has given the concept its force in an economy that had been decried as atomized, fragmented and difficult to organize (Raunig 2007; Negri 2006; *Precarias a la Deriva* 2004).

An in-depth look at the concept of precarity requires quite some length and historical background and can be found in studies such as Casas's *Genealogy of Precarity*

(2009).²³ Nonetheless some description of the term, its multiple uses and developments are necessary to orient the reader through any discussion of current social movement politics in Europe. What follows then is a brief introduction, requesting that the reader refer to those longer studies for more in-depth treatment.

5.2.1. *The Early Uses of Precarity*

Though precarity as a political concept appears of very recent mintage, in Southern Europe the term itself has quite some history. Firstly, in countries like Italy, Spain, France, and Portugal the Latin root of the term *preca* (from ‘to pray’ or ‘plead’) does not have that clumsy feel that it does in English or some other Germanic/Northern European languages. Precarity, precarious, precarization, are regular terms applied to situations of instability, vulnerability, flimsiness, unprotection. While it may seem anecdotal, this etymological question has effects on how the concept travels. With regards to its current deployment as a concept, one can begin to readily see its political use as far back as the 1980’s. At that time, an organization that denounced precarity in its very name appeared in France: the *Mouvement National de Chomeurs et Precaires* (National Movement of the Unemployed and Precarious).²⁴ In Spain, precarity appeared in the environment of the powerful strikes that accompanied the industrial restructuring policies of the first Socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez (1982-1986), as well as on a popular television program for children during that time.²⁵ This context of industrial

²³See also Casas and Cobarrubias (2008)

²⁴This predates the famed unemployed movement of the 90’s by ten years or so. During the 80’s it is mostly just an organization not an entire movement.

²⁵Such as *La Bola de Cristal*.

restructuring is precisely the time when the discourse of precarity was popularized in Spain, in particular by both mainstream and alternative unions. Precarity was coined as a term to name an emerging trend in labor organization based on drastic differentiation of contract types and the concomitant worsening of the labor conditions, in particular the instability of a temporal job and the greater potential of being fired. The unemployment of the early 1990's led to an expansion of these early critiques of precarity through the intimate pairing of unemployment with the question of precarity.

Coping with Unemployment

The recession of the early 1990's hit Europe with high unemployment rates. In Spain these rates approached 20% in 1994.²⁶ This unemployment was coupled with a series of policy frameworks promoted by the European Commission and Council of Ministers aimed at flexibilizing labor markets. While some of these flexibilization packages were already beginning in the 1980's, the recession and the high unemployment provided the context to accelerate the process of labor restructuring towards de-regularization. The logic was that given the 'rigidities' of the European welfare state model, Europe's labor force was 'uncompetitive'. The labor market required 'flexibilization' in order for the economy to adapt 'flexibly' to the demands of international competition, and economic globalization. Often, part of the political rationale for flexibilization was explained publicly as helping to alleviate the high unemployment rate by making it easier to 'incorporate' workers into (or back into) the labor market. Unemployment would be resolved through flexibilization since employers

²⁶This is according to the EURLIFE database which collects data across EU countries. Some authors states that the 20% unemployment rate was maintained for several years (see for example Martinez Lucio and Blyton 1995)

were loath to hire new people due to “rigidities”. These two arguments (on competitiveness and resolving unemployment) seem to repeat themselves in an almost mantra-like fashion at the level of EU policy advisory groups (Weiss and Wodak 2000) as well as in particular nation states (see Martinez-Lucio and Blyton 1995 for Spain).

Laws passed in different countries that allowed for the emergence of Temp and Day work agencies, special youth contracting laws, the cutting down or shortening of unemployment benefits, workfare provisions, reforms of contract laws allowing for shorter term contracts, and other such measures. In Spain, reforms in this vein begin as part of the process of industrial restructuring during the 1980’s. The process accelerated in the 1990’s through periodic ‘Labor Reform’ bills that continue to this day (Quintana 2002; Llobera 2006; FID 2002; FID 2005).²⁷ In each country these different laws follow distinct itineraries, affecting different sectors of the population in diverse ways, but in a medium to long-term view there is a notable amount of policy convergence.²⁸

²⁷Tracing the legal architecture of ‘flexibilization’ becomes something of a dizzying effort since it includes many sectors and spheres of social and labor policy. In the case of Spain one can trace a series of bills including the reform of pension laws, the creation of special ‘youth’ contracts, the legalization of temp-labor agencies, “Competitively Pacts”, and others (Quintana 2002). The case of Spain and some other countries is actually a curious one since it complicates the evolutionary narrative that describes post-war Keynesian boom, fordist compromise and social welfare state, followed by neoliberal reform, Thatcherite policy, etc. In the case of Spain, emerging from the dictatorship and the Transition period, the construction of a welfare state almost coincides with the introduction of its supposed ‘reduction’. If the narrative is again understood as a chronological sequence then one would have to say time was ‘compressed’ in Spain. The story of ‘roll-back’ and ‘roll-out’ neoliberalism described by Peck and Tickell (2002) as a sequential narrative becomes something of a ‘rolling yoyo’ in the case of Spain. It is in part due to this that many voices in Spain talk about ‘unfinished’ or ‘aborted’ welfare policy (see Navarro 2006) when compared to other EU states.

²⁸With the introduction of these labor and welfare reforms, a scalar political continuum emerges in the EU. Though not the exclusive means for policy development in the EU, it becomes one of the ways that these welfare state reforms are passed. On the one hand, EU directives and policy benchmark become the frameworks for the national policy debates and drafts within member states. A top-down dynamic that in the case of accession countries become even more virulent through the mechanisms of EU *acquis* (legal reforms ‘required’ by the European Commission before entrance into the EU) (Balanya et al 2002). At the same time, one can find cases of national legislations or regulatory frameworks, specific to the situation of one country, that become a model for the EC and are ‘spread’ as paradigmatic benchmarks to other member states. This is currently the case with “flexicurity” debates. Only a few years ago this term was used by

These flexibilization policies were also coupled with the acceleration of privatization plans for national or corporatist industries and certain social services, often connected to personnel reductions. All of this combined with the militancy of the unemployed movements of the time lead to a spread of the use of the word precarity and a deepening of its meaning. It no longer referred only to the threat of being fired, or paid less, but it referred to a series of conditions related to the work place as well as beyond work with regards to the unemployed life (workfare, extra conditions or limits on the unemployment subsidy, etc.). Precarity here began to be associated with macro-economic changes going on at the national level and beyond, increasingly tied to a critique of globalization or Europeanization. Bourdieu with his two *Contre-Feux* intervention-books (1998; 2001) was an important supporter of the unemployed movements in France and across Europe, denouncing globalization as the process spreading precarious labor. In the book section of “Job Insecurity is Everywhere Now” Bourdieu²⁹ talks about a growing generalized condition of uncertainty:

The new framework for productive relations in the era of services introduces a change in work and life conditions, tearing down the traditions of stable employment and welfare state protection, and making way for institution of a generalized and permanent state of insecurity that tends to obligate workers toward submission, toward the acceptance of exploitation (1998 author’s translation)

social movements as a demand to counter the negative effect of precarity (see *Precarias a la Deriva* Lexico Precario 2005). Currently, the European Commission has now taken the example of Danish labor law and is trying to propose this as a general framework for the EU- using the term “flexicurity” as a way to assuage the controversy caused by flexibilization policies. It will be interesting to see if this scalar motion: from EU-national-EU- and back to national (assuming it starts t the EU level in this case), will become paradigmatic for policy creation in the EU.

²⁹In an interesting portend of the search for a European movement space signaled in Part III, at nearly the same time Bourdieu was denouncing these results of flexibilization he made a well-know call on May 1st 2000 to create a ‘European social movement’ in order to deal precisely with the emergent European space of policy and economic governance he saw manifesting itself. This call was published initially as a broadside in a Swiss newspaper.

Demands by the Unemployed Movements

While many unemployment movements focused on the question of a possible return to the welfare state and full employment paradigm, there were some major unemployed organizations that advanced a series of novel demands. The revalorization of “non-work”, as in non-capitalist work, allowed these groups to search for other ways to remunerate people and to rethink the meaning of productivity. Within this framework, the demand has materialized on the specific request for a “social wage”-*renta basica*- with different variants of how it would be implemented.³⁰ These demands make key theoretical and political incisions into the debates about work, flexibilization and precarity by moving beyond the ‘waged labor ideal’ on the one hand and surpassing the strict understandings of the flexible worker as victim on the other hand. The precarious worker or unemployed person, instead of only ‘suffering’ their conditions also becomes a site from which it is possible to articulate radical new demands. Demands in this case that go beyond something akin to state investment in factory production or public employment.³¹

At this point of development, in the mid to late nineties 1990’s, many youth activist groups got involved with the unemployed movements in their respective cities

³⁰This is thought of as a salary that could be paid, especially to the unemployed, that would create incentive for companies to create quality work rather than taking advantage of some sort of ‘labor reserve’ (or so the argument went).

³¹This growth in the demands and analysis of the unemployed movements is also in part due to the discourse on “structural unemployment”. It was believed that unemployment at relatively high levels was a necessary feature of current capitalism (if not capitalism as such). The idea then being that demanding reintegration into a ‘normal’ capital labor relationship was no longer even an attainable (let alone desirable) aim.

and countries.³² This added a new vitality to the unemployed organizations, as well as a new population with different political references that began to also identify itself as part of this ‘new’ precarious population. The debates, struggles and identities that began to form around precarity were premised by a central argument that stretches beyond discussions of precarity: “el fin de la centralidad obrera” or the end of workers’ protagonism (*Autonomy Seminar* 2000). Put simply, this refers to the end of a teleological and uniform understanding of work and workers as the sole and essentially unified motor of history. Waged labor, understood in the formal contractual sense, is not longer the primary site around which history would manifest itself. Precarity, in a post 1989 and post Reagan-Thatcher context, became a way to reexamine one’s situation in the economy without throwing back to terms and organizing forms that felt aged or inadequate.

The Massive Arrival of Temp Workers

The institutional responses on the part of both nation-states as well as the European Union to manage the unemployment crisis, was to further labor flexibilization. In this environment private temporary-work agencies and public workfare arrangements spread much faster, and new ‘trainee’ and youth contract laws were created that stipulated shorter work periods and less labor protections. New companies or subsidiaries were allowed to establish themselves with increased leeway in managing their employees and with less union presence. It is in this shift were the grammatical use

³²This alliance becomes pivotal for the development of parts of the global resistance movement. In Spain for example an emergent squatted social center movement begins to form joint mobilizations with unemployed assemblies in several cities (in particular Valencia, Madrid and Barcelona). It is in these joint mobilizations that an early critique of the EU and corporate globalization begin to emerge (Herreros, May 2007).

of the word precarious also begins to shift. From having a ‘precarious job’ or ‘precarious working conditions’, an adjective to describe a concrete situation, one can begin to see use of the word ‘precarious’ as a noun. In this sense, precarious becomes a type of worker that is jumping from one ‘precarious job’ to the next. It begins to describe something more akin to a way of life rather than a moment of employment (Raunig 2007).

With regards to temp and short-term labor, Spain has become an emblematic case. The vast majority of recent job creation during the ‘Spanish Economic Miracle’³³ has been temporary, short-term contract or project oriented. The result was Spain having the highest rates of temporary employment in the EU ahead of all other 27 member states in western, central and Eastern Europe, at above 30% of the workforce (Massarelli-EUROSTAT 2009)

³³This refers to a boom cycle running from the late nineties until 2007 approximately. The cycle was extremely tied to real estate, and the global expansion of Spanish firms.

15+ years	2008Q3 (1000)*	Men and women		
		2008Q3	2008Q2	2007Q3
EU-27	26,410	14.2	14.1	14.8
EA-15	19,598	16.5	16.5	17.1
EA-13	19,549	16.5	16.5	17.1
Belgium	341	8.9	7.6	8.8
Bulgaria	182	6.1	5.1	5.5
Czech Republic	345	8.2	8.2	8.7
Denmark	220	8.4	8.6	8.8
Germany	5,038	14.5	14.6	14.7
Estonia	16	2.7	1.7u	2.5u
Ireland	162	9.3	8.0	9.4
Greece	362	12.2	11.5	11.4
Spain	4,945	29.5	29.4	31.9
France	3,220	14.1	14.2	14.9
Italy	2,406	13.6	14.0	13.6
Cyprus	42	13.8	14.3	14.2
Latvia	41	4.1	3.0	4.1
Lithuania	36	2.6	2.7	3.7
Luxembourg	9	4.7	7.6	6.5
Hungary	284	8.2	7.9	7.6
Malta	7	5.2	4.2	5.9
Netherlands	1,286	18.2	18.0	18.3
Austria	346	9.7	8.7	9.6
Poland	3,387	27.5	27.0	28.7
Portugal	901	22.9	23.2	22.8
Romania	80	1.2	1.3	1.5
Slovenia	163	18.5	17.0	18.8
Slovakia	116	5.5	4.2	5.0
Finland	370	16.6	17.0	18.0
Sweden	727	17.3	16.7	18.8
United Kingdom	1,379	5.4	5.3	5.9

Figure 5.1 Share of Employees with Temporary Contracts by Country (Source: Massarelli-EUROSTAT 2009)

This situation of employment generated via very high rates of temporary contracts has been occurring for years according to several analysts (Quintana 2002; Isusi 2005; Navarro 2001). Through the model of flexible employment, Spain had been able to reabsorb many unemployed people and employ many of the millions of migrants that have arrived in recent years. Thus not only was the unemployment of the early 1990's checked but the exponential rise in immigration was channeled into a booming labor market. The unemployment rate of 20% in 1994 went down to 13% in 2000 (INE 2009; EURofound 2007). Thanks to a redefinition of unemployment statistics that year the figure dropped a further 2 percentage points to 11% (INE 2009). By early 2008, with the new definition, unemployment under the first Zapatero government reached a historical

low at around 7%. This was the lowest rate of unemployment in the post-Fascist period. With the economic bust beginning in 2007 things changed rapidly. Unemployment nearly doubled in one year to 14%. In addition, unemployment for immigrants now officially stands at 21%.

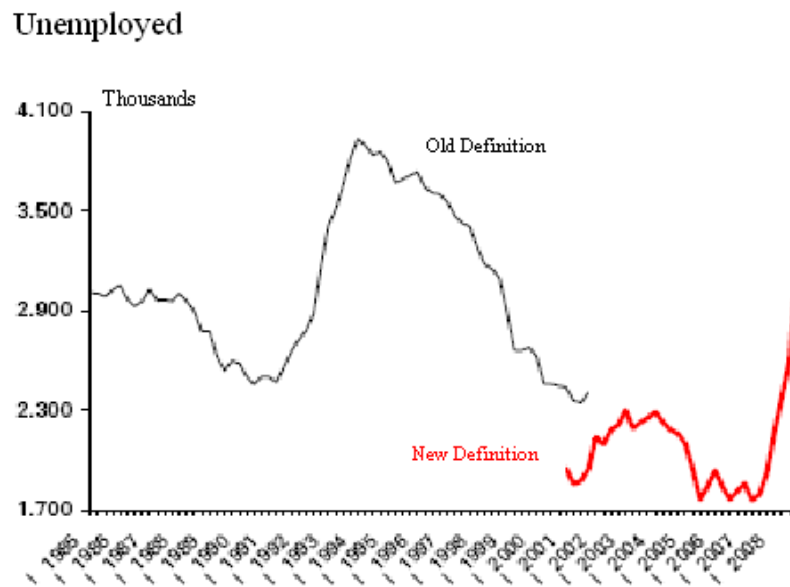


Figure 5.2 Unemployment in Spain (Source: INE-National Statistics Institute; translation by author)

With the bust in real estate and the current global recession, it is unclear how this model of temp-labor based job growth will fair. It is true that statistically, large numbers of people were integrated into the labor market. Yet even during the boom years of the Spanish Economic Miracle, this employment had been denounced as offering few protections and rights. A popular expression that developed as part of the critique of precarity to refer to the new employment created was “garbage contracts” referring to the ‘hire & fire’ nature of these jobs. Yet this model of flexibilization, while remarkable during the boom years at integrating individuals into the workforce, trembled significantly at the first signs of the current recession. Unemployment numbers

skyrocketed in a matter of several quarters causing one the sharpest rises in unemployment numbers in Spain's post-Fascist history.

Chainworkers

The mass arrival of temporary work, the fragmentation of contract types, coupled with the break up of large worker agglomerations via subcontracting and outsourcing provided serious challenges to union movements, whether mainstream or more radical alternative unions. Even the legal architecture of unionism, such as the minimum number of employees required to hold union elections or the minimum amount of time at a workplace, was undercut by the new economic practices of firm organization and employment (Podadera 2004; Turmo 2004). In addition, the type of worker identity and subjectivity forming in this 'flexible' context was at odds with an idealized union militant defending not only his job but perhaps the quality of their 'trade'. The flexible employee could be just as interested in leaving the job as in defending it, and may have to switch professions in another job or retool themselves through schooling or job retraining (Otra Malaga 2004; Contrapoder 2003). These tendencies were growing not only in Spain but in many countries of the EU.

One of the earliest and most creative responses to address the massive arrival of temp workers, especially in service industries, was the Milan-based collective *Chainworkers*. Chainworkers (<http://www.chainworkers.org/>) was born in 1999 explicitly engaging the labor conditions within the "cathedrals of consumption", as this Italian group refers to the set of chain-stores, malls, fast food restaurants, and large retailers, that begin to pepper the labor landscape and become paradigmatic of new employment

practices (*Chainworkers* 2002). This media activist-cum-labor organizing group explores the type of conditions that exist in those locales, and the working culture forming amongst employees. From this reflection they experiment with what new types of organizing may be required. The work of this Milanese group was central to politicizing precarity especially in its manifestations via temporary and service related work. The targeting of these types of stores and companies was not only an attempt to ‘organize the unorganizable’, but also a way to territorialize the critiques of global capitalism circulating at the time in a very visible way. Years had been spent analyzing decentralized global production chains, third world sweatshops, and the delocalization of production. The “chains” or “cathedrals of consumption” denounced by Chainworkers were seen as one of the most visible faces of this economic web, promoting in their wake a new culture of consumption (Klein 2000). Attention was also given to what kind cultural politics needed to be enacted to provoke or articulate the struggles of new generations of workers who were employed in those kinds of spaces. The actual everyday of these laborers was definitely distinct to the class experience of the factory worker. Identifying those differences became a central task not only for Chainworkers but for other movements to develop struggles in the transforming context: what are the *qualitative* transformations taking place in the re-organization of labor and workers’ subjectivities?

This strategic and analytical challenge provoked responses both on the ground and in a myriad of theoretical debates. In particular neo-Marxist and neo-feminist frameworks have played a large role in identifying qualitative transformations of labor or

differences in types of labor. A role that would frame many contemporary understandings of precarity.

5.2.2. Contemporary Understandings of Precarity

While most unions understood precarity with a strict negative connotation as the reversal of the welfare state and fordist compromise, the unemployed used precarity to refer to their condition as a non-economically productive subjects in a society with limited notions of productivity and compensation tied explicitly to those notions. This understanding opens the possibility to conceive the emerging conditions as something not only negative, but also filled with potential to critique labor organization as a whole and think creatively about a new reordering of society. It is from these initial seeds that the concept of precarity gained broader complexity, especially when re-appropriated by other debates and struggles.

The initial sociological critique, such as that articulated by Bourdieu, and the unions' struggle for the re-inauguration of a full employment regime of full-time and protected workers, is transformed into a diverse concept that will articulate debates of immaterial labor and feminist economics with Deleuzian overtones of becoming. A rather rich theoretical development takes place constantly engaging ongoing struggles, and continuously adapting or expanding to distinct figures of a diversely understood labor market: such as chain-workers, knowledge-worker, migrants, domestic-workers and more. In these cases the re-politicizations of precarity highlight both the negative aspects and the positive possibilities of current conditions. In this way the list of demands and goals of precarious movements is pluralized. The following section outlines the

theoretical development of the concept as it provides some empirical background on these movements and new social actors. It is in this context that ‘precarity’, as used in this dissertation, begins to sink its roots. As the 21st century starts, precarity becomes an analytical framework and conceptual tool to encompass some these diverse situations.

The Rise of the Cognitariat

Simultaneously to the politicization of the chain worker, the evocative terms of “cognitive labor”, “brain-workers” or “immaterial work” become popular. The realization that the production of value was increasingly based on communication, affect, sociability, information, and collective knowledge was premised on Italian post-marxist insights. Negri, Virno, Lazzarato and Corsani among others signal how there is a profound transformation of “the nature of labor”. The main hypothesis argues for a new dominant quality of labor, which rather than based on repetition and bounded time units, is based on relational, communicative and cognitive faculties that go beyond conventional work time and workplace. This new quality should be understood as a tendency, not as an overall description of current empirical labor realities. This hypothesis comes from a situated reading of Marx’s *Grundrisse* fragment on Machines, especially when he refers to the “general intellect”:

The development of fixed capital indicates to what degree general *social knowledge* has become a *direct force of production*, and to what degree, hence, the conditions of the process of social life itself have come under the control of the *general intellect* and been transformed in accordance with it. To what degree the powers of social production have been produced, not only in the form of knowledge, but also as immediate organs of social practice, of the real life process (Marx manuscript 1858 [online version, my italics])

Virno develops the importance of this thesis of Marx to understand the contemporary labor regime (2001), emphasizing how abstract knowledge tends to become the main productive force. It is out of the scope of this dissertation to fully engage the extensive Italian literature on *Post-Operaismo* or *Marxismo autonomo* dealing with these issues. However, despite the rather complex discussions on this topic, it is important to notice how some of these terms rapidly were put in use to refer to figures such as temporary university teachers, interns, translators (a boom industry in the EU), IT related jobs, researchers, ‘cultural’ work of different sorts, computer programming and other jobs using linguistic codes. A series of experiments at organizing in these spaces began in different countries, often surprising labor ministries, unions, and activist networks alike. At times the analyses of these phenomena smacks of a certain fetishization of the ‘uniqueness’ of these job sectors.³⁴ More importantly though, this work and organizing has contributed to a) problematizing the celebratory rhetoric around the “new economy”, the “info-economy” or the “knowledge economy” in Europe; b) highlighting some of the labor conditions and exploitation among these ‘privileged’ sectors; and c) opening new possibilities for the politicization of peoples’ lives. The discussions and organizing efforts very quickly grabbed onto the vocabulary of the “precarious”.³⁵

³⁴This is a factor usually critiqued by some of those employed in those very sectors that are openly trying to organize from that position.

³⁵This identification went even to the point of including the word “precarious” in many of the names of groups that have emerged, such as the *becari@s precarios* of Spain (“precarious fellows” denouncing the incredible amount of scholarship-for-work situations that exist in Spain), *Generation Precaire* in France (focusing on interns and free labor), and *Ricercatori Precari* in Italy (precarious researchers). Also, a familiar adage that grew out of this moment, and based on the name of a listserve that grew in Italy, was “prec-cog.”. This refers the linking of precarious conditions with forms of labor associated with an information economy.

Feminist Critiques to Immaterial Labor

Voices from feminist political efforts have decried how this hypothesis was largely Northern and male biased (Federici 2008; Mitropoulos 2005; Precarias 2004). In this interpretation, the discussion on immaterial labor as articulated by Italian thinkers and movements are invisibilizing other forms of precarious labor. Specifically, those jobs that despite holding similar traits with certain aspects of immaterial labor –mainly in reference to the communicative and affective components- may have existed for a longer time but without receiving the same theoretical attention or political importance. This refers to work such as domestic work and reproductive labor, work carried out by migrants or even newer jobs such as call center. This work is often held by minorities in the Global North, and is more embodied than the portrait knowledge-worker. Often these are precisely the kinds of jobs historically ascribed to women, and increasingly performed by the growing migrant population in Europe.

In fact these critiques have highlighted how the framing of many debates around precarity as a “new” sociological phenomenon (as opposed to simply a new politicization) fail to see the Fordist compromise achieved in some countries as both exceptional and predicated on the extreme exploitation of ‘others’:

The experience of regular, full-time, long-term employment which characterised the most visible, mediated aspects of Fordism is an exception in capitalist history. That presupposed vast amounts of unpaid domestic labour by women and hyper-exploited labour in the colonies. This labour also underpinned the smooth distinction between work and leisure for the Fordist factory worker. The enclosures and looting of what was once contained as the Third World and the affective, unpaid labour of women allowed for the consumerist, affective 'humanisation' and protectionism of what was always a small part of the Fordist working class (Mitropoulos 2005: 4)

Furthermore, these feminist analyses that have tried to complexify the critique of precarity resulting from the debates on cognitive capitalism pose an additional and complex question: if one mobilizes as a subject that emerges from a position inherent to a stratified capitalist relationship how can one supercede the hierarchies and exploitative relations that this particular subjectivity presupposes? In other words:

To put the question in classical Marxist terms: to what extent can an identity which is immanent to capitalism [...] be expected to abolish capitalism, and therefore its very existence and identity? Does a politics which takes subjectivity as its question and answer reproduce a politics as the idealised image of such? A recourse to an Enlightenment Subject replete with the stratifications which presuppose it, and ledgered according to its current values (or valuations), not least among these being the distinction between paid and unpaid labour.

[...] Transformed into organisational questions: how feasible is it to use precarity as a means for alliances or coalition-building without effacing the differences between Mimi and the Philosopher, or indeed reproducing the hierarchy between them? Is it in the best interests for the maquiladora worker to ally herself with the fashion designer? Such questions cannot be answered abstractly. But there are two, perhaps difficult and irresolvable questions that might be still be posed.

[...] How does the fast food 'chainworker', who is compelled to be affective, compliant, and routinised not assume such a role in relation to a software programming 'brainworker', whose habitual forms of exploitation oblige opinion, innovation and self-management? How is it possible for the latter to avoid assuming for themselves the specialised role of mediator let alone preening themselves in the cognitariat's mirror as the subject, actor or 'activist' of politics in this relationship? To what extent do the performative imperatives of artistic-cultural exploitation (visibility, recognition, authorship) foreclose the option of clandestinity which remains an imperative for the survival of many undocumented migrants and workers in the informal economy? (Mitropoulos 2005: 6)

These critiques could seem to nullify much of the force of precarity as a concept. In this view precarity seems 'self-centered' in the best of cases and doomed to failure in the worst. Yet these feminist critiques have also opened the possibility to politicize other terrains of struggle neglected or unanalyzed in other interpretations of precarity via a cautious and un-heroic encounter with the concept. The work of *Precarias a la Deriva*

has been central in this regard suggesting provocative alliances and unexpected theorizations of labor beyond the workspace (2004).

The feminist group *Precarias a la Deriva* and the migrant rights *Frassanito* network have emphasized understanding precarity as a process, as ‘precarization’. There is a move away from solidified categories often defined by the labor market to a more general process. A process that affect many people positioned differently in terms of privilege or social recognition (domestic workers versus web designer) and as a process that spreads beyond the worksite as such (*Frassanito 2005; Precarias a la Deriva 2004*). Further development of these insights of precarity as precarization have led to distinct understandings of its mobilizations as a tool. Instead of precarity becoming a re-invention of trade-union mobilization in a new context, where groups are organized according to their trades and the different reifications of identity that this can imply a more procesual approach develops. Theoretically precarity acquires aspects of a Zapatista ‘caminar preguntando’ (to ask while walking). Precarious mobilizing is seen as different collective experiments at creating antagonistic concatenations out of the differences and hyper-fragmentation and hierarchization that exist. Precarity is then an unsettling process. Rather than permanent antagonistic identities, multiple concatenation respond to a ‘flexible’ regime adapting according to space, context, concrete demands and available networks (Raunig 2007).

New Developments of Precarity: Migration and “Life”

While these critiques of precarity are developing, in just the past few years precarity has expanded to two more key areas of struggle: migration; and what is

sometimes simply called “life”. The link between precarity and migration made by social movements has been presented in Part II, especially with regards to *Fadai’at* and the *Cartography of the Straits*. The connection made with migration and precarity is premised on a double argument. On the one hand, it refers to the exaggeration of precarious conditions among migrant populations. Conditions such as: informality in contracts; work insurance; late payment; high mobility and turnover; lack of access to many services and subsidies. While these conditions are shared among different precarious sectors, nonetheless the degree and intensity of precarious conditions are much more notorious among the migrant worker population. All of these are also compounded by the increasing militarization of the migration question and the racial/colonial aspects surrounding it. On the other hand, these specific migrant conditions are simultaneously spreading to the rest of the population as a general tendency, with an overall trend towards the worsening of labor conditions. This is especially the case of the increasing requisite of mobility from workers from job to job or jobsite to jobsite. It is a mobility that requires intense levels of availability and has been compared to, although aware of the radical differences, with the mobility of the migrant worker (Frassanito 2005). This process has been named by some as the “becoming migrant of labor” (Fadaiat 2006).

These former understandings of precarity have coalesced and developed into the notion of a “precarization of existence”. The nexus of precarity and life is based on taking the spheres of ‘non-work’ and ‘reproduction’ as points of departure to think the contemporary transformations of labor social reproduction. At one level, similar to some of the demands posed by the unemployed movement of the 90’s, there is increased attention to the ‘roll-back’ in social services (health care, childcare, etc.). This idea is

developed though, into the inability to reconcile these (increasingly) limited services with the pressures of a flexible labor market. Furthermore, there is a critique of the precarious conditions of jobs associated with the reproduction and maintaining of life itself. What kinds of conditions are being faced by people involved in sectors such as care work, domestic help, elderly and child or handicapped care? How are care and migration linked in complex ways?³⁶ What about social workers and social service providers that now work for subcontracted businesses and have to churn out “results” before a contract is up for renewal rather than cultivate long-term relationships with people in distress (*otramalaga04 2005*)? As a result of these critiques, this analysis of precarity finally pushes the concept well beyond work and the worksite, or even its corollaries such as unemployment and the ‘new’ conditions of cognitive labor. Here ‘precarity’- the vulnerability associated with it, the invisibility of conditions, and the instability it entails- spreads to the neighborhood, the home, the hospital, the store, etc. This approach also insists in the potentially positive aspects, not just the negative ones, emphasizing some of the possibilities ‘precarity’ brings for rethinking life options, as well as for the articulation of new rights. *Precarias a la Deriva* has also aided in the advancement of this existential understanding of precarity in particular by politicizing questions of care and carework through the lens of precarity.

Increasingly there is a perception that precarity, both as a condition or process that people are going through and as a concept has moved from labor to life. Antonella Corsani and Maurizio Lazzarato, referents in debates on precarity within Europe, have

³⁶This refers to the work and struggles around issues such as “global care chains”: women (mostly) migrating to provide care for children or the elderly in other countries so that those families can enter the labor market on the markets’ terms. At the same time, the migrant care provider must find someone (family or otherwise) to provide care for their own families and dependants back in the source country.

proposed a necessary displacement of the central relationship *capital-labor* towards *capital-life* (2002). Contemporary capitalist accumulation is not only founded on labor exploitation, but on a much broader forms of social exploitation.³⁷ In this way, it is necessary to rethink new forms of political organization as well as new forms of retribution and rights.

5.2.3. Expansion until Implosion? Over extending precarity as a framework of critique

Gavin: Precarity as a word to describe the existence in advanced capitalist economies of a fragmented workforce seems very useful and it has undoubtedly been used really effectively in the EuroMayDay events this year... Yet you also mention that there are lots of different types of workers within and under the banner of precarity- extending from unrecognized migrant and feminine laborers towards creative workers in design and media industries, etc. How useful and effective do you think the concept of precarity can be in linking people together who have vastly different incomes? Precarity... seems to bringing together lots of different types of people from very different social strata. Do you think this is a limitation on how useful the concept might be in creating and organizing this new radical subjectivity?

Foti: It is a crucial objection (Oudenampsen and Sullivan 2004).

This short excerpt from an interview with Alex Foti, one of the founders of Chainworkers, highlights an important limitation whose discussion in movement networks has only recently begun: has the concept of precarity stretched too far, and does this hamper its political effectiveness? ‘Precarity’ has become a very broad-reaching concept to frame political critiques and interventions. Its strengths draw from acting as a way of rearticulating anti-capitalist critique from a reinvigorated class position, integrating many different positions and struggles without homogenizing them. At the

³⁷These can include knowledge, culture, free-time, relational resources of individuals (such as communication, sex, socialization), living material, imaginaries. While Corsani and Lazzarato are considered central to proposing the idea of cognitive capitalism, here they show an attention to those spheres which critics of cognitive capitalism have signaled as absent, pointing to growing points of intersection among precarity debates.

same time though, it has the vagaries of something that has become ‘trendy’: a bit fetishized; and almost everything seems to be reflective of the new trend. In particular, when precarity gets so expansive and applied to all kinds of different populations and struggles it is unclear if it means anything in particular other than “instability” and “vulnerability”. Does the attempt to construct political bridges across so many boundaries lead to a dulling of the analytical power of precarity? Or is its primary role that of being a political articulator, the propository power it holds for building unlikely alliances, rather than its sociological sharpness? While most activists involved in precarity struggles from an autonomous social movements point of view stress the propository importance of precarity, they also see the danger of ‘everything becoming precarity’. As a member of the *Precarias a la Deriva* collective confessed:

“ [precarity] was great in helping people identify with this new spirit of struggle, seeing themselves as occupying a site that could be fought from. At the same time, it loses its edge if everyone was now ‘precarious’. We spoke to some people who felt really empowered by this concept and idea: it took them in new directions, but if we’re using the same term to describe conflicts faced by university teachers in a country like Sweden with the situation of a migrant domestic worker in the UK then it loses strength. It felt like ‘precarity’ just grew too fast after 2003, too much. It was important but maybe not the only thing that needed to happen...” (interview: *Precarias a la Deriva* member 4/2007)

This angst captures two related problems. On the one hand ‘precarity’ and the expanding understanding of it, responded to what appears to be a genuine need for new frameworks of understanding current conditions and current struggles, a new way of situating oneself in the conjuncture. At the same time, since it was the most readily available response for some people it became so all-encompassing as to put its relevance into question.

5.3. Conclusion

After presenting the context of the European Union followed by the debates on precarity, I return to the initial concerns framing Part III: class-re-composition thought alongside transforming European spaces. I wanted to look at both the construction of new critical European geographies and the understanding of the EU as concomitant to particular precarious spaces.

With regards to a new critical European Geography, both sections of this chapter point to re-writings of Europe and European spaces. The institutional history of the EU's construction and its contentions speak to a complex and multi-tiered restructuring of governance, the nation-state and identity. The re-composition of class discussed in the section on precarity also indicates new labor and economic geographies of production and struggle on the continent. These two questions are taken further in the *Precurity_Map* project explored in chapter six, which intricately links the creation of European space -via the EU's process-, with the creation of the 'terrains of precarity' as they are called in the mapping project. The new Euro-geography articulated by this cartographic project then understands the EU itself as a type of precarious terrain. This results in a radical re-mapping of the continent: the EU's construction entails the formation of precarity, a particular, and not universal, type of precarity.

There are two ways of reading such a far-reaching argument. The first reading understands precarity as the result of the building of the EU, the consequence of particular policies and laws. The second is that the different emergent "terrains of precarious struggle" -the sites from which precarity is struggled with and against-, constitute as a whole a type of Europe that exists in a complex relation with the

institutional construction of the EU. However, these two readings are not mutually exclusive; rather, they are both needed to reach the complex geography invoked by the *Precarity_Map*. These two readings require further explanation. While the second one is developed in-depth in chapter six that follows, this conclusion focuses on the first reading, further exploring what is the direct link between the deepening of the EU process and the consequent arrival of precarity. This complex linkage is interpreted under the framework of Peck and Tickell's discussion of roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism (2002).

In order to describe the development of neoliberal policy Peck and Tickell devised a direct and illuminating metaphor that breaks down neoliberalism in two phases. Building on the work of the regulation school, Peck and Tickell see a first phase, 'roll-back', where policies are aimed at dismantling a particular mode of regulation. This is what is often referred to as *de-regulation*. Whereas many critics and proponents of neoliberalism focus on this de-regulatory phase as the centerpiece of neoliberal economic policy, Peck and Tickell highlight that a second phase then comes into being. This is 'roll-out' where new policy frameworks, contract relations, and laws are put into place as necessary for preserving and deepening a neoliberal regime of accumulation, and in this way constituting a new mode of regulation. Without being exhaustive, I use this framework to describe some elements of the creation of a precarious territory in Europe.

With reference to roll-back, the EU in recent years has pushed for the privatization and break up of large public enterprises as well as government services, fracturing the social democratic or corporatist contract relations therein. This has occurred in both member states as well as candidate countries (via institutions like the

EBRD). If these labor contracts were considered the ‘high-water’ mark in terms of labor protections, attacking them could in effect ‘lower the ceiling’. A second roll-back mechanism has focused on social spending and fiscal policy. EU goals of zero deficits and legally binding agreements such as the Stability Pact can limit public spending on service programs or public job creation.³⁸

Regarding ‘roll-out’ programs that enact new forms of governing the economy a series de-facto arrangements as well as grand strategies point to what this new regulatory terrain will look like. First, the creation of a ‘border economy’ as described in Part II. Both in terms of proximity to the border, as well as the ways that legality and visa enforcement work throughout a state’s territory, the creation of hardened yet porous borders with multiple levels of filtering are resulting in staggered forms of inclusion with differentiated levels of citizenship rights. In this way there is a fragmentation and segmentation of the workforce into different populations with access to different contracts, rights, sectors and social services. Second, the EU’s “Lisbon agenda” of 2000 with its goal of creating “the most competitive knowledge economy in the world” has resulted in a series of debates on what kind of workforce that economy would require with an emphasis on flexibility. A push for new contract relations, taking different forms in each member state but following similar EU-wide tendencies -especially toward temporary and part-time employment-, promotes a friendlier legal environment for companies to adapt to rapidly changing economic requirements and ‘hire & fire’ more quickly.³⁹

³⁸It should be noted though, that in the current context of the global economic crisis, the European Central Bank and the European Commission have said that enforcement of these mechanisms would be laxer.

There are many other specific examples of rolling-out new forms of regulation. This can include the growing emphasis on developing ‘labor mobility’. Labor mobility has been a central point of discussion at EU summits of heads of state (i.e. Barcelona 2002) and the theme of the EU for 2006 the “European year of Workers’ Mobility”.⁴⁰ An additional example and a response to the pervasive policies of flexibilization and mobility has been the introduction of *flexicurity* as a concept of labor regulation. Debates around this compound unit made out of flexibility and security are based on both Danish labor law and the strength of movements against precarity in several countries.⁴¹ A final example is the *Bologna process* that includes the integration of higher education systems across the EU. This controversial process also provides for a partial shift in higher education towards market driven innovation and research and the concomitant shifts in university employment this may imply (Moreno 2008).⁴²

These are concrete examples of a long process of roll-back and roll-out regulation. The results of this process are a new European terrain of differentiated and staggered contract types, differentiated and staggered ‘citizens’, flexible and mobile contractors that can go where needed and reskill their tools as necessary. This interpretation of the changing labor regime in Europe speaks to social movements’

³⁹This is also augmented by a deepening of the EU’s internal market that allows companies that relocate to another member state to pay the going wage of either the host or home country of the company, which ever is more competitive.

⁴⁰See: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/workersmobility_2006/index.cfm?id_page=290

⁴¹Flexicurity a grosso modo is meant to combine the elements of a flexible workforce with security requirements, in terms of income as well as access to basic goods and services, including housing, health and job retraining

⁴²This is well exemplified by the creation of two new ministries in the Spanish government to fall in line with Bologna goals: from the former Ministry of Education and Science which included primary, secondary and university education, now there is a Ministry for Education, Social Policy and Sport (K-12 and social welfare policies) and a different Ministry of Science and Innovation where universities fall under.

proposal to think the construction of the Europe Union and the advancing *specter* of precarity together.

CHAPTER 6

A Cartography of Precarity Mapping Dispersed Terrains of Struggle

Introduction

Chapter six follows the development of a trans-European mapping process since its inception. This project, the *Precarity_Map*, worked at the intersections of the European Union's development and Precarity addressed in chapter five. By engaging the production of a Europe-wide map of precarious struggles I show how a series of political and cartographic concerns merge. In particular I look at how this effort tries to visibilize and create new spaces through the mapping exercise. In this map, precarity reconfigures the geographies of Europe and a new terrain of politics is evoked in the cartographic process. The *Precarity_Map* is a mapping process that is still ongoing and forms part of several trans-European coordination efforts of precarious struggles. I was able to participate at a very early stage of the project, thus leading to a more deep engagement with the mapping process itself, and allowing a more acute understanding of the tool of cartography in movements.¹

Cartographic Dilemmas

¹In fact, Maribel Casas and I were both regular and co-founding members of the Madrid node of the *Precarity_Map* project. This positionality allows me to ascertain how the analysis of precarity developed in conjunction with the application and debate of cartographic ideas. My own analysis of the project is then tied to the project itself, more so than in other chapters of this dissertation. For a further discussion of the methodological underpinnings of this internal participation see chapter 2 on methods.

Chapter six focuses on the praxis and theory of activist mapping, directly engaging with the empirical argument of this dissertation. In particular, I look at how cartography is conceptualized and re-appropriated by ‘precarity struggles’² to serve a trans-European project aiming to articulate a very distinct portrait of Europe. The trans-European nature of this collective not only included participants from different countries but also from at least four different activist mapping projects. In this sense, the *Precarity_Map* was emblematic of the community of activist cartographic practice that I signal in the introduction of the dissertation. Activist mapping is a place-situated practice that at the same time is articulated with other sites through networks where exchanges, encounters, disputes and copying & pasting take place, forming a trans-local community of practice. The description of this project then shows how different activist mappers with previous work on questions of immigration, urban reform, and the creation of new mapping software try to jointly articulate elements of a rethought cartography. Different theoretical questions were raised throughout the mapping process related to the cartographic challenges. Some of these involve:

- How to re-imagine exiting territories
- How to map movement concepts such as precarity and resistance?
- How to challenge those concepts through the practices of mapping?
- What is meant by mapping? Where is the territory in a map of ‘precarity’?
- What is the importance of cartographic considerations such as perspective and map center?

²“Precarity struggles” is the shorthand often used by related social movements to refer to those social mobilizations that engage or denounce situations of precarity.

- Is an entity like “Europe” or the “EU” mappable? How can it be conceptualized, represented, and deconstructed?
- What is the relationship between map ‘base’ and map ‘layers’? Is it possible to think of these in a dynamic way instead of the base as fixed or given?
- What are the limits of geo-referencing when trying to rethink territory and new ways of understanding ‘proximity’ in a political sense?

The mapping process itself served to interrogate, over and over, what was meant by precarity, what political itineraries the collective was aware of within the realm of precarity, how Europe could be re-imagined and how this new terrain could be acted upon.

Locating Precarity

It is my contention that this cartographic effort, as part of a trans-European coordination of precarious struggles, puts forward an understanding of precarity concerned not only with questions of subjectification but also spatial considerations: precarity as a process of re-composition of both subject and territory. This understanding resurfaces throughout the chapter, which is divided in two main instances of this territorial reformulation of precarity: the first one engages the process of EuroMayDay and the second one the Precarity_Map itself.

The chapter begins with an engagement with the EuroMayDay mobilization process against precarity. EuroMayDay is a series of yearly mobilizations, starting on May 1st 2001 in Milan, Italy. Its goal is twofold: first, visualizing emergent types of

laborers and struggles; and second, coordinating those at a European scale.³ In **MayDay Madrid** I open with an account of the 2008 edition of EuroMayDay in Madrid. Through this account the reader can gain a sense of the more recent debates and understandings of precarity as well as obtain a glimpse into the actors, spaces and settings involved. The ethnographic story shows how precarity is being translated into the context of Madrid and how it is thought as a local materialization of a European process.

In the subsection **EuroMayDay** a description of the broader continental process of mobilizing follows. I engage EuroMayDay for several reasons. The Precarity_Map developed out of the EuroMayDay process and reflects the maturing of many of the debates within that broader experience. By exploring EuroMayDay the decision to conduct a research and mapping process in order to deepen understandings of precarity becomes clearer.

EuroMayDay is also the earliest attempt to interlink precarious struggles and to think them through a European territorialization. EuroMayDay has been significant in its ability to both introduce the critique of precarity into new contexts as well as a way to visibilize diverse existing struggles under a common lens of precarity (Fernandez de Rota 2008). Due to this the process has become part and parcel of precarious struggles. I introduce EuroMayDay, and by extension the concept of precarity, as a force that has attempted a re-composition of class struggles (Negri 2006) and the creation of antagonistic “machinic concatenations” (Raunig 2007) under a somewhat different logic than that of the ‘proletariat’. EuroMayDay is also one of the first spaces to plea for the need to articulate a European terrain of communication and struggle amongst social

³See www.euromayday.org/about.php. EuroMayDay celebrations are envisioned as a mode of reinventing May 1st for a new generation of people and struggles that were often ignored in the traditional May 1st mobilizations historically organized by the large unions.

movements in order to confront the realities of European integration. The ‘Euro’ in EuroMayDay points out at one and the same time a sensitivity to geographic specificity as well as the possible limits of precarity as thus far conceptualized (Raunig 2007; Frassanito 2005; Mitropoulos 2005)

In *EuroMayDay in Crisis or the Crisis of Europe* I discuss how the attempts to articulate a European space of mobilization and resistance have run into difficulty and led to the mapping process of the Precarity_Map. My reading of the option to map by part of the EuroMayDay (EMD) network emphasizes how these groups see in the mapping process a mechanism to further the goals of the broader mobilizations. A *map* of precarity, in contrast with the EMD *parade*, would allow visualizing both singularities and commonalities, as well as intersecting territories, in a more analytical way. For example, the link between European construction and the development of precarious subjects and struggles is further developed in this cartographic effort. The map becomes a way to think the ‘common’ among the radical divergence and fragmentation that precarity attempts to recompose. The mapping effort then, attempts to answer burning questions circulating among the participants such as: “what is this new territory that we find ourselves struggling in? What does it look like from our situation and how can we put it to work for us?” (Madrid meeting notes 10-2007)

Mapping Precarity

A Trans-European Mapping Project engages specifically with the cartographic project of the *Precarity_Map* as a working group of the *Precarity_WebRing* initiative that in and of itself grew out of the EuroMayDay process. This account is organized

simultaneously by theme and chronology of the internal development of this cartographic project. In this way the reader can see how the cartographic thinking about the map itself develops in parallel to the collective self-interrogation about precarity and Europe on the part of the group. The cartographic process so far has been anchored in three major meetings taking place in different European capitals: Rome, Madrid and Paris.⁴ Each meeting generated a series of thematic axes, cartographic challenges and theoretical considerations. In the section *Rome: Cartography as Collective Lexicon* I discuss how cartography was posed as a tool for the production of a shared language between different struggles across Europe and the development of common analyses and demands.

The next section, **Mapping Precarity in Biopower Fields**, reflects on the process leading up to the Madrid meeting, where the most important discussions took place. *Madrid: Biopower, Resistance and Disassembling Cartographic Elements* opens with one of the main findings from the meeting and the mapping process as such: identifying the base of the map, and Europe as such, as a series of *biopower fields*. I present here how Foucault's notion of biopower is adopted to the Precarity_Map. The use of biopower as a concept also resulted in important debates on how to map resistance, and experiment with cartographic elements such as layers and centers. A further contribution of this mapping meeting was the application of the concept of *conic perspective* as a cartographic expression of the notion of situated knowledge. In *Paris: Whither the Precarity_Map*, the project begins to stagnate despite the very rich debates and various early drafts of the map. Interestingly, it is at this point that the Paris-based activist

⁴Each of the gatherings was hosted by three important actors within European movements against precarity: ESC in Rome, a hub of university activism; the *Traficantes de Suenos* cooperative in Madrid, an important radical publishing house in Spain; and *Act Up* in Paris, responsible for some of the conceptual stretching of precarity via their anti-HIV campaign *Precarity Kills*.

cartographic team of *Bureau d'Etudes* (a referential group for many activist cartographers) engaged the *Precarity_Map* providing series of constructive cartographic critiques.

New European Geographies?

One of the most central cartographic and analytical points of the *Precarity_Map* process revolves around the *base* of the map: *where* does precarity play itself out? In the *Precarity_Map* (or *Prec_Map*) the base of the map was conceived of as a series of 'biopower fields'. The *Prec_Map* collective was inspired by a Foucauldian reading of governance strategies as a way of deepening a spatialized understanding of precarity. The territories of precarity in this understanding become linked to the definition of multiple subpopulations and categories of people. These subpopulations are then governed, controlled or harnessed by different mechanisms. At the same time, this biopower is also transformed and conditioned by social resistance. The positioning of the different fields on the map, their relations with one another, and the relation of these fields with actual social struggles came to define the 'precarious territories of Europe' signaling alternative European geographies.

6.1. MayDay Madrid 2008: the Latest Debates of ‘Our’ Precarity

Early March, 2008. EuroMayDay was coming to Madrid.⁵ The first meeting to organize such an event took place in an old classroom part of the recently squatted building called *Patio Maravillas*.⁶ The old blackboard served for the note-taking of the long discussion. Videos of previous EuroMayDay marches in other cities, especially in Milan and Barcelona, preceded the meeting in order to get people into the feel of ‘EuroMayDay’. Over fifty people showed up for this first meeting. Though mostly youth there were various ages, and people representing various groups, or workplaces in the city. The meeting began and the smoky haze from cigarettes that plagues Spanish politics began to burn one’s eyes.

⁵The organizing of the Madrid MayDay took place in the *Malasana* neighborhood. The meetings were held in San Bernardo Street, removed from the enormous bustle that characterizes that neighborhood. If *Lavapiés* felt like a village made up of inhabitants from all over the world, *Malasana* had all the marks of a hipster’s place. It was the epicenter of the “movida madrileña” in the 80’s, a strange sort publicly sanctioned nihilist-rock counterculture that produced some of the most famous Spanish rock of the time and many drug-related problems with youth. Though culturally very anti-conservative it was ‘radically’ different from the “rock-radical” of the time based in the Basque country, much more linked to political agitation. That sort of hip-individual-youth feel stuck to the neighborhood, filled with students, youth, and the hippest fashion boutiques in town. It also borders the Chueca neighborhood- Madrid’s Greenwich village- the historical center of the gay rights movement though heavily gentrified when compared to those years of the 70’s. The pricey stores, bustle, and intense number of sex workers in certain areas gave the neighborhood a rough edge- not dangerous but intense to inhabit. *Malasana* was also a laboratory for the “Triball” project. This was a commercial consortium working with the municipality to create a “Tribeca” for Madrid that would further emphasize the fashion-district aspect of the neighborhood. “Triball” is being fought by a series of neighborhood groups, artists and other activists due to fears of neighbors being priced out of the neighborhood, local commerce being removed to favor fashion boutiques, sex workers being ‘cleaned’ out, and the fact that the city was funneling resources to Triball after having abandoned many needs in the neighborhood previously.

⁶Located in *Malasana* neighborhood, the *Patio Maravillas*- a social center recently squatted in May 2007. The squat action had occurred as part of the yearly *Rompamos el Silencio* activities (“let’s break the silence”). This squat has since then remained a resource for Madrid based movements over the past year and a half. It has been a site of constant meetings and workshops including the Madrid based events of the 2008 World Social Forum. The building that hosts the squat is an abandoned school. Thus old classrooms and meeting rooms provide ample space within the squat. Besides intermittent meetings the squat includes weekly childcare activities, an *Oficina de Derechos Sociales ODS* (Office of Social Rights), living space and a bar/cafeteria.



Figure 6.1: Patio Maravillas in Madrid

A flurry of questions and proposals bounced across the room for several hours. Even if these were only the fruits of a preliminary meeting in one locale, these comments reflect many of the debates currently circulating Europe-wide around precarity:

-“other parts of the EuroMayDay [EMD] network in Europe, especially northern Europe, are focusing on challenging a sort of ‘right-wing’ turn in the EU symbolized by a sort of Sarkozy-Merkel relationship. How do we interact with that, with that sort of thinking of ‘Europe’ at that level?”

-“it seems kind of distant to try and mobilize here around those issues. Let’s leave that to the northern European groups... How do we translate EMD and its discussion of precarity in Madrid?”

-“Are we just trying to pull-off a one-time event? Like a march? There’s only two months left, it doesn’t seem like there’s time for much else. But would investing that energy be worthwhile?”

-“I haven’t been in other EMD events but sometimes it seems that the main thing is using the ‘San Precario’ thing and then blasting techno music from parade floats...that’s cool but it only speaks to a few people right?”

-“What if we use these two months to educate ourselves and discuss with other groups that might be interested in the city, like some of those recent strikes in the city,...what is precarity? What have been other experiences/analyses of it? Other tactics, targets?”

-“EMD is ideally supposed to be a process- why don’t we see the action on May 1st and its preparation as the buildup, the buildup for launching a longer term process to find out what we mean by precarity here in Madrid...that would continue long after the event?”

-“what do we mean by precarity anyway? Is it that useful?”

-“I think it mostly related to work- changing conditions, worsening conditions, that where I think the crux of it is...?”

-“No, not for me, I think precarity is far beyond that, I think it touches everything, all spheres of life ...I don’t know...I can’t even totally nail it down...”

-“How do we want to relate to the big May 1st march [by the central union federations] or more importantly for us with the alternative May 1st by the alternative unions?”

-“We should find a way to be complimentary- especially with the alternative May 1st, but even with the larger oneeven though we’re antagonistic to those unions’ leadership”

-“Well, we’re actually just doing another type of alternative May 1st...”

-“ No, Nope [NOTE: many ‘no’s’ around the room], it more than that, its something that’s speaking to different issues and conditions, and using a new language or way to connect with people and struggles,”

-“We should try and find out if some of the groups and workers involved in some of the recent strikes in the city would be interested in joining this process, at least joining in a workshop or something. I’m thinking about the metro cleaners’ especially”

-“I work with the public health system, in the computer and IT section, there’s a struggle developing there, and I think there would be interest on the part of people involved”

-“Bringing these and other folks [in worker-type struggles] is great, but aren’t we talking about how precarity goes beyond the workplace? How to connect EMD to other issues that we think are precarity as well?”

-“ Yeah, what about things like childcare, or encroachment on public space?”

-“Also a lot of what we do, where we suffer a lack of rights, etc. goes beyond the workplace itself...other groups in the EMD network are talking about building up for a ‘Metropolitan strike’- the city itself being like our production/reproduction/life place- how to struggle against-within that...?”

-“Can someone draft a call for other groups and people to get involved for the next meeting?”

-“Sure I’ll help do that, why don’t we just cut-and-paste what’s been used in other EMD event in Spain or Europe?”

-“We could use those for ideas, but a total cut-and-paste wouldn’t work. We need to tailor it to Madrid...”

These dilemmas about: what exactly precarity is, and what did it mean in Madrid versus “Europe”; is it only about work or something more; or how to relate to union structures, mainstream and alternative, are circulating in many European networks working on precarity. This notion appeared as something quite slippery in the MayDay Madrid meetings, at times understood as labor flexibilization, at times as flexibilization combined with cuts in social services and the ‘public’ sphere constituted by the welfare state. At other times it appeared to stretch to include more general insecurity in life: job insecurity; migrant insecurity, crossing the borders, fear of deportations, etc.; insecurity of how to

take care of one's family; insecurity about oneself, if you're well-trained enough or have a good CV.

More meetings and workshops followed. A roundtable on different struggles around new types of work took place a few weeks later. Strikers from the metro cleaners were there, park service workers facing privatization, university based researchers paid from scholarships, and a computer-programmer. After presentations, debate followed about how to understand these extremely disparate figures through a similar lens, at times productively and at times like a head being banged on the wall.

Yet another event in the Patio brought together researchers working on issues of precarity and groups from other points of the country who had experimented with the EMD process in their own towns. Debate here raged as to whether everything about precarity was just misery: lower salaries, less job protection, no contracts or contract fraud, privatizing services, etc. Therefore, is it necessary to kick start some sort of new welfare or could precarity be a 'distinct' terrain of struggle? Not that everything is new, but should new demands beyond welfare, beyond rigid 8-hour shifts would be more productive in this context? Is a reconceptualization of rights necessary at this point?

By May 1st, quite a lot had been accomplished in terms of talks, meetings and propaganda preparation.⁷

⁷EuroMayDay as a process has put quite a lot of emphasis on propaganda that could be used across the continent as well as tailored to specific cities.



Figure 6.2: Poster of EuroMayDay Madrid

The parade/march itself began with good energy, starting off in the Plaza of the Reina Sofia contemporary art museum on the edge of the Lavapies neighborhood as way to hint towards questions of cultural work, and the use of cultural industries. The police though had no intention of letting the march out of Lavapies, and tense moments followed. Some of the march organizers tried to negotiate with the police, who stated: “you could have Lavapies” but the police order was clear: “you had to stay there or else”. The police had little interest in “our alternative and immigrant ghetto” but we could not leave it as a group. The march ended in the Lavapies plaza where a university library sits in the ruins of a monastery destroyed during the civil war across from the Pakistani association.

6.2. EuroMayDay: Visibilizing Precarious Subjects

MayDay today is an autonomous process, a network, in which many individuals and different subjectivities operate throughout Europe: starting from the contradictions they experience in different spatial contexts, everyone joins in the demand for a universal basic income and in radical practices that differ from those of the unions and the parties of the left. MayDay is more than a series of ‘parades’ taking place at the same time; it is a process of recomposing and constituting the new postfordist proletariat. [...] For me, the precariat is by no means a matter of egoists or simply of individuals [...] On the contrary, the revolutionary recomposition of subjects takes place in a sense everywhere, specifically

in establishing what all have in common. (Negri 2006)

The first EuroMayDay dates back to 2001 in Milan. In the preparations for that summer's G8 summit in Genoa, a first call was made for a new worker's march on May first.⁸ It was to be a re-appropriation of May 1st to focus on precarious working conditions, especially questions of work in chain stores, corporate offices, temp work and unemployment. The instigation for that first MayDay came from the collective "Chainworkers". Based out of two social centers in Milan, CW started as a collective reflection on contemporary activist work such as Adbuster's subvertising, Naomi Klein's work on *No Logo*, strikes in Canada and France against chains like McDonald's and Pizza Hut, and new generations of workers employed in those types of firms (conversations with CW members, Zoe and Alex Foti, Sevilla April 2007). They try to create new mechanisms to politicize environments like malls, suburban shopping centers, Wal-marts.⁹ In order to visibilize various sites and types of struggle around precarious work, one of these mechanisms has been an explicit connection to traditions of class-based activism, such as May 1st, and to re-energize that historical celebration with new meaning for a new generation, "a Wal-Mart, mall, media-hype generation" (Foti Prec video).¹⁰

⁸The choice of the pre-Genoa period was not accidental. The aim was to help materialize what global resistance organizing might translate as in European territories.

⁹See Chainworkers website www.chainworkers.org

¹⁰According to Anton de Rota, anthropologist and EuroMayDay activist himself, the cultural phenomenon of EuroMayday is based upon a logic of "counter-recycling" of the past. Using Baudrillard's concepts, the author posits these movements as re-invigorators of historical symbols such as May 1st –international workers day- through a logic that was both critical and constructive, re-appropriating the event in unexpected ways (2008). Rather than *residual*, these movements should be considered *emergent* forms of struggle, concludes this author using Raymond Williams' classification (2008).

That first EuroMayDay in Milan in 2001 gathered about 5,000 people. EuroMayDay marches grew each year in Milan. In 2004, they spread. This was the first year that there were EuroMayDay mobilizations in different parts of Italy and Europe, most notably in Barcelona. Since then, the mobilizations continued to spread encompassing collectives and mobilizations in over a dozen cities across Europe.

In other countries these actions have been important for bringing debates around precarity to the fore, especially amongst movements, despite often being small. In Italy on the other hand, EuroMayDay has been quite a phenomenon, both in terms of the force of numbers it can turn out, as well as for the effects it has had on politicizing precarity and making precarity a word and concept of daily use (PWR- notes, Sevilla conversation, PWR meeting conversations) even to the point of now being a term of common usage by media and politicians.

What was unique about the EuroMayDay process? Precarity as an issue had been denounced for years, particularly in regards to contract conditions, unemployment or workfare. Additionally struggles in spaces such as McDonald's chains, renown for their unstable labor conditions were beginning to emerge in different cities. What the EuroMayDay process added was a space where figures of precarious labor could leap onto a 'public stage', and attempt to negotiate something in common despite their many unique circumstances. Denouncing precarity itself was fine, but is there not a difference between how a factory worker experiences and struggles against precarity and how a call center worker, self-employed designer, or a migrant experiences precarity? How could those new struggles and tactics begin to network with each other? In attempting to

understand EuroMayDay's role then I turn to Raunig's theoretical work on the concept of precarity:

Precariat – to emphasize it again – is neither a state that empirically describes a class in itself, nor a function of the teleology of the class for itself. It is much more of a turn, a struggle, a question. It implies neither political nor conceptual closure and homogenization, but rather the development of problems such as the following: How can a form of organization emerge that fosters the exchange, the intercourse of differences more than unifying them? How can new means of communication be used for this organizing? What are the forms beyond state, party and union that emerge in dispersion, in a dispersion that is not only meant geographically, but also relates to the modes of production as well as the locations of production? Accordingly, what are the machines, in which singularities concatenate, instead of being put into identitary vessels? What type is the new band of the multitude that is not actualized as a homogenizing cohesion, but rather as a concatenation? (Raunig 2007)

EuroMayDay then intends to act as this *machinic* concatenation. EMD attempts to construct a moment and process of communication and exchange among diverse precarious experiences and struggles without trying to solidify these into a single organization. Returning to Negri's observation, EMD is "a process of recomposition". EMD's initial focus on sites such as chainstores, temp-work agencies, informal and seasonal sectors (particularly migrant work) helped to highlight the fragmentation of working lives and the difficulty or inability to talk about a unified class experience or even a clear distinction between employment and unemployment. In his analysis of the 2004 EMD in Barcelona, Raunig highlights this distinction between other forms of labor activism participating in the European celebrations of May 1st:

While Social Democrats and unions throughout Europe carry out their rituals on May 1st, continuing to spread the cynical propaganda of "full employment" in passing, and while Green parties attempt, on the other hand, to create a dichotomous counter-weight with the "Day of the Unemployed" on April 30th, the reality of work and unemployment has long since moved on; it has moved into a world, in which not only work and unemployment become diffuse and vanish in countless in-between forms, but also where forms and strategies of resistance must be newly invented. (Raunig 2004)

In this regard, the EuroMayDay marches and processes have already obtained a few notable accomplishments. Besides spreading re-interpreted May 1st's to different cities, well attended marches, and an aesthetic onto its own, it has helped reinforce the idea of diverse forms of precarity, distinct subjects of precarity and different demands: from documents for all, to housing, to 'flexicurity'. Via EMD, debates around 'precarity' were invigorated as a new language of critique and political intervention in many parts of Europe where it was not yet in use. It also helped bring about an imagining of a 'European' space of mobilization, a network of demands and actions that while differing in each city could also target the construction of Europe through the lens of 'precarity'.¹¹

6.3.1 EuroMayDay in Crisis? or the Crisis of Europe?

Currently, the process is at a crossroads. Many claim that the EuroMayDay process has been in crisis since 2006. While EuroMayDay has spread to new cities and countries, it remains in many ways an Italian phenomenon. Italy is where it has become massive and Italy is also where most of the divisions in the process are most strident. The development of EMD in Italy has been important for how other places have adopted and interpreted EMD. In fact it is still an open question among activists as to whether EuroMayDay overall still responds largely to specifics of Italy's urban centers or it has become a sufficiently European process of exchange and communication? (Madrid PWR meeting 2006).

¹¹I stress that this spatializing of the precarity debate has had its critics. On the one hand, the linking of precarity and Europe can be seen as a sort of 'positive eurocentrism', in the sense that it is a territorialized and specific critique of neoliberalism in European territories, and not necessarily a universal phenomenon (or at least it manifests itself in very different ways in other places) (Sanchez-Cedillo 2007). Other critiques though, including by activist groups involved in the EMD process, have highlighted how the precarity debate, when focused on the idea of a welfare crisis and post-fordism, hides what could be argued as the western exceptionalism of the welfare state based on colonial extraction and invisibilized gendered-domestic labor (Federici 2006; Mitropoulos 2005; Frassanito 2005).

Additionally, EuroMayDay was beginning to become something of an ‘identity’. A very youth-oriented, counter-cultural aesthetic was often predominant, marking the type of population the actions spoke to (Sevilla conference). Related to this aesthetic is the critique about MayDay becoming simply an *event*, as opposed to a *process*, as was originally to be the case. EMD has not often generated an organizational mechanism that can empower movements in their different locales, deepen struggles, and help launch coordinated demands and campaigns (Madrid PWR notes 2006). This is related to what activists have denominated the “crisis of EuroMayDay as a European process”. While EuroMayDay had been successful in promoting actions and debate in different countries, it was felt it had stagnated in trying to create an EU-wide space of conflict or a point of intervention that went beyond local and national scales to take on the EU through the question of precarity (PWR Rome meeting; PWR Madrid notes). How could ‘Europe’ as a terrain of social struggle be assumed or inhabited? And what would it mean to think of ‘precarity’ as a continent-wide struggle? Some participants have argued that it is precisely because of its success that EuroMayDay is now in a crisis. If the ‘machine’ of EMD was meant to temporarily concatenate different precarious experiences and create a sense of common struggles across Europe, then perhaps this goal has been achieved. Deepening both a critique of precarity, and a European process may require something other than the EuroMayDay (Fumagalli Sevilla conference 2007). If, as Raunig states, precarity struggles are about constant becoming and questioning (2007) then perhaps another form of intervention is required.

6.3. A Trans-European Mapping Project: the Precarity_WebRing

One of the tools directly born out from the EuroMayDay process to intervene on and solidify a European space of struggle was the *Precarity_WebRing* (P_WR).¹² The P_WR developed as a transnational working group within the EuroMayDay process. The proposal was quite modest in the beginning: to basically serve as a WebRing linking all sorts of sites, blogs, and resources that reflected-worked-fought around issues related to precarity. The different members of this working group had the task to find other groups in their regions and in this way begin a large and current *archive* on precarity, including groups, resources and analyses (PWR Rome meeting). P_WR rapidly grew to become a far-reaching and in-depth research; a way of thinking precarity and Europe from multiple sites and multiple traditions of struggle and develop a more fine-tuned set of tools and analyses that could travel farther (P_WR founding document 2005).

The research efforts in the P_WR included the production of a series of maps and research projects articulated around five main questions: 1) antagonistic networks engaging with issues of precarity; 2) “Precarious subjectivities” and manifestations of precarity in different spaces; 3) “The European regime of power on precarity” including institutions such as employment agencies, public policy institutions, and ‘traditional trade unions’; 4) “Collective public spaces” to navigate the spaces of the ‘flexibilized city’ in new ways; and 5) “Theoretical discourse” to collect and distribute both antagonistic theorizing on precarity as well as dominant ‘discourses’ on flexibilization (P_WR founding document 2005).

¹²The full name is: “Precarity_WebRing: A WebRing for Communication and Militant Research on Precarity”.

A principal goal of the P_WR formulated by some participants, and partly seen as a possible result of the research and map questions, was the development of a *Common Lexicon* around precarity that would be fed by the different experiences, struggles and debates happening in different cities and countries. That Common Lexicon of critiques, of demands, of strategies could help create a transnational language, a common communication. This in turn would aid in constructing a ‘European’ terrain of struggle (interview *ESC* member 4/2007; interview *Ateneu Candela* member 2/2007).¹³

The project was daring but seemed necessary. P_WR focuses on two sets of questions. First, how to make sense of all the different types of struggles that were using precarity as a site, a concept, an analysis? How to build links between them? Second how to “pay attention to transnational and national [and local] levels at the same time,” (PWR Madrid 2006)? This second question speaks precisely to the challenge of rethinking a euro-geography in the context of the metamorphasizing space of the EU. On the one hand there are the effects of the EU level on policy and daily lives across the continent, and on the other the yet very distinct national and local situations within EU territories.

6.3.1 Rome_April 2007: Cartography as Collective Lexicon

I began engaging the P_WR process in Spring of 2007, attending a transnational meeting in Rome. By 2007, there was still quite a lot of energy and hope for the P_WR

¹³One of the first tasks carried out by the P_WR in this regard was a survey of groups working on precarity. Members of P_WR were given ‘node cards’ to be filled out by their groups and by other collectives they knew of working on similar issues in their own locales or networks. The node cards included basic info about the group, history and info or products (texts, videos, propaganda, etc.). The initial results of these node cards were made into a beta-version “Precarity Map” quickly put on the web. On a geographical outline of Europe as base, one could move the mouse over different points to get info on a collective and click for more. The goal of this process was to form that initial community of discussion that could then move onto the five research themes.

process, though the difficulties of maintaining consistent work at this inter-lingual and international level were beginning to show. This meeting was hosted by *ESC Atelier* in Rome. ESC¹⁴ is a collective based in a squatted warehouse in the neighborhood of San Lorenzo, right by the Sapienza University, the largest university in Europe. ESC emerged during the important student struggles in the city between 2003 and 2005. It acts as a node between university and city activism focusing on questions of knowledge production, precarity and the EU-wide process of higher education reform (also known as the Bologna process). ESC has been one of the key agitating actors in the recent massive uprising against education reform in Italy commonly known as the “Anamolous wave”.

While only part of the P_WR network attended, the groups present did give a sense of the kind of actors taking on the question of precarity in Europe. Besides the ESC space, some of participants included: other Italian student groups, from both Rome and Bologna; representation from the *Intermittents* cultural workers’ movement from Paris; several from the UK proposing a map of ‘free labor’ in London, such as internships, and their role in the urban economy; several groups from Spain including the feminist collective *Precarias a la Deriva*, the *Observatorio Metropolitano* which worked on urban reform and space, and the *Univerisdad Nomada* (or Nomadic University); members of the trans-European *Frassanito* network on migration; a migrant rights activist from Germany; and members of a radical publishing and Kurdish solidarity groups from Austria.

The meetings began in the *Facolta de Scienze Politiche*, at *La Sapienza* University itself. The first day took place in the ‘Aula degli Profesori’, a space ceded to student movement use after the strike of 2005. The sessions began introducing some of

¹⁴See www.escatelier.net

the goals of the meeting. A two person team was in charge of focusing the energy of the group around creating a product out of that weekend:

“the goal this weekend is to **produce a map during the meeting**: this is to aid in the building of the **common lexicon** we’ve been talking about...the idea is to make a map of discourses and concepts as well as struggles/tools against/from those ideas [related to precarity]... to put different analyses, problematics, strategies, etc. into conversation with one another to figure just how ‘far apart’ they really are even if they are seemingly disparate- or [seemingly] similar- issues.”

“The goal is to create a ‘product’, to fix some items and create a draft discursive map...Create a common space/language for P_WR, forcing us to define things together in the process of making a map. This process can put a lot of issues on the table & into communication. We want to leave these 3 days with some sort of methodology and some drafts in order to continue building the cartography [one of the original goals of the P_WR project]

The EuroMayDay process had been successful in visibilizing and broadening debate around precarity. At the same time EMD was felt in danger of becoming an activist ritual. The P_WR project emerged at that juncture proposing to serve as a sort of clearinghouse for connecting information from different places. In turn, the P_WR research project, sensing the need to better understand their territory and reinterpret their space of action, turns to focus on a re-mapping project. Mapping became a task of ‘immediate’ necessity.

The initial proposal for the map resulting from that meeting was to use the new *Car_Tac* program: “technically we would use the framework of *Car_Tac* for organizing map info into: *icons; *layers; and *metadata (tags)...we would need to figure out what those are in this case and what the base of the map is,”. *Car_Tac* is an independent software program developed by activists from Spain, France and Germany. It came about as a response to the debates between different activist mapping efforts that coalesced at the 2005 encounter of *Fadai’at*. These debates largely focused on how to create mapping interfaces that could include more participants, and transform the

cartographies in response to changing circumstances, without necessarily beginning a mapping project from scratch. The creation of Car_Tac is one concrete example of the solidification of an international community of activist mapping practice and its development of infrastructures to serve that community.¹⁵ The pursuit and improvement of this kind of software on the part of activist networks continues today. Its development is important to follow in order to understand how activist mapping fits into a broader Cartographic Turn.

The discussion then moved to types of maps. Different examples were discussed including maps of discourses, maps of networks, maps of ‘conflicts’, and maps of ‘experiences’. This was followed by a series of ‘research questions’, that could guide our mapping process: “What do we want the map for? Who is going to use it and what will we/they do with it?...This is what we need to ask ourselves before we start the map and as we create it...” These questions brought up the notion of “*tactical cartography*”. This concept is being proposed by some activist mappers based in Spain. It refers to thinking of maps in terms of their immediate usefulness.¹⁶

After this discussion on tactical cartography, a series of concerns were voiced amongst the different participants, bringing up some interesting cartographic questions on how to carry out this trans-European precarity mapping project:

¹⁵Via the development of autonomously-produced mapping software (that did not belong to Google, NASA, ESRI or other mapping platforms) the goal was both to include more collectives in map use and also to build on the self-critique made on other previous mapping experiences. Car_Tac as an instantiation of this ‘community in formation’ is the result of: the coming together of different mapping groups from around Europe at Fadaï’at; followed by a critique and a calls made to other mapping networks for the creation of map-generating software; these calls are taken up by yet other collectives and individuals; the resulting software is then put to work in yet other cartographic projects taken on by yet other activist mappers. I develop this particular point further in the Appendix # on Activist Map Generation Software.

¹⁶What was interesting was the example used to illustrate ‘tactical cartographies’- some of the most “immediately useful” maps, historically speaking, it was said in the meeting, were colonial maps.

“Should it be a geo-referenced map, like the precarity map currently online? Or should it be a concept map, with different discourses as the base/territory?”

“Could we transfer the non-geo-referenced map to a geo-referenced map? Would there be problems with this?”

“Well there was an experiment of mapping from Rome that ended up looking like a collage of superimposed maps, it was too ‘busy’, sometimes its better not to geo-reference”

“How do we fuse the link between ‘cartographer-....-user’?...Building on that, can we create dynamic maps that users can update?”

“yes...the end of the map should not be the end of the project...”

“Here’s a methodological proposal: we’re trying to develop a conceptual non geo-referenced map that could help to fine tune: analyses, vocabulary, demands, across the different groups, and regions that we inhabit, so the map we’re trying to do here, this weekend, is just a step in this larger process, why don’t we just see it as a way to force certain questions and discussions?”

“What is our base territory: is it the ‘welfare-crisis’? Do we all agree that this is a common base of our discussions of precarity in different parts of Europe? So then there’s no need to ‘map it’ right? We can just explain that that is the base...how do we define our ‘conceptual territories’ for this map?”

This last point referred to a whole series of discussions held during that first day around the question of the ‘welfare crisis’. The ‘welfare-crisis’ was understood as one way of linking different struggles: migrant; student; and more traditionally labor focused. Individual presentations expanded to talk about three issues: 1) the ‘welfare-crisis’ as a common ‘European’ territory; 2) a ‘care-crisis’ as part and parcel of what is going on; and 3) the articulation of a new demand about ‘commonfare’. This new demand was conceived on the one hand as a way to break past the welfare/warfare nexus, and on the other hand, to integrate all of the demands and creative thinking of recent years on different forms of labor and remunerating work.

Is a Precarious Europe Mappable?

The next day the meetings took place at the ESC space itself. Part of the day was to be taken up by different groups presenting their local work and projects, insofar as it related to PWR. The remaining part of the day was to focus on a collective discussion of the map and where to take it. A rough sketch of a map on butcher paper was pasted at the back of the room. Notes from the previous day's discussion kick started the doodling of what would become the "draft of the map draft". As presenters spoke, more notes or fine-tuning were added to the doodle. Different concepts were scribbled as the 'conceptual territories' on the butcher paper. They were placed according to some central axes that had come about through the presentation and discussions of the encounter, in particular: education; care-affect; and welfare.

The results were brought to the front of the room at the end of the day to then reflect on, scribble, or critique the resulting image: where to put this and that; how close were issues of care to questions of free labor; how did these relate to the education struggles; what was the role or position of struggles in this map? Concepts moved and curiously free labor ended up at the center of the map as a common issue for people struggling around care, education, cultural industries and other questions. The problem of unremunerated labor became a temporary center.



Figure 6.3 April 2007: Analyzing drafts at the Precarity_WebRing meeting, Rome

This is more than coincidental. The debates during those days reflected many of the controversies around precarity highlighted in chapter five, in particular the debates between those who focus on questions of cognitive capitalism and immaterial labor and the feminist critiques of those approaches that stress ‘older’ and more embodied forms of ‘precarity’.¹⁷ Free labor became a curious meeting point between these approaches and a potential for political alliance. Questions about unremunerated internships and research work or the difficulty in attaching a salary to the creation of ideas met here with debates on unremunerated domestic labor and care work. While everyone in the P_WR and larger EMD networks is aware of the need to think and struggle in common, that is easier said than done. What could be the common points for a group like ESC focusing on

¹⁷The tensions between these two approaches expressed themselves in one moment of the encounter when a speaker made a call of a “cooperation of minds” making reference to the Italian Marxist arguments about the social cooperation made possible via immaterial labor’s mobilization of the general intellect (Hardt & Negri 2000 & 2004; Virno 2001). Someone immediately chided a response: “What about a cooperation of bodies?” in reference to bodies cleaning buildings, crossing borders, and preparing food.

higher education reform and intellectual property with a group such as *Precarias a la Deriva* that at the time was working with migrant domestic servants and handicapped associations?¹⁸

6.3.2. *After Rome: Challenges of re-drawing Euro-geographies*

Even with the fruitful discussions there was a feeling of un-accomplishment. The next and last day of the meeting, the map had almost been forgotten, it was felt as an impossible task. Most of the debate revolved around what to do with the future of the P_WR project. The crisis of EuroMayDay as a European process signaled a broader crisis of networking at the European level more generally. The creation of a ‘European’ social movement space was not coalescing. P_WR and the EuroMayDay process were perceived as weakening political spaces.

Despite the relevance of experimenting with the ‘European’ scale and the bombardment of EU news and even pro-EU propaganda in the media, and in public spaces¹⁹, this event shows the actual challenge to politically inhabit such a European space. The nation-state remains a ‘box’ even for movements that are against borders! Beyond occasional joint days of action or Social Forum type events, it is simply hard to imagine particular targets, campaigns and broader political organizing at that scale. It is not always clear if a European space for movements is simply an EU space filled in with movement activity or something that goes beyond what the EU defines as borders. This

¹⁸Other divergences and challenges also reared their heads during those days. These included: the different organizing traditions for those coming from more Marxist backgrounds versus more anarcho-libertarian ones; or the linguistic challenges of communicating across different languages and different jargons (one of the running jokes in P_WR is in reference to “P_WR pidgin English”).

¹⁹One can find many road signs in Spain posting how some infrastructure project or art restoration is supported by the EU.

tension can be highlighted by the use on the part of some movements of instances such as the European parliament or the European court of justice, versus the inclusion of non-EU regions and countries in movements activities such as the European Social Forum events and networks.²⁰

These questions are reflective of the broader challenge of re-writing euro-geographies. This challenge is heightened if looking at the point raised by Blasowecz (2003), that of whether Europe can be thought not only outside the projects of the EU and the nation-state but whether 'Europe' could become a common space for new critical practice. The Rome meeting of the P_WR highlighted that even if a common question, such as precarity, was chosen, the creation of a common antagonistic political space capable of crossing all the linguistic and cultural differences, as well as the different economic situations of the territories involved would be difficult to achieve. Even the logistics of a trans-European activist research project, such as resources and funding, were a concern. Was the perceived need to create a 'European' space responding to the spectacularization of all that is 'euro' rather than a profound re-examination of the spatial transformations occurring?

The cartographic challenges of thinking this antagonistic European geography were no less daunting: *where* or *what* is Europe? Would using a 'straightforward' base map of Europe be of any use in this case? Would it tell us which struggles seem to share more in common? Does geo-referencing tell us anything about the struggles that are occurring? If a conceptual or discourse map is made, how to avoid becoming closed unto oneself producing a self-referential map that hinders communication with others?

²⁰Such as including non-EU eastern European countries, North African groups, and even some discussion in 2002 to locate an ESF in Diyarbakir-Kurdistan.

6.4 Mapping Precarity in Biopower Fields:

Experimenting with a European Scale, Europe is no longer a Continent

Despite these challenges and the frustration of the Rome meeting, a small section of the P_WR pushed on with the project. The mapping restarted in Madrid and branched out to different cities over a period of several months. One rationale for continuing with the Precarity_Map project was given in this way:

Sometimes you are working from a very concrete and focused perspective of precarity, isolating yourself in your niche, your concrete local struggle,... and any kind of specialization has the risk of losing the ability to grasp an overarching set of conditions, a particular conjuncture,... a more global picture. Having something like a cartography of the movements working on precarity would provide a larger understanding of what we're doing and a more realistic sense of connectivity with other struggles that could otherwise seem distant. [Marta May 2007]

The small working group that met in Madrid to restart the cartography accepted from the beginning that the map would be partial and incomplete. This was an important point to get the project moving. Many of those involved in the Precarity_Map project were versed in critical ideas of cartography and in notions of situated knowledge. These were important in empowering the collective to move forward with making the map and not conceiving of it as something lesser because it was not 'thorough' or 'encyclopedic'. It was believed in fact that this kind of map could be considered as better than others, or at least more up front about the reality of mapping as practice. Additionally by putting an admittedly 'partial' map into circulation with the goal of obtaining feedback and input, the group believed other collectives would be more willing to join the process.²¹ Though

²¹Despite this realization, there were several points as the process grew where the 'encyclopedic' tendency did rear its head and stumbled the work of the group.

the new project did not intend to be an encyclopedia of precarity, the group was also aware of the danger of an excessive self-referentiality that could emerge from a situated approach of mapping from one's own position. A key to the Precarity_Map was to look past the networks connected to the group and attempt to situate the map in a broader conversation on precarity.

Based on the Rome experience and other mapping experiences the group immediately discarded a geo-referenced map. It would simply not show the relations the project wanted to find. This was especially the case with regards to proximity.²² An attempt was made to rethink which struggles across the continent actually shared traits in common, or could learn from each others' practice. This type of proximity could be erased or hidden via straightforward geo-referencing. The goals of the project remained more or less the same as the broader P_WR process had established: recompiling work around precarity throughout the continent; putting groups and struggles together; and sharing analyses across countries and locales.

6.4.1 *Madrid_November 2007:*

Biopower, Resistance and Disassembling Cartographic Elements

Another face-face trans-European meeting was held in Madrid to develop the Precarity_Map. From the discussions at this encounter, the collective deepened its analysis of both cartography and how to map social terrains. In particular I focus on the discussions of three elements that are central to understanding the new space of Europe: 1) the definition of precarious spaces as a series of interlocking *biopower fields*; 2) the challenge of *mapping resistance*; and 3) the experimentation with cartographic elements.

²²This refers to 'spatial' proximity but on a rethought territorial base not corresponding to the physical geography of the continent.

This meeting brought together participants from about six western EU countries. The people and collectives gathered included some of those present in Rome, as well as others such as *Justice for Cleaners* from London, the former president of ACT-UP Paris, and a participant in the *MigMap* migration project from Germany. Perhaps most interesting was that this encounter brought together participants in other activist mapping projects. In this way the meeting became something of an encounter between mappers attempting to tackle the question of precarity and Europe together. Other mapping experiences were discussed as possible models or to obtain lessons for the *Precarity_Map*, again reinforcing the idea of a growing community of mappers. Using a projector and a copy of Illustrator the group began to plot and draw the initial contours of the map by comparing information and opinions coming from different contexts and countries.

Biopower fields

As geo-referencing was ruled out for this phase of the map, deciding upon a ‘base’ for the precarious terrain of Europe was a complex debate. After a series of pre and post-meeting debates it was decided that ‘Europe’ consisted of a series of *biopower fields*. The totality of these fields was the terrains of precarious struggles in Europe, redefining the territories of the continent. As the notes from the meeting reflect:

We understand these biopower fields as points of tension among specific technologies of power and struggles. The “field” is then not something enclosed by very clear cut limits, rather they constitute themselves as a kind of “vectors” or “tensing mechanisms”. They are porous and flexible, and more importantly they are not exclusive entities: this is to say that for example, the field of “technologies of the body” trespasses the other fields and vice versa; and the one on “borders” does the same thing.... There is a transversality- but this doesn’t exclude the fact that there is specificity to each field- the institutions & laws involved, the subjects invoked, the strategies of struggle used, etc.

The concept of biopower utilized by the Precarity_Map team is inspired by the work of Foucault. Though not a transposition of Foucault's argument, the use of biopower did reflect the effects of his thinking on the group. What was particularly useful for the mapping effort was the idea of an "explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations," (Foucault 1990: 140). For Foucault biopower also aided in "adjusting the phenomena of population to economic processes." Biopower achieved this partly by acting as a "factor of segregation and social hierarchization [...] guaranteeing relations of domination and effects of hegemony" (Foucault 1990: 141). How populations of sub-groups of populations could be defined, harnessed or controlled was important for the collective in understanding the different sites where precarity struggles emerged.²³

In thinking biopower in terms of economic analysis, and in this way relating to the question of precarity, the work of Lazzarato²⁴ on Foucault is helpful:

The biopolitical economy, as a *syntagma* of the biopolitical, comprises the power dispositifs that allow for the maximilization of the multiplicity of relations between forces that are co-extensive with the social body, and not only, as in classical political economy and its critique, the relation between capital and labor. [...] Biopolitics is then the strategic coordination of these power relations directed in such a way so that living beings produce more force. [...] 'To coordinate and give a goal' are, in the words of Foucault, the functions of

²³The Precarity_Map collective did not explicitly distinguish between anatomo-politics (of the body) and biopolitics (of the population) though the focus was on the biopolitical definition of sub-groups, sectors and sub-populations. Nonetheless, the unwillingness to explicitly disregard anatomo-politics may respond to how the collective sees the biopolitical definition of group working through individualizing mechanisms. It may even be worth consideration if under a neoliberal framing of the subject, and the discourse of an explicit hyper-fragmentation of labor markets and lifestyles the differences between anatomo-political and biopolitical biopower have blurred to some degree.

²⁴Lazzarato's work in the journal *Multitudes* and his work on cognitive capitalism has been key for many debates on precarity (see Lazzarato et al 2002).

biopolitics that, in the moment in which it operate in this way, recognizes that she is not the origin of power.” (Lazzarato 2000)²⁵

This idea of a total biopolitics as the coordination of those different power fields is related to the overarching process of precarity. Though in the case of precarity it is not clear that it responds to an overall plan or coordination, very few activists would want to sustain that. Perhaps, precarity serves as an overarching ‘logic’ of coordination among different sites and relations of power.

Thus for the Precarity_Map collective “biopower field” evoked several points. First, in relation to biopower, the concern was with how an ‘area’ or ‘sector’ of politics is defined with subjects and/or subpopulations upon which it acts. This reflects the definition, control and harnessing of a population. As a field, it invokes the broad set of actors that can be involved in a given set of biopower relations. These include states and laws but also broaden out to unions, NGOs, public agencies, corporations and firms, professional bodies and other sites; resulting in a diverse understanding of the sites of governance. Second, the notion of a field is also broad enough to include the idea of a “tensing mechanism”, a kind of attractor from a broader social field that is able to act via its definitions and targeted actions.²⁶

²⁵Lazzarato expands on this by explaining Foucault’s idea of relation of power as diffused in multiple social sites:

“The fundamental political problem of modernity is not that of a cause of a single and sovereign power, but rather that of a multitude of forces that act and react amongst themselves according to relation of obedience and command. The relations between man and woman, between teacher and pupil, between doctor and patient, between boss and worker, with which Foucault exemplifies the social body’s dynamic, are relation between forces that imply at each moment a relation of power.” (2000)

²⁶Another way of linking biopower and cartography is done by the work of Brian Holmes and his reading of Deleuze’s work on Foucault. Holmes invokes the notion of ‘diagrams of power’ from Deleuze’s work on Foucault: “‘a cartography coextensive with the whole social field’”. The map does not designate a “static grid” fixed in spaces but rather a productive matrix that interacts across a myriad of “points-human beings” and spaces. The productive matrix seems to refer to the ability via biopower to coordinate and channel the multiple force relations that criss-cross the social. In this case the social field can be seen as a ‘Europe’ in

In understanding biopower fields as tensing mechanisms defining areas of struggle, the following fields were proposed during the Madrid meeting:

Social Regulation: family, welfare policies, third sector, legislations for public order, repression apparatus, penal continuum

Technologies of the Body (health system, pharmaceutical industry, aesthetic industry, sexual industry, fashion industry, psy-discourse, food industry)

Gender and sexual practices (maternity, childcare, domestic care, heteronormativity, family, civil partnership/marriage, patriarchal relations)

Labour Regulation (employer associations, unions, state authorities –reforms of labor laws- corporations)

Regime of Signs (educational institutions, research institutes, museums, art galleries, libraries, foundations and other public or private patrons/sponsors, the media/ mass communications) SIGNS: Knowledge, Culture, Communication,...

Space management (real estate agencies, investors of different sorts, state institutions dedicated to urbanism or housing, environment, urban and rural space, property)

Border Regime (FRONTEX, Nation-States' immigration legislation, security forces, NGO's, detention centres)

Financial government (banks, credit institutions, stock market, investors, TNCs, IFIs) (Prec_Map meeting notes 11-2007)

Each field was composed of sub-points which could be filled with specific industry sectors or companies, different public or private institutions, areas of legislation and more.

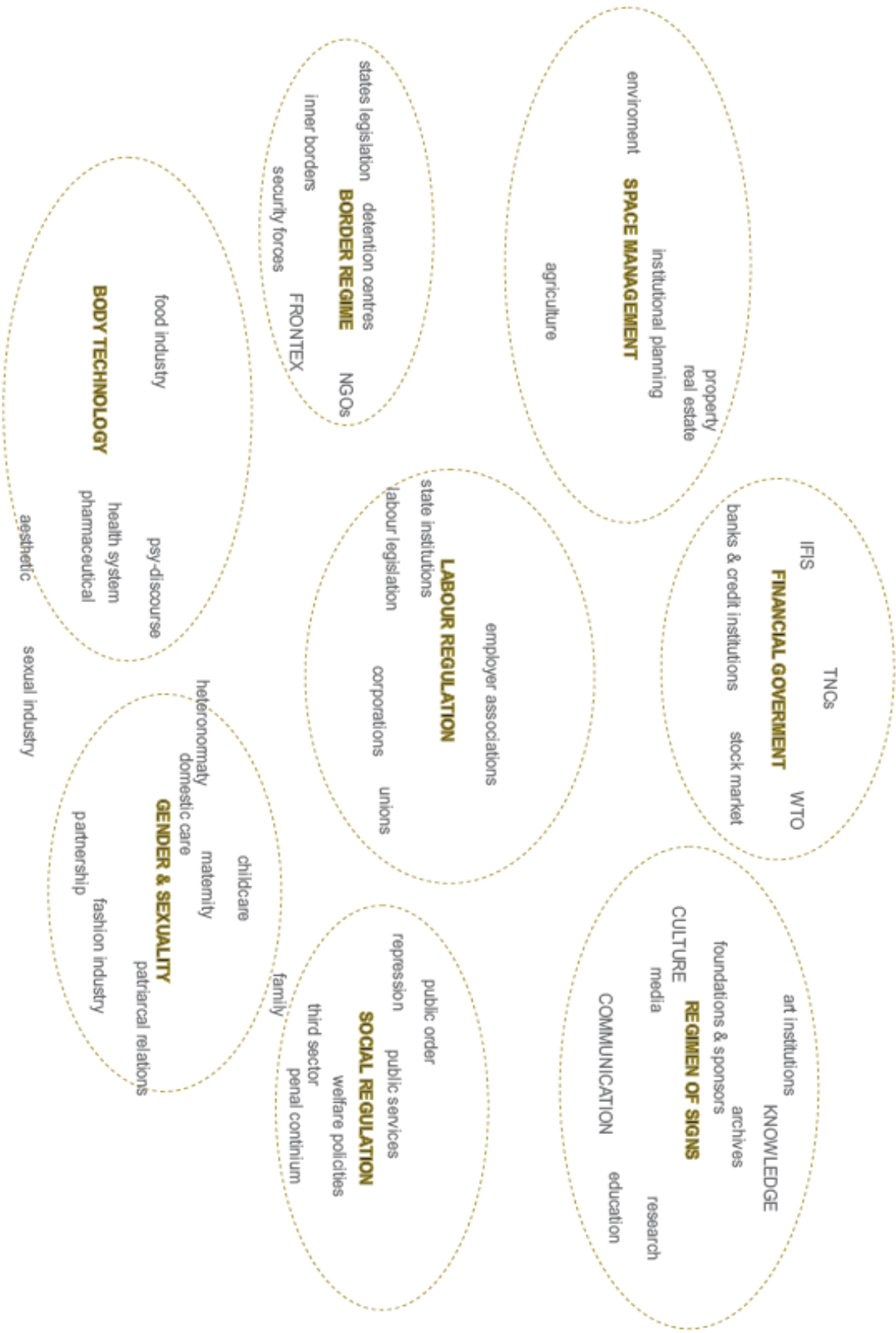
The challenge was how to designate a base that captured the distinct and diverse 'areas' where precarity struggles occurred and at the same time showed the permeability between issues. There was also the temptation to think of as many 'fields' as possible but the collective carefully came back to the original premise: to map those biopower fields "which have emerged from concrete [precarity] struggles."

production defined at those points of the productive matrix where precarity was produced, or where the 'precarious' rebelled. This productive matrix can coexist alongside and in tension with others operating throughout the realm of the 'social'. Holmes continues: "Deleuze describes the diagram of power as 'highly unstable or fluid... constituting hundreds of points of emergence or creativity.' The aim [of mapping] is to indicate the openness, the possibility for intervention that inheres to every power relation," (Holmes 2004b, pg.8). Mapping becomes a way of visualizing this "meshwork". In this way, this map of a precarious Europe could become "an undetermined network diagram, which opens up a field of possibility or of potential strategy" (Holmes 2004b: 7)

While ‘biopower fields’ seemed useful to the cartographic effort, leaving a terrain of struggle as a ‘field’ often felt ‘too’ open and not helpful in providing different movements with concrete ideas and tools. “[We have to] think through the fields, use the sub-points, like the pharmaceutical industry in Technologies of the Body, to think about possible struggles and agents to add, those would then also co-define the ultimate definition of the sub-aspects of the fields.” These sub-points within the field were those concrete sites where political opposition and a power relation could be materialized and where intervention may take place.²⁷

²⁷Foucault’s “governmental technologies” could be a way to understand the ‘sub-points’ of a biopower field. Using Lazzarato’s reading of Foucault again:

“‘governmental technologies’, that is to say the unity of the practices by which one can ‘constitute define, organize instrumentalize the strategies that individuals, in their liberty, can have one with another’ [...] For Foucault governmental technologies play a central role in power relations, because it is through them that strategic games can be closed or open; it is via the use of governmental technologies that these strategies are crystallized and fixed in institutionalized asymmetric relations (states of domination) or in fluid and reversible relations, open to the creation of subjectifications that escape biopolitical power.



Map 6.1: *Precarity_Map* internal working draft #1

The Challenge of Mapping Resistance

The principal goal of the map was to analyze existing and past struggles from and against precarity and put distinct struggles into communication. Even the selection of the biopower fields was contingent upon actually existing struggles that had defined their spheres of action. At one level this seems straightforward enough, but upon engaging the question the collective was faced with a very difficult challenge: *is resistance mappable?*

This question of the difficulties in mapping resistance has emerged in various mapping projects that I encountered during the research.²⁸ Questions that exemplify this dilemma include: how does one define ‘movement’ or ‘resistance’ practices cartographically? How to map something that is often quite subterranean? How to provide a map of meaning about something that can be so ephemeral or “fluid” (*Observatorio Metropolitano* 2007: 647).²⁹ This question becomes a more general one for Cartography of how to map social processes. In the case of this map, where the very fields of biopower are understood through resistance, the engagement with the social processes of movements struggle can then substantially change the map. An additional dilemma referred to the changing nature and effects of struggles: if they are constantly moving, then will a map of these processes be obsolete after a few months?

The first objective was to try and define struggle. If the collective limited itself to those groups that explicitly identified with a discourse of precarity then the map would be little more than a links webpage. The P_WR project had in fact attempted a map like this

²⁸In particular the work of the French political art group *Bureau d’Etudes* has abandoned maps of resistance for precisely this reason. Also, a project focused on mapping urban transformation in Madrid, *Map_Madrid*, the dilemmas of mapping resistance constituted topics of public presentations and texts written by the group.

²⁹This contrasts with using information such as government data or the blueprints of urban plans that have more clearly defined limits and are made to be ‘representable’.

and it proved of limited use, providing a link but no analysis or deeper communication across issues. Furthermore, many of the groups currently existing might disappear in a short time, come from or meld into broader social processes of struggle. Thus a focus on groups and organizations as such would seem to ‘impoverish’ the struggles around precarity.

The final decision about what actors would go on top of the biopower fields discarded single organizations per se. Rather, the focus turned to broader *processes of struggle*. It was a delicate matter of identifying the broader social processes as explosions/mobilizations/events. The emphasis was on how to avoid falling into a map of (often self-important) groupuscules. But what is a *process of struggle*? The meeting notes defined it as such

Process of struggle does not refer to a singular and well-defined social movement. It is not an organic movement but rather speaks to *wave of politicization* able to bring along a series of long-term contributions and [a] certain degree of social impact: Contributions are made both in terms of *contents* (new concepts and political notions) as well as in terms of *practices* (new strategies, tactics and everyday life activities). The social impact is not only visible in the capacity of the struggle to impact institutional politics, but also in the ability to *question* taken-for-granted notions having an impact at the level of imaginaries. (Prec_Map notes 10/2007)

The working group wanted to map different kinds of events, waves of struggles, interventions, and contributions that have become key references in thinking precarity in Europe.³⁰ Yet there were radical differences between many of these points of configuration. For example the unemployed movement was something occurring in many cities, even various countries over a period of years, while something like the

³⁰It should be noted that these definitions excluded micropolitical practices of resistance *a la* Scott’s *Weapons of the Weak*. While the group was well aware of how these were important to struggles around precarity it was felt that: 1) this would really complicate the mapping; and 2) many of the groups or efforts that were being mapped included the micropolitical as part of their field of intervention.

referential art-activist collective YOMANGO³¹ was focused in just a few cities and as a group lasted only a year or two. The 2005 revolt of the banlieues in France, though not explicitly linked to precarity was very referential.³² These revolts only lasted two-three weeks but were a huge social explosion, whereas a group like *Precarias a la Deriva*, whose work has been key for many European movements is quite small in number and has lasted about six years now. All of these disparate experiences formed the soils of the terrains of precarity.

Discussions revolved around how to classify and put these sharp singularities on a map. A typology of movements activity was proposed, attached to possible graphical representations: a) large mass movements would be stains moving across fields of biopower; b) momentary but massive uprisings could be volcanic like eruptions; c) smaller organizations that have made key interventions could be shown as little stars or possibly molecules (as in a molecular intervention). Yet this classification sat uncomfortably with the group. The typology did not capture the often mixed nature of resistance practices and could seem a sociological categorization that missed the nuanced messiness of the social. Furthermore there were significant geographic differences between countries and regions. For example EuroMayDay in countries of Northern Europe was a small but significant intervention, whereas in Italy it was explosive and lasted many years. A related complication was trying to define where “precarity struggles” began or ended. Would the map include only those processes of struggle that explicitly engaged the discourse of precarity? What about other struggles where

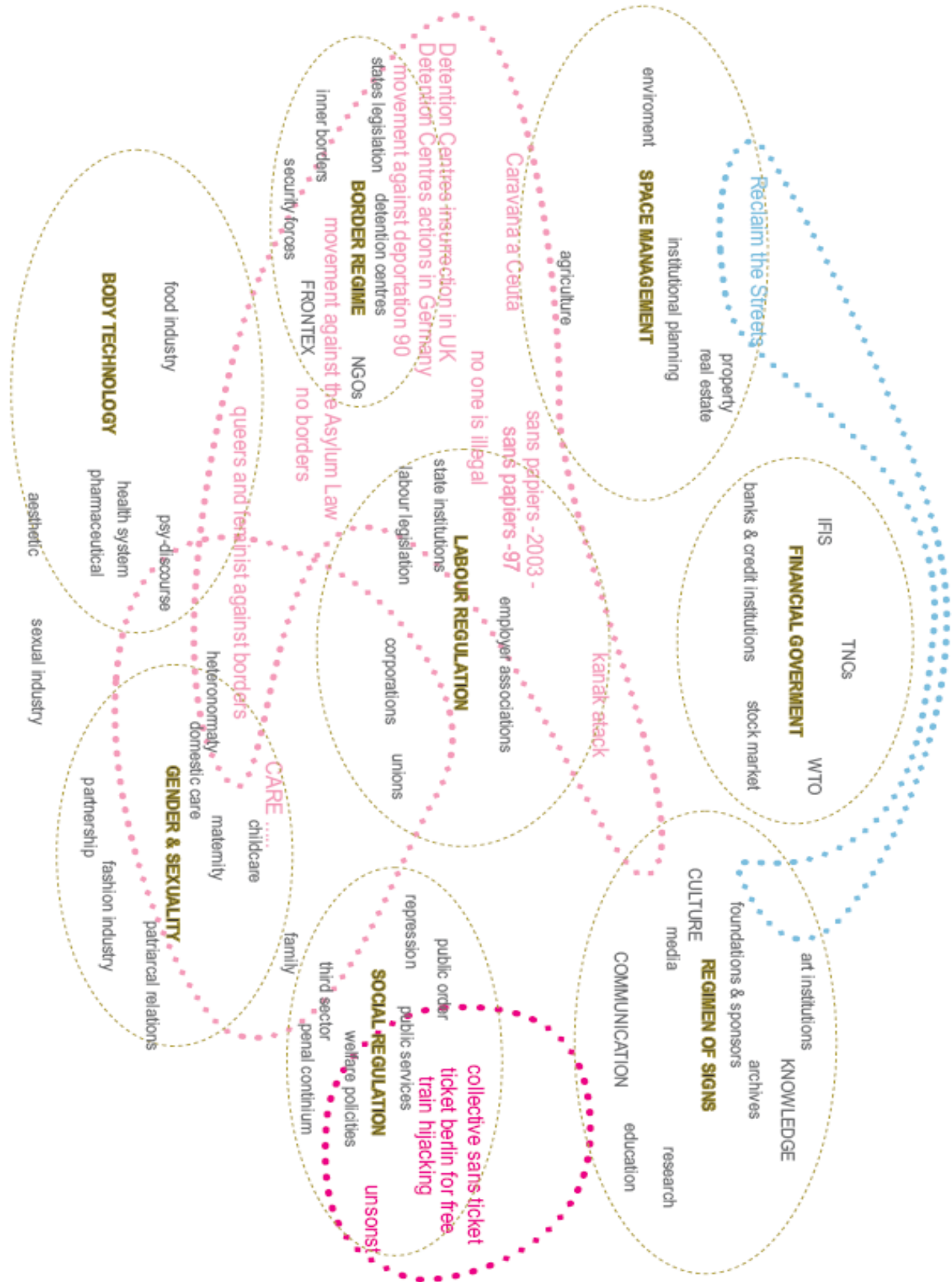
³¹YOMANGO was an art and expropriation group influenced by the unemployed. They focused on ‘precarious survival tactics’, especially expropriating from chainstores.

³²In fact after the police and cars, the main target of the revolt were temp work agencies, something often not mentioned in the press (see MUTE mag 2007).

important political and social links exist between networks and groups, such as struggles around migration? Should struggles that have become referential for debating precarity, but did not use the language, be included (i.e. the banlieue revolt in France)?

The point of stressing *processes of struggle* was to highlight the diverse forms of struggle and ways of engaging precarity. At the same time this debate raised important research questions for movements. How can movements study and map themselves, not just their own actions or campaigns, but as a part of a broader movement field? If the typology and classification is necessary, what mechanisms could be used to avoid communicating a sort of ‘closure’ in the map?³³ If movements themselves are ephemeral and morphing how can quality that be visualized?

³³This was a challenge not only for this mapping group but more generally for cartography. Can mappers produce maps of ongoing motion and change, or are maps ‘cursed’ to be still shots? This reflects the concerns voiced in the “Tactical Cartography” workshops at the 2005 Fadaï’at (see appendix on map generators). If maps give a sense of fixity, as in “there it is! I can locate it!” how to build on the ability to ‘locate’ or ‘orient’ without ‘fixing’.



Map 6.2: Precarity_Map internal working draft #2

Movable Mountains: Experiments with Cartographic Elements.

i. Bases and layers

The first set of reflections deals with how the base and the layers of the map interact:

“Our base is counter-cartographic, because it is dictated by the layers- the base changes! The mountains are dictated by cities... by movements!” (Prec_Map meeting notes 11-2007)

This statement was made early on in the meeting when discussing the biopower fields. It reflects how the ‘fields’, which formed the base of the map, are dictated by existing struggles themselves. To a degree, the base of the map shifted depending on which struggles were placed and how the struggles develop or network with each other. An observation made on that matter pointed how “[the] biopower fields would be the answer and not the question.” Cartographically, the base territory changed or moved according to what was laid on top, in this sense people become moving mountains. Theoretically this could mean that the fields of biopower and the struggles are mutually constitutive. Struggles are not always structurally determined by the field of governmental technologies against which they play out. If in a normal mapping process one tries to settle on the base of the map in order to discuss the layers that will go on top and tell a reader something about a territory, in this case it is impossible to ever be fully settled about the base, the base itself is moving. The map base, something apparently fixed, is defined and conditioned by movement struggles that ‘come and go’.

ii. Map Centers & The creation of territories at the crossroads

Even if the mapping collective agreed upon the absence of a single ‘center’ to precarity: “its important to think about the [map] center since, intentionally or not, it has graphical importance, often provided by the reader”. How could this tension of wanting to ‘de-center’ precarity and yet, respect the visual dynamics of many map readers be navigated? Given this question, an interesting discussion was held about what to put in the center of the map, in particular which biopower field:

-“Should we put [the regime of] signs in the center? Since we’re all situated in that field quite intensely and thus ‘we’ are looking out from ‘there’ as a way of situating the map and positioning ourselves”

-“the processes of struggle will tell us where the fields should be positioned (and thus the center or no-center)”

-“let’s leave it de-centered, see what territory emerges in the center from the criss-cross of struggles across [different] fields of biopower?”

-“how about a pie-chart looking thing, all fields meet in the center and something new comes up?” (Prec_Map meeting notes 11-2007)

These last two quotes refer to the emergence of themes and conceptual territories that appear only where two or more territories meet. The idea then is to be attentive at how different territories combine or begin to meet and form a new space upon which social action occurs. Given the messiness and movement of social terrains, the group had created maps that could be attuned to those movements that could allow for the emergence of new territories: be they points of common resistance or distinct fields of biopower. This is what happened in a draft form at the P_WR meeting in Rome. Free labor became a temporary center of the map, a point at which various struggles and forms of governmental power intersected.

Through the mapping process the group could become aware of certain criss-crossings of struggles or fields of power that hinted toward a unique space that needed to

be thought further. This went back to one of the original goals of the mapping project: “We wanted something evocative of a new continent where new connections can emerge, where new links can be imagined”. The cartographic creativity of this project was based on the acceptance of the emergence of new territories. Territories that emerge in the process of mapping, not only in the sense that “the map precedes the territory” but rather that the intersection of territories we perceive via mapping, leads to the discovery of ‘other’ territories that exist only in those crossroads, only in the mixing of types of space.

iii. Situated Knowledge and the Conic Perspective versus Self-Referentially

In this radical mapping project there is an implicit situating of the mapper as a subject implicated in the map, the territories and knowledge it produces. Members of the *Map_Madrid* activist project, which also had a participant at the *Precarity_Map* process, have been writing on this question as the “conic perspective” (*Observatorio* 2007). The idea of the “conic perspective” refers to a mapping practice explicitly made from a particular site, perceiving certain items as near or distant, as significant or not, depending on one’s situation. Instead of an all seeing view, this perspective assumes something of a “first-person” view (whether in the single or plural) regardless of the actual style of graphic presentation (ie. it can be a first-person aerial view). It is similar to how we see:

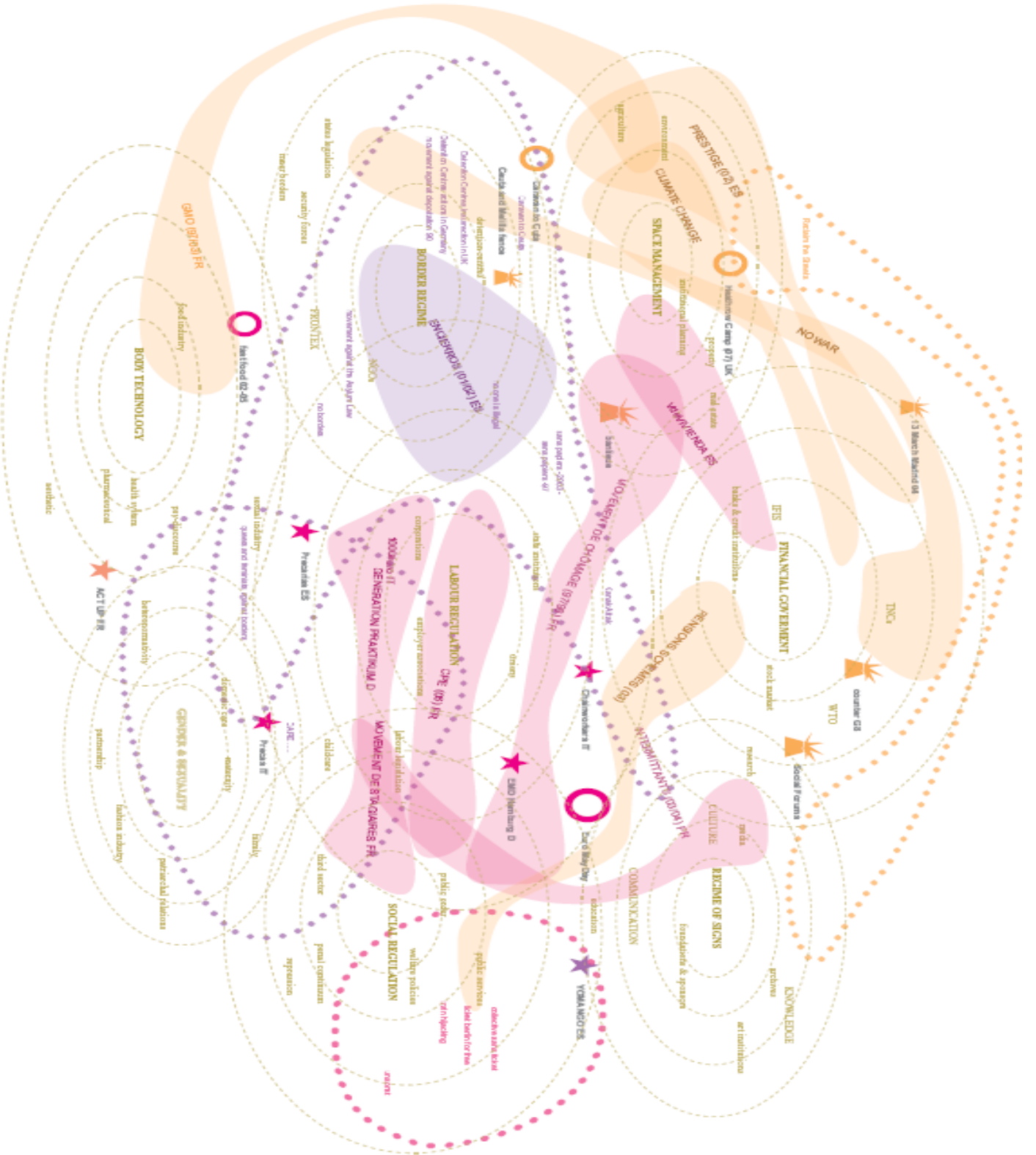
“In the same way that when you look out from one point, you look outwards toward a horizon and you have blind-spots on either side, things that are closer to you appear larger than things farther away even if they’re not physically bigger, there are things that you notice more or pay more attention to- and you perceive more detail about them. You don’t ‘see’ everything even if its ‘in front’ of you...For that same reason, you can’t try to be encyclopedic about something when you map and pretend that you’ll get it all. Where we’re ‘standing’, the ‘direction’ we’re looking in, etc. all affect what we see.” [interview *Observatorio Metropolitano* 6/2007]

The Precarity_Map embraced this principle. In fact this was used as the argument to check the occasional ‘encyclopedic’ temptation of the mapping process. Conceiving of mapping in this way evokes the notion of ‘situated knowledge’ applying it to cartography. The map does not pretend to be complete but partial, and in this case with the intention of asking participation from maps readers/users to add items, questions, perspectives, etc.

The idea of the conic perspective departs from the understanding that we need many visions of the same ‘reality’ or situation in order to grasp it- no one vision will be complete, this is why the mapping process should on the one hand be finite- no one group trying to do it all, and on the other be open- to additions, further participation, etc. [...] The representation of our little piee of reality is important as a part of a broader history and in communication with other pieces that help us to create a more complete picture. A map is never the ‘real’ reality, [...] we have tried to assume the deformation and partiality inherent in the maps we tried to make [interview *Observatorio Metropolitano* 6/2007]

While this serves as a theoretical check for other paradigms that see the map as a closed object, or the map as “representation of the territory”, it is not a final solution. There remains a problem that came up several times as a concern within the precarity mapping process. While the conic-ness or situated-ness is important to maintain, it was difficult to avoid producing a self-referential map.³⁴

³⁴Especially in the case of maps, which are often read in a “what you see is what you get” kind of way, how can one avoid producing a map “of ourselves and our favorite folks” that could invisibilize (not just ignore) other types of struggles or questions related to precarity?



Map 6.3: Precarity_Map internal working draft #3

6.4.2. After Madrid: Precarity and its Limits

The *Precarity_Map* reprinted here shows that despite the diversity of biopower fields the ‘actually existing struggles’ are concentrated in two or three fields. This refers back to the concern of precarity broadening out too far as a concept, as expressed in chapter five. During the map-making process, one of the findings speaking to this concern was the following: despite the fact that precarity is ‘discursively rich’ and has stretched to include all sorts of social spaces, economic sectors, and subjectivities, the materiality of the struggles is ‘geographically’ limited to a few biopower fields. During the meeting, right after finishing an early draft of the map there was an unexpected pause:

We have a drafty draft-map, not exactly what we had thought of, but [it] serves to show that after picking the struggles that most explicitly referred to precarity (based on our morning brainstorm) we have an overload in the fields of Labor regulation and Social Regulation; [some in] Space Management, a bit in Finance and Signs; very little/nothing in Body, Gender, Border.

Does this demonstrate limits of precarious as a vocabulary? As an analytic? How to proceed?...[We’re faced with a] question of theoretical production that links precarity far beyond the fields that have been biased thus far [in struggles], or links drawn [between] other movements and precarity but that are not using that terminology explicitly.

The overload in the fields of *Social Regulation* (services, welfare provisions and the like) and *Labor*, felt as a very limited expression of social struggle on precarity for the experiences of those in the room. Did this concentration of struggles in those fields actually reflect what precarity is about or did it reflect the group’s limits in thinking of precarity primarily in terms of labor? Perhaps the group was forcing the stretching of the concept?

This concentration of precarity struggles in those two fields, while of concern to those in the room, might accurately reflect the stage where precarity struggles were, at

least at the point of mapping. The discursive growth of precarity has often accompanied the emergence or re-interpretation of social struggles. Yet this same growth has often ballooned before an agglomeration or concentration of struggles around that re-conceptualization has appeared. The newer politicizations of precarity, especially with regards to migration and life, are very recent.³⁵ Even the reinterpretation of precarity on the part of the unemployed dates only to the latter 1990's and the first EuroMayDay to 2001. It may be a question of time to see how exactly struggles around the questions of precarity develop, and how they manifest themselves in the different geographies of Europe. This will be central to understanding how the terrain of precarious struggles is or is not creating a common European movement space.³⁶

6.4.3. *Paris_April 2008: Whither the Precarity_Map?*

Another trans-European meeting was called in Paris hosted by *ACT-UP Paris* and *Migreurop*.³⁷ Debates were very intense focusing on processes of struggle. Yet despite the desire to create a final version, by the end of 2008 much of the project had stalled. The difficulty of maintaining the necessary level of work and breadth of the project were the two main reasons of the project stagnation. Additionally, while important struggles were definitely occurring, many engaging with the issues of precarity in relation to the

³⁵For example even though there were few struggles in the field of the “Border Regime” that explicitly used precarity in the map, the number of migrant organizations and mobilizations joining or identifying with work on precarity has been growing steadily.

³⁶The dilemma of how to graphically represent such a far-reaching concept was also faced by other cartographic efforts trying to map precarity as it plays out at a local level. See Appendix on ‘Other Precarity Mapping efforts’.

³⁷Migreurop is a migrant rights network that has done various maps of migrant detention centers. See website: www.migreurop.org/

current economic crisis, it was increasingly difficult to understand how this European movement space might be working.

While in Paris, feedback on the draft map was obtained from a referential activist mapping group, *Bureau d'Etudes*. Their long experience creating radical maps since the late 1990's, and the fact that they were outside the *Precarity_Map* process made their feedback that of an interested but outside eye, and part of the community of cartographic movement communication. After examining the map draft and giving some positive feedback, their critiques were very incisive.

First they remarked how the graphic representation of the map “looks like a knot”:

[It seems] very much an insider's view- a mapping of one's friends and those that share a similar view...Looks like a map of Multitudes' [the French political economy journal] buddies and those of whom they're fans...It's a bit incestuous, there's no outside no escape. It's very harmonious- 'among us'" ...“Among us- the same culture, a similar outlook probably a white [group], it looks a little 'petit bourgeois',”

“[Maps] need to provoke the imagination and break the horizon”

“This, the map, is visible because it communicates. But communication equals distortion- when it's by an intellectual as leader (with a fixed way of seeing things that fit into a fixed scheme). It's the logic of the party: 'organic intellectual vs. diffused intelligence’

“[There are] no exits? Why?”

Even though the map was at an internal draft stage, they had nailed some of the problems on the head. Problems that were also concerns for the group though had remained unanswered, such as breaking out of the ‘precarious’ milieu, or making the territory seem more open instead of so fixed. Combined with the other difficulties, the map project is currently on hold. Despite the collective hold on the project, some participants still believe in the necessity, and even the urgency of the *Precarity_Map* as a way to precisely

the existence of another Europe: “I really feel like something like this is necessary now! Another image of Europe, something that takes us out of this Sarkozy-Merkel-Berlusconi nightmare -with the 65 hour work week, repressive directives on migrant detention-, another image of Europe is needed” (Marta 06-2008).



Figure 6.4. Paris 4-2008. Precarity_Map meeting at ACT-UP office

6.5. Conclusion

Chapter five shows how Europe is currently in a period of flux and expansion, deepening a process of Europeanization via the EU. It is precisely this flux that led to the call for the writing of critical new euro-geographies. Chapter six demonstrates how precarity as a process of constant concatenation, struggle and questioning is acting in such a scenario. The two understood together, a Europe in flux and precarity as constant re-concatenation, are the perfect mix for applying the Deleuzian/Foucauldian ‘new cartography’ Pickles (2005) calls for in writing new European Geographies:

“In referring to the work of Foucault and post-Foucauldian social theory as the ‘new cartographer’ [...], Gilles Deleuze pointed to a mode of spatial thinking that sought, not to trace out representations of the real, but to *construct mappings that refigure relations in ways that render alternative worlds*” (Pickles and Cobarrubias 2009: 1 *emphasis added*)

In this case then the Combat of Cartographies is fought out through a competition over possible Europes. The *Precurity_Map* proposes a space that radically destabilizes and deterritorializes Europe. “Europe” and the notion of fixity that accompanies a continent or even an association of well-established nation-states, is re-inscribed and re-territorialized as a dynamic, in-blob-like-motion set of fields and processes of struggles. The relation between these fields and processes causes the movement and fluctuation of the map and the spaces it creates. In some sense, the map itself –and the continent it prefigures- becomes ‘precarious’.

At the same time this ‘other’ space or ‘other’ Europe is precarious because precarity as a concept has grown so much recently. By being everywhere precarity is in danger of being nowhere, or perhaps...this is the point. Turning back to Raunig’s understanding of precarity:

The figure of the precarious [...] indicates diffuseness, fragility, heterogeneity. The precariat does not represent a unified, homogeneous or even ontological formation; it is divided and diffused across many hotbeds, not because of weakness or incapability, but rather as a discontinuity of geography and production distributing itself in space. [Precarity is to be understood] as constant becoming, questions, struggles [...] as potentiality and actualization of [a] concatenation. [...] If the precariat *is* anything at all, then it is itself precarious. (Raunig 2007)

Precarity in this understanding can only exist politically and spatially when a struggle around it emerges. If this is the case, and if one understands Europe as a set of precarious terrains, then the concept of precarity poses even further challenges for understanding the spaces of Europe and for developing a rethought cartography.

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the burgeoning practice of mapping among social movements. Activist Cartography has been identified as forming part of a broader expansion of map-making and map-usage, a *Cartographic Turn*. I have examined both the traits and the implications of this Activist Cartography. The preceding chapters have demonstrated how cartography is being appropriated and rethought in different ways, how communities of cartographic communication are forming as well as how new and different analyses of territory and distinct spatial practices are emerging from these mappings. The implications of this trend refer to how alternative mappings are not only one more way to represent territory. As cartography is a tool to prefigure territory, space and its subjects (Pickles, Thongchai, Wood), these maps signal a radical break between their own spatialities and those of states and networks of instituted governance. It is my contention that this competition over spatial realities is playing out via a *Combat of Cartographies*.

After researching and writing on over a dozen mapping projects and collectives (see Casas and Cobarrubias 2009; Casas and Cobarrubias 2008; Casas and Cobarrubias 2007; Cobarrubias et al 2006; Cobarrubias 2005) I have zeroed in on two central cartographic processes: *Fadaiat* and the *Precarity_Map*. In answering the research questions this dissertation work has shown not only how these maps were created but

how they interacted with particular political contexts and what new insights or spatial practices they introduced into social movement organizing.

Activist Cartography

Part I on Cartography situates this dissertation within three principal fields: Critical Cartography; Geographies of Resistance; and Economic Geography. The role of Critical Cartography has been central in providing a conceptual framework to understand what is at stake with these activist cartographies, especially the creation of an ‘other cartography’ and the ability of cartography to create spaces. The research has also highlighted the importance given to the mapping process itself as an integral part of the space-creating qualities of cartography. The fields of Geographies of Resistance and Economic Geography have been mutually imbricated. Current geographies of resistance are examined by studying how movements are creating in-depth knowledge about the socio-economic transformations occurring in their spatio-temporal contexts. This dissertation has also analyzed what kind of economic geographies are produced from sites of resistance.

Part II on Migration portrays the competing renderings of the European border. Parallel to the efforts to implement a clear delimitation of the EU in official maps, there is an imperative to rethink the border both as a concept and a reality. Both chapters on Migration center on the undoing of the border as a line, and shifting the border from the edge or margin to the center. Chapter three discussed the current state and history of the European border as a whole and the Europeanization of the Spanish border. Chapter four examined how the cartographic intervention and analyses of *Fadaiat* stretched the border

in two ways. On the one hand the border became a region with specific characteristics: its own spatial dynamics; its own channels of communication; and its own networks. The border became a space unto itself, not an end between two states but a third space. On the other hand the border turns into a type of governance. The border is not located only at the limits of nation-states but can be reproduced both within and without. The story of the European border, especially through Fadaiat's contribution, reinforces Etienne Balibar's remarks on the topic: the border is central to the constitution of Europe therefore understanding Europe must begin at the border; and the relation between border-territory-sovereignty (as well as the representation of those three) has been broken and fractalized in the European border. Through this analysis of the border –as a space and a type of governance- Fadaiat prefigures and enacts the spatial practices and political strategies that might be necessary to subvert the EU border and to create an open borderless Europe.

Part III on Precarity presented a two-pronged understanding of the development of precarity in Europe. The concept develops in the wake of the break up of a perceived monolithic historical actor, the end of the industrial working class's centrality and the hyper-fragmentation of working lives exacerbated through policies of flexibilization. The development of precarity as it manifests itself in Europe is tied to the institutional development of the European Union. The creation of the EU is seen as integral to the creation of precarious spaces of Europe. In this rethinking of Europe as a set of precarious spaces the *Precarity_Map* and the *EuroMayDay* process develop a radical de- and re-territorialization of the European continent. Europe's link to physical territory is put on hold and the terrain is refigured as spaces of differentiated governance and

resistance. The goal being to challenge the practices of alliance building and political resonances within nation-states in order to build a complementary European space of social movement mobilization. This space would ideally not be a closed space, a Europe of natural and psychic borders with the South and East, but an effective platform for the combination and recombination of singular struggles throughout the EU and possibly beyond.

New Critical Geographies of Europe

The preceding chapters show how the new critical geographies of Europe that McNeill called for in 2005 are spreading and actively being created by civil society efforts. The rethought Deleuzian-Guattarian cartography that Pickles (2005) suggests for this project of re-writing of Europe is enacted in these cartographic projects as a way to engage the real differently. Alternative mappings of Europe are being made that de-reify the continent from the projects of the European Union and nation-state (Bialasiewicz 2002). They include maps that attempt to dismantle the binaries of colonial thought (Pickles 2005) –Europe and ‘other’- such as Fadaiat. With the efforts of the Precarity_Map a re-thinking Europe is presented as a new space of common critical political praxis (Bialasiewicz 2002).

Furthermore, as engagement with the mapping projects has progressed it has become clearer that Migration and Precarity are not to be thought separate from one another. These cartographies have already suggested the difficult, though politically important, task of thinking these issues together and as transversal not sectoral. Since these mapping projects were carried out, this engagement has begun to produce further

fruits. As Fadaiat participants have themselves indicated, understanding: “the transformations in work and migration together” are keys to understanding the present. Returning to Balibar and to a more typological understanding of precarity can demonstrate what has been achieved. Balibar has suggested that Europe may be facing a division between “European citizenship” and “European apartheid”. Citizenship versus apartheid implies a question of inclusion versus exclusion, a Europe of a borderless Schengen space versus a Fortress Europe. In a similar vein, with regards to precarity, some early understandings of the concept defined one as *being* precarious or not. If one was had a certain type of contract or a certain employment status, one was ‘precarious’.

Through and beyond this politics of dichotomy there is another field of action. What these mappings have shown is that rather than a precarious category what is occurring is a process of precarization; and while there is a Fortress Europe there are also porous borders applied with uneven intensity. From a class with arguably common interests a spectrum appears: full-timers; part-timers; temps; workfare recipients; independent contractors; long-term unemployed; and more. Each of these exists as a subgroup with different regulations and contract stipulations referring to it and often with different public or private agencies assigned to deal with them. In the case of the border something similar happens. The complexity of counting referred to in Chapter 3 hints towards the hierarchization of populations depending on passports, legal status, visas types, age, education, colonial relations and national origin. Different laws, visas, police agencies, public institutions and policies are directed toward one or more of these subgroups within the ‘immigrant’ population.¹ While on the one hand tailoring attention

¹These are not necessarily fixed subgroups. The same person may move up or down one or both of these spectrums at different times.

to a subgroup's needs, these hyper-divisions of population and differentiated subgroups can have the affect of creating staggered access to rights: not just citizenship versus apartheid but different qualities of citizenships and apartheids that begin to mesh into each other. Through thinking precarity and migration together the border regime and a precarious Europe lead to a governmental regime based on *differential inclusion* (Malo and Debora 2008). This becomes a governmental technique that tries to include diverse groups of people *differently* into a society and economy via multiple categories of population and dissimilar access to rights (labor or civil rights). The resulting spaces of Europe require highly adaptable spatial strategies rather than dichotomous or manichean political opposition.

The field research has also signaled another space where activist cartographies have centered their efforts and where the combinations of precarity and migration are being applied: the urban site. Processes of urban reform, and differential insertions into national and global circuits of capital flow are transforming urban territories across Europe and inaugurating what has been called “a Europe of the Cities” (McNeill 2004). Cities are not then only sites of amalgamation of different sorts: be it population, capital or culture. This Europe of the cities becomes a productive motor, in and of itself a type of Europe. Different activist mapping projects are engaging this process through the notion of the ‘metropolis’. The ‘metropolis’, as something more than the city or the urban, becomes a form and site of production in and of itself. The metropole, like the border, becomes a central node in the current political-economic configuration of Europe. In my developing research (Cobarrubias work in progress) I examine the similarities between the metropole and Lefebvre's writings on the ‘urban revolution’. For Lefebvre,

the ‘urban’ had superseded the ‘industrial’, cities themselves and urban systems were both producers and products of this new socio-economic regime (2003). In this way, as workplace struggles were once key, urban struggles and rights to the city become central to transformative politics. I am currently examining how three activist cartographies in Madrid, Barcelona and Malaga are respectively addressing the interstices of precarity and migration within a developing metropolitan regime.

A Combat of Cartographies with a Moving Frontline

While this dissertation has progressed other cartographies have developed, this time from the other side of the frontline. Cartographic technologies, and re-theorizations of space are not only occurring amongst social justice movements but also among the very institutions and policies that social movements are challenging. The case of the border becomes exemplary in this sense. The representations and cartographic spatial creation carried out by the EU may have appeared simple at times in this dissertation, an outline of the EU’s outer member states as a spatial inscription of the border for example. At the same time I showed how instruments like SIVE and FRONTEX have created new and innovative cartographic thinking in order to police that same border but in rethought ways. I present here a more strident example of re-mapping by EU institutions. A new map is being produced by the ‘Mediterranean Transit Migration’ Dialogue (MTM). This includes a series of policy think-tanks and European Union security institutions such as EUROPOL and FRONTEX that have produced a cartography of ‘irregular migration flows’ in order to monitor and target migration.² This map also stretches the border far

²For versions of this map, see: http://www.icmpd.org/fileadmin/ICMPD-Website/MTM/New-Map-MTM_Poster-Landscape_EN_v1.pdf and <https://www.imap-migration.org/>

beyond the line around Europe going deep into Africa, Asia and the Americas. The “i-map” project as it is called incorporates many of the cutting edge items of discussion amongst radical cartographers such as participatory map-making, updatable changing maps -what they call “permanent mapping”-, and internet –based mapping networks (CITATION). It incorporates a mapping logic that follows flows much like Fadaiat and remains adaptable to changes in the intensity or direction of those flows. However, this map radically differs from the movement maps in that migrants are targeted rather than ‘borders’; the access to the interactive part is security encoded for exclusive use; and what is being facilitated is police coordination to control migrants instead of public awareness and activism. Both types of projects are mapping new terrains of “borders” in new ways but from radically different situations with radically different ends. If the map ‘precedes the territory’, and/or ‘produces the territory’ then what we see here is two types of territory in open conflict.

APPENDIX 1

Autonomy

“Autonomy is more than a movement, it’s a perspective that allows one to get close to and tackle conflicts...It is not a coherent theory with general theories. They [Autonomy and its theories] are interpretations of common experiences though keeping in mind their differentialized traits...It’s a point of view that signals elements of autonomization- a process of autonomization is the capacity to declare independence from capitalist logic: the capacity and desire to take one’s own decisions with one’s own means (like the workers’ assembly), with one’s own tactics (sabotage), to obtain one’s own ends (like a raise that does not depend on profit margins)” –[former longshoreman from Barcelona, participant in the autonomous Coordination of worker assemblies in Valladolid].

Given that the mapping collectives that appear in this dissertation belong to the ‘area of autonomy’ as they call it, it is worthwhile explaining what this term means and how it is used in Spain. Autonomy has gathered recent attention in Anglo-American social sciences, largely due to the success of Hardt and Negri’ work at the beginning of the millennium. It has become associated with Autonomous Marxism, its writings and especially via Italian interpretations. However, this would only be a partial picture. The writing of Autonomous Marxists, Italian and others, are inspired in a set of historical experiences, which to those writers speak to a form of politics able to provide more clear breaks with the current order of things.

Most discussions of what today is called autonomy in European movements have strong reference points in a series of struggles dating back to the 1970’s. Broadly put, autonomous movements emphasize being independent from state, political party, corporatist union and other governance structures (this today includes some critique of NGO and “professional organizers”). The idea though, is not to retreat to the mountains and form one’s own community, envisioned as isolated from others. ‘Autonomists’ do

not share much with hippies in this sense. The autonomist position can be somewhat understood as being both “within and against”. This is based on the postulate that organizational forms and demands should not be dependent on structures of constituted political or economic power. To use an example from labor struggles: that unions should require professional legally sanctioned representatives and that salary demands should be conditional of a company’s profitability would be antithetical to an autonomist position, especially antithetical if decided a priori to the emergence of a collective struggle. This non-dependence has also led to a radical ethics of anti-representation and anti-delegation. Politics should not be decided by a professional class of ‘representatives’ be they politicians or union officers. Delegation and representation should always be temporary and subject to strict review by a larger collective. This implies a strong emphasis on direct democracy.¹

As far as Spain is concerned, the most important reference of autonomy in recent history is workers’ autonomy from the 1970’s, sometimes called the *Assembly Movement*, or *Strike Movement*. This happened right smack in the middle of the Transition period from the dictatorship. The transition towards representative democracy in Spain is often

¹It should be stressed that I am referring to the particular experience of autonomy in Spain and to some degree in other parts of Europe. There is no rigid claim to the universality of what autonomy means. Some of the general principles highlighted above do repeat themselves in other places, and there is a lot of solidarity and communication between autonomous movements in different geopolitical sites. I want to be cautious here before defining ‘autonomy’ as such *ex nihilo*. One emphasis autonomous movements make is on how the context and particular trajectories of places effects how ‘autonomy’ may materialize and the forms it will take. Autonomy in Spain will not be the same as autonomy in the US, where there is a radically different alignment of social and political forces (around ideas like welfare and corporatism for example). The autonomy proclaimed by the unemployed in Argentina will be different than the ‘autonomy’ proclaimed by squatted social centers in Barcelona. Even within the same country, the ‘autonomy’ enacted by the Zapatistas in Chiapas will be radically different from the autonomy that a group of maquila workers in Ciudad Juarez (the CFO- Centro Fronterizo Obrero) is trying to achieve.

As a further general comment, it could also be said that these traits of autonomous struggle are nothing new. In some sense what is now defined as ‘autonomy’ has been present in the history of protest and revolt. A bread riot may hold many of the characteristics described above. There is not a claim to ‘newness’ per se.

discussed as a straightforward process among political elites, opposition parties, the king, and a few unions. However, upon reading deeper it is possible to identify a powerful set of grassroots mobilizations usually neglected in official histories. These struggles targeted both the remnants of the dictatorship and the new political forces that were slowly moving into power (Quintana 2002; Descontrolados 2000). Autonomous struggles were part of this broader social upheaval. They were not isolated sporadic events, but a series of struggles able to escape the control of unions or Left parties as well. These struggles were perceived as threatening especially because of their ability to generalize themselves and contaminate other spaces (Rodriguez 2007): an issue at one factory could become an issue of the entire city or region, leading to insurrections, regional or general strikes (Quintana 2002). These struggles were able to gain raises in the order of 20% and at times even recognition of a workers' assembly as representative of employees.

The vigor of the workers' autonomy movement was accompanied by many autonomous tendencies that developed in other organizing occurring at the time: anti-fascist, feminist, 'gay', national liberation, "neighbors" movements, ecologist, and most notably students.² The 'Autonomy' of the Transition continued into the 1980's in the struggles against the Industrial Reconversion project by the Socialist government and the student general strikes of 1986 and 1987. A water shed moment was the anti-NATO struggle of 1986, marked by extremely broad-reaching and impressive grassroots

²Additionally the strength of autonomy in Spain during the 70's has to be situated in the general strength of movements, and to a notable degree autonomous experience across Southern Europe. While Spain was heating up during the Transition, Portugal was going through the incredible experience of the Carnation Revolution, this was simultaneous to the long 68 in Italy, that has become well known. Across the Adriatic you also had the force of Greek mobilizing against the generals' government, and Turkey also appeared as a boiling pot of students, workers and armed groups- much of which formed the basis for the PKK.

networks. This moment is considered a dividing line between two periods of social movements organizing and autonomous trajectories (Exposito 2006).

The experience of workers' autonomy was interred to a certain degree. However, efforts have been made to recuperate it, now and again, notably in recent years. The historical experience of autonomy has had its repercussions in other movements tracing a genealogy that continues until today.

By the end of the 1980's other autonomous movement mobilize, which are part of the immediate configuration of present autonomous networks. In particular the *anti-draft* movement (which went directly against most Left parties and ended up being successful in canceling the draft), and the squatters' movement. Though squatting had occurred since the Transition it was during the late 1980's that squatting began to take on the tactic of the *social center* inspired by German 'autonomen' experiences translated into Spanish (interview: *Diagonal* member 7/2007). Squatters efforts began to network with the committees of the unemployed emerging around the country at that time.

As this nexus was growing, the Zapatista experience began to resonate throughout Spanish networks (interview: *Movimiento de Resistencia Global-Barcelona* member 5/2007). This resonance even went to the extent of Spanish autonomous movement network hosting the second '*Intergalactic*' Meeting against Neoliberalism and for Humanity in 1997 (interview: *Traficantes de Suenos* member 7/2008). This meeting resulted in the creation of Peoples Global Action (PGA) and the first calls for Global Days of Action,³ constituting the base for what later will become the global justice

³The First Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism was held in Chiapas. The second one was held in Spain, where the framework for People's Global Action was set.

movement. This referential gathering included many of the same networks now involved in mapping experiments.

As global resistance mobilizing re-organized itself and curled back from what were becoming increasing spectacle of street battles, different critiques and ideas began to settle in. Notably, the emergence of new questions such as precarity and changes in labor regimes, migrant rights, European networking, and anti-war mobilizing. It is in this context and trajectory that we see the first experiments with activist mapping.⁴

⁴In the spirit of decentering ‘autonomy’ from Italy, it is interesting to note the key references for thinking autonomy in Spain during the 1980’s and 1990’s were the German ‘autonomen’ and the Zapatistas. The engagement with Italian autonomous movements is relatively recent, though quite intense. While “domestic” trajectories of autonomy have also been important as references for current movements, to some degree these are being recaptured currently after having been somewhat marginalized.

APPENDIX 2

On Map Generator Software: *Mapomatix and Cartac*

The creation of mapping software for activist mapping projects points towards the growth of the use of cartography and how the networks involved are looking to develop their own infrastructures and platforms for their projects. It signals the consolidation of mapping as an accepted tool for movements that requires its own set of infrastructures, to go beyond the ad hoc projects done by particular groups or the use of existing map-making platforms.

The “Cartografías Tácticas” workshop at *Fadaiat* 2005 was a key moment for these discussions. Many mapping projects were present there, including some of the most emblematic of the recent activist mapping trend (such as *Bureau d’Etudes*, *Estrecho* and *Precarias a la Deriva*). It was precisely in those discussions just prior to the public phase of *Fadaiat*, where comparison was made between projects and approaches. After discussing what kind of future might exist for the uses of maps in movements, the idea of creating updatable maps, open to different forms of participation came about as a common point:

For three days we reflected and debates on the problems found in how we thought a project (definition of the point of view) as well as in the development (methodology and reach of the exploration) of the mapping processes, the modes of representation, communication and diffusion methods chosen, initial objectives and the resulting effects or possible interferences, with the goal of beginning to construct a commons base that could serve as a point of reference in these types of projects (Area Ciega-CarTac 2006)

1. Calls and Motivations

Calls around this “common base” had been circulating by the time of that workshop. *Bureau d’Etudes* spoke in 2002 about some sort of online map-maker and mapping project that could follow developments in global economics and corporate

strategies. An interface was called for that would allow people to update material, or grow sections on which they had lots of information (Worthington 2004).⁵ *Bureau d'Etudes* began drafting initial proposals for this software on their website. *MUTE* magazine based out of the UK soon launched the MCC project (Mapping Contemporary Capitalism). This seemed to be a response to the *Bureau d'Etudes* call, with similar goals and a similar approach to online, participatory and continuously updatable mapping and database creation (see Worthington 2004).⁶ These two projects faltered shortly after they began though (MUTE 2005).

Since *Fadaiat* 2005 two responses to that event's call for an activist map generator emerged. Programming and experiments began with new software packages that would work as a map generator, available for all sorts of potential projects (whereas the *Bureau d'Etudes* and *MUTE* projects were more focused on political economy). Besides activist uses of existing mapping software (from Google Maps to GRASS), here the idea was the creation of an alternative program with its own way of registering data and visualizing information (an alternative ESRI perhaps?). These two programs are *Mapomatix* and *CarTac*.

2. *Mapomatix*

⁵This interface would be akin to a geographical wiki or wikipedia-like tool but focused on certain sorts of research. BE began to make this call after having developed several of their maps on networks of power and economic regulation. In particular they stress how things such as corporate cracks or economic crashes could open gushes of information very difficult to sift through as a single or small group of collective/individuals. Also that this information would often be hard to find after a short period of time but could add all sorts of useful information to an analysis of the "global economy" (Worthington 2004).

⁶"Mapping Contemporary Capitalism (MCC) is a long term software development project whose goal is to create a tool for mapping relations of power. The software is based on newly emerging open source protocols for data management and visualisation, and borrows much of its knowledge (The Semantic Web) from Internet pioneers such as Tim Berners-Lee and cartographers such as Bureau d'Etudes." (University of Openness 2003)

After the conclusions and debate from the Tactical Cartographies workshop some individuals and groups began to meet and make contacts. Hackers were recruited, theoretical and strategic questions were proposed. Eventually a beta version of a program called *Mapomatix* was released and projects began to use the platform for maps. From examining some of the debates around the *Mapomatix* project (available on the *Mapomatix* website), it becomes apparent how *Mapomatix* is inserted into a cartographic turn and in particular the hyper-use of mapping software. But the program also seeks to act as a critique to some of the cartographic logics behind other mapping platforms, such as the questions of locative media and GPS, and the overuse of GIS. In this regard, *Mapomatix* defines itself as a ‘geo-wiki’, not a GIS/GPS system (Mapomatix website-Tool). The *Mapomatix* critiques existing locative media as reflective of a “logic of war”- that seeks to locate and fix objects in a territory: “The logic of identification walks tightly along the narrative of war, a subject/object as the target for a machine gun. And war goes along another logic, that of the powerful, the rich and the right, [...] In the GPS sense you cannot locate the origin of a social struggle” (Degoyon and pueblodechina pg.4).

Participants in *Mapomatix* have mentioned and critiqued the ways governments and militaries have developed and jumped on the locative media frenzy as well as how these are being used together with complex computational models to create consumer profiles. They make reference to the Situationists and Lefebvre (rhythm analysis in particular) to discuss ‘other’ ways of inhabiting a city that escape these logics (Degoyon and pueblodechina pg. 3-4).

They call for the construction of another form of organizing and conceiving geographic information, a method that does not have to refer back to the need of the

'powers that be' to locate individual actors and actions with the possibility of surveying and controlling. The *Mapomatix* team sees serious limits as to the ability of locative media (as it exists) to produce maps of subjective experiences of territory or maps that reflect emotion, intensity, etc. They ask how geographic and mapping tools can be created able to include the immaterial, ephemeral, emotional, subjective elements that may thus help in visualizing other processes (processes other than those that correlate to the locating of individual objects). For example, mapping the influences of a particular author or pieces through conversations that have revolved around it (Degoyon and pueblodechina).

Critical uses of GPS are considered, for example the use of GPS as a counter-measure to monitor police and others. But this they believe, is limited. Due to its obsession with data points, GPS cannot map the experience of a place, the accumulation of struggles therein, etc. GPS use, for these mappers, is based on the isolation of other information about an object in order to objectify it and refer it back to a standardized system of coordinates (Degoyon and pueblodechina pg. 3).

In part they make this distinction based on an emphasis on the "subjective and psychogeographical [as a way] to unearth the antagonisms that constitute a society". *Mapomatix* is: "not focused [only] on geographical territories but... on making territories as 'making places'," (Mapomatix website-Tool). And the ability to create those territories and places "if [the emphasis on] what is being mapped are ideas, organizations, concepts, 'slice[s] of space-time', etc" (Mapomatix website-Tool).

Once a map has been created, registered users can then use some of the icons, layers and items to update a map or even add new icons. Icons for *Mapomatix*, at least in

principal, are thought to be created as a sort of pool or resource that can then be used by other mappers or even other maps. So as users begin to define and specify different types of information for a particular icon, that work of defining a map item is not lost for future mappers (Mapomatix website-Tool).

In its function as a geo-wiki, *Mapomatix* allows for the adding of all kinds of data to the items on the map. For example: audio & video files, external links, texts, and even RSS feeds for automatic updating of issues related to specific items on the map- thus the info on the map could “transform itself” through the feed or web stream.

On this last point, the ideal for this map is to become a ‘changing object’:

“If it is required and desired that the map continue to exist it must take into account a tactic of maintenance and reactualisation of its data. Several good tips exist as to insert RSS feeds, or stream source/ servers, that you feel are interesting and that can provide your map with elements that are related to evolutive dynamics. Furthermore it is possible that a map will persist a long time if it is used by a group to achieve some tactical aims of activist research in order to map, translate, some data they want to share, develop, make available.” (Mapomatix website-Tool)

In this way, temporal aspects can be included in the maps: “living maps that can trace their history in this sense,” useful for tracking what has been added by different groups or understanding the developments of an issue.

Playfully comparing to the acronym GPS again, some of the designers claim that:

“Mapomatix is a Psycho Geographic System (PGS)”:

Mapomatix is a tool for chameleons. It is about collaborative imagination, a map that draws a tissue of human practices, an active map in this sense, since it empowers the activity of collectives. It is giving them a location, in some way a precious materiality and an affirmation to their precarious activity. People reinventing the city, reinventing cartography and geographical location (5). Some can say, they are mental maps or imaginary maps...

...The mapping of subjective activity, that of a human being acting in her ecology is to be performed in a subjective way. This way may be psychogeographic, derived from the psychological perception of places. Mapomatix in this sense preserves the subjective nature of what it is mapping and simultaneously becomes a nomadic artifact that is a

platform for collaborative activity. As a platform it gives materiality to other nomadic agencies.

...Mapomatix does not guarantee any accuracy: the perception of events, place and space is relative to [...] Mapomatix is not centralized....We would refuse to enter data automatically using a bridge to a centralized system (satellite or G.I.S. data) [...] A geo-wiki as Mapomatix points towards a reinvention of locality, not as a source of time stamped information but as a ground for narration (Degoyon and pueblodechina 5-7)

“[Mapomatix](#) is a tool to reflect upon the practice of cartography in all its various forms, from geographical maps, to mental maps and symbolic representations of events,” (Mapomatix website-Tool). The program was designed for both individual and/or collective use. While it cannot be built in real time it is cumulative. The idea here being to create maps and map tools (like icons and items) that can maintain their usefulness in ways that paper maps can not. If movements are dealing with issues that are changing (border issues, labor issues, etc.) and the maps are meant to be ‘tactical’- as in relevant to intervening immediately in an issue-, then a tool like *Mapomatix* is meant to serve that need of constant upgrade and change.

Building on this notion of the ‘tactical’ and as a partial result of the Tactical Cartographies workshop, the *Mapomatix* defines what it means by ‘tactic’. Curiously they use de Certeau to help define ‘tactic’:

[The] idea of editing and publishing tactical maps meaning maps developed as methodological tools to achieve tactic aims. The word tactic must be understood in the way Michel de Certeau's defines it: "...victories of the 'weak' over the 'strong', clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, 'hunter's cunning' maneuvers, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike". Tactics create a transitory type of power, which de Certeau likens to "a rented apartment.... transforming another person's property into a space borrowed for a moment" - a momentary escape from the dominant order. A tactic focuses on divergent uses of existing cultural objects, rather than creating objects anew. Thus elements of consumption that highlight pastiche and bricolage such as fashion and music (Mapomatix website-tool, English original)

Reference is made back to the struggles around the border region in Andalusia and the efforts to map the Straits of Gibraltar. The attempts to create *Mapomatix* and some of its features are the result of ideas that emerged from that process. By way of example, the need for creating free or inexpensive technologies that could provide map-making abilities, web access, streaming access, and other such tools was seen as a key need to push the strategies being pursued against the border regime.

3. *CarTac*

The development of *CarTac* also traces a lineage back to the Straits of Gibraltar and the Fadaiat 2005 workshop as well (Area Ciega CarTac). What was to be a simple revamping of *Mapomatix*, a working out of some of the kinks in the early version of the program, ended up becoming a whole new program (CarTac interview 3-2007). Some of the ideas presented by the *Mapomatix* team are further developed in *CarTac*.

CarTac puts emphasis on taking advantage of the new “prosthesis” of the cyberworld to make connections across space and scale. With new transformations to make ‘users’/receivers of information (the ‘television model’ as the CarTac collective refers to it) into producers in a networked fashion, the new technologies can speed up the time it takes to create distant linkages: “for whom, for what, from where and how can we make maps that allow us to pass on the power of cartographies: instead of a government of experts, the self-government of distributed intelligence” (Area Ciega on Cartac).

Technically the main advance in the program is the facilitation of adding METADATA to items on the maps. This would help add some of the sorts of streaming,

video/audio, info that *Mapomatix* originally called for and in this manner ‘stretch’ the map beyond itself.

While programs such as *Mapomatix* and *CarTac* are in their very early stages, these programs and their uses in different activist projects already show the steps that have been taken since the 2002 calls by *Bureau d’Etudes* and *MUTE*. The attempts to also practically apply the theoretical critiques to current mapping technologies to creating alternative platforms for map generating software could point to some interesting possibilities for geographers. Instead of abandoning the map or even map-making software, these efforts look for possible critical appropriations (such as the GPS monitoring of police) and even the creating of alternative (and open-source) platforms to create ‘other’ maps. Despite the ‘beta’ feel of the current programs, calls and discussion are already taking place to begin a longer and more collective process of developing a new software platform that would take the lessons learned from *Mapomatix* and *CarTac* and build on them. Specific mention has been made of developing this new software along two tracks: a technical one (looking at possibilities to incorporate new technical gadgets and open-source developments) and a theoretical one (to reflect on what kind of maps can be made, the limitations and possibilities of maps, etc.). An initial meeting for a project of this sort has been postponed as of writing, though the idea remains afloat (CarTac interview 10/2007).

Additionally the creation of software platforms for participatory map-making like *Mapomatix* and *CarTac* point to a possible consolidation of activist mapping as a radical practice. Mapping as a radical practice that is developing not only its own networked collective discussions (such as that had at Fadaiat 2005), but one that is developing its

own infrastructures. From one map made (using freehand or Illustrator) by a gifted designer to maps that many people can participate in creating. The software becomes a platform that can then spur on other projects as opposed to just one-time deals or projects that always fall on the shoulders of those with technical skills. The direction of activist map generator programming gestures towards a possible democratization of activist map-making, perhaps in a qualitatively similar way to the democratization of map-making through instruments such as GIS or Google Maps.

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