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This is an act of smuggling across social borders

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This article examines the possibility of communication between human groups, including academic scientists addressing non-academics about topics they feel are important for all. This is a study of the effects of boundaries between human groups, and of potential resistance strategies to them. I show that the concrete knowledge anyone has of geographical borders applies to the boundaries created by the categorisations across human groups. Any power relationship leading to categorisation among humans leads to the creation of social frontiers: rich vs poor, heterosexuals vs non-heterosexuals, professors vs students, able-bodied vs disabled, men vs women, whites vs non-whites, centres vs peripheries, young vs old. These frontiers can be apprehended fundamentally like geopolitical borders. Approaching human categorisations from the angle of geopolitical borders has several advantages. First, it is an undeniably well-grounded parallel because geopolitical borders indeed create a categorisation among humans: maps are their most famously visualized manifestation. Second, the analogy is useful, because the spatial dimension of geopolitical borders makes them easier to grasp, compared to other types of human categorisations. Finally, this metaphor proves efficient for thinking change, by building a dynamic vision of power relationships and categorisations.

The paper is organized into three parts. In the first part, I argue for the hypothesis that geopolitical boundaries are basically of the same nature as other boundaries between humans in social groups. I show that the organized knowledge humans have about geopolitical boundaries applies to hierarchical boundaries between human groups by reviewing the paradigmatic field of borders: renegociation of border outlines, passports and identity documents, work visas, immigration, tourism, signposts, customs and tariffs, smugglers, stateless persons, border populations. In the second part, I propose the following three qualitative parameters to distinguish between these borders: (i) visibility of categorization criteria, (ii) opportunities for individuals to elude the border paradigm, and (iii) spatial and temporal dimensions and their effects on spaces of intersection. I demonstrate how multiple

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1 My thanks go to my reviewers among which Milan Rezac, as well as Pierre-Guillaume Prigent and Glen Falchon for discussion about the position of pro-feminist men.
frontiers interact. In the third part, I show how an analysis in terms of borders captures reality by offering a case study, that of smuggling and smugglers.

This article does not pretend to discover new phenomena. It claims to provide, in clear language, a way to think about the boundaries between categorized human groups. In the following, identity is not represented as immanent or unalterable. The concrete barriers to the freedom of individuals are named, acknowledged and given a greater degree of visibility. The analysis thus addresses the question of social categorisation in doing away with essentialist and/or fragmentary visions of the notion of identity. Moreover, it leaves an avenue for individual or collective resistance strategies against categorisations such as racialisation or sexage (Guillaumin 1992), without falsely implying that an individual creates the effects of the social world on herself, or can performatively uncategorise herself. In the line of Foucault's work, State power is not treated as fundamentally different from other instantiations of power between humans. Power produces reality, namely here the categories of human groups. It is all the more effective when hidden, and bringing it to light helps prevent us from succumbing to its pitfalls and paradoxes. This reflection is necessarily interdisciplinary, and the article takes illustrations drawing on the fields of sociology, linguistics, political science, gender studies, autobiographical novels and contemporary art.

I. Frontiers: concrete and real

This first section aims at establishing that if a person knows what a geopolitical border is, she is well-equipped to understand the categorisations power produces between humans. I will argue that the body of knowledge about the former makes correct predictions about the latter, in reviewing the paradigm of geopolitical borders and showing how these make sense in the field of categorizations among humans.

Permanent renegotiations of boundaries

The boundaries between human groups, some of which are spatial, are permanently subject to renegotiations. Before December 2013, women of the Great Mosque of Paris used to pray in a dedicated area within a large room with men, but the mosque authorities then decided to reduce male/female proximity by creating a dedicated space for women in the basement. Women took action to reappropriate their space with a public petition, a Facebook group, and
a legal complaint. This fight did not question the sexual partition of space, but it negotiated the course of the spatial boundary line man/woman.

Such negotiations are also easily identifiable with non-spatial boundaries. The dividing line between locals and immigrants in a given society varies according to changes in laws for access to employment, health care, civil rights - each a milestone on the border between these two categories. A given immigrant can become a local insofar as her rights arise at full coincidence with those of other locals. A given local person can also become an immigrant: Cohen (1972) describes how, as a child of Greek immigrants integrated in Marseille, he discovered he was becoming racialized as a Jew during the Second World War. His parents had crossed the border from local immigrant to local, yet he experienced it the other way around, in discovering for himself a novel criterion of categorization. There are human categorizations sometimes considered irrevocable, ontologically based on criteria designated as immutable, like sex or race, for which Nature is invoked.

These separations, however, also have fluid and negotiable boundaries: a given border zone individual may fall to one side or the other of the race or gender border during his life, sometimes to her own surprise. In the US, positive discrimination implies racial classification is founded in law. Inspection of classification criteria shows that, far from encoding an immanent Natural Order, the law uses a patchwork of conflicting and tinkered criteria that mix disparate notions of genetic descent, cultural pattern, language or self-identification by an individual or a community. In the early twentieth century, the one-drop rule required a particular person with a drop of so-called "black blood" be considered Black. The drop of blood is interpreted as the presence of a black person in ascendants, but logically qualification of this ascendant also, and so forth up the lineage tree. Additionally, these rules do change and a person considered Black in the early twentieth century by the one drop rule may no longer be considered as such. In the twenty-first century, it is the presumed race of the mother that is transferred to the birth certificate of a child (Cloos 2010:91). It is then always the case that after a few generations, the official race of an individual matches only that of one of his great-grandmothers. In the contemporary US business world, the "Minority Business Certification" (nmsdc.org) verifies a company is owned by a person from a "minority". This certificate concerns US citizens who can prove: 25% origins of any of the "black racial groups of Africa", or backgrounds "from Pakistan or India", or "Spanish-speaking regions of South

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America, "or a person officially recognized by his own community in the case of "Native Americans". Ancestry and self-reported cultural identification are criteria that can correlate or contradict each other. We can scientifically observe and quantify these contradictions. Death acts in the US are also written in terms of racial classification, operated either by a close relative or visual estimation by a doctor or funeral director. This obviously leads to contradictory results (Krieger et al., 2003, cited in Cloos 2010), each case raising the issue of the particular outlines of the border of racial categorization: who owns a passport to which categories and what are the criteria of eligibility?

**Passports and identity documents**

A passport certifies the status of an individual, included or excluded, in relation to a group boundary. Social boundaries also use passport systems. Some highly valued degrees serve as class passports, if their production means integration to a higher class (although possibly at its margins). The property inheritance system of ascendants is a class passport based on birthright. Many official documents attest to the membership or non-membership of an individual to a race; for example, the certificate of non-membership of the Jewish race required in the French state under the Vichy government (Estèbe 1996:58). Such passports also exist on the man/woman frontier. Female mutilations (clitoridectomy and infibulation, foot reduction, neck elongation, lips stretching, plastic surgery of the labia minora, mammoplasty, etc.) are typically culturally justified by a desire for sexual differentiation: a person classified as woman has to comply in order to be a "real woman". These irrevocable physical marks literally embody passports for the Woman category. Such passports also exist in administrative and judicial form. As detailed in Bohuon (2012), since 1968, international sports athletes in the woman category are in mandatory possession of a "Certificate of femininity valid for life" (see also "sex passport" or "femininity passport", Bohuon 2012: fn2, p65). Obtaining this certificate depends upon examination of various anatomical, hormonal or chromosomal criteria, whose definitions vary over time, which results in cases of passport withdrawals. Athlete Ewa Klobukowska has had a woman's passport ("for life"), which was withdrawn and later restituted. She passed the test in 1964 and was twice an Olympic medallist in Tokyo. She next failed the Barr test in 1967: six doctors unanimously decided she was not physiologically a woman, and her femininity certificate was withdrawn along with her gold and bronze medals. In 1970, her case was recognized as (probably) a case of Mosaism, which means the presence of an extra Y chromosome, offering no sporting advantage over humans defined as women by possession of two X chromosomes. By decision
of the IAAF, International Association of Athletics Federations, her competition ban was lifted and Ewa was reassigned as Woman (Bohuon 2012:74). This passport directly affected her ability to work.

**Work visas**

The equivalent of work visas exist in language, which serves as a marker of different social groups. Candea (2013) points out that in French, the names of poorly paid occupations have different grammatical masculine and feminine forms (shoemaker, cordonnière, cordonnier, or unemployed chômeur, chômeuse), according to the supposed biological sex of the person. Grammar adapts easily to men occupying roles traditionally assigned to women (nurse infirmière/infirmier, pediatric nurse, puéricultrice/puériculteur with the exceptions of midwife sage-femme, and nanny nounou, nourrice). In the twentieth century, some women gained access to male jobs (president, director, researcher, engineer), but their legitimacy is still under negotiation. Language, both indicative of the negotiations and battle field for them, resists precisely where it could legitimise women's accession of these occupations. Only for low status titles are the morphologically feminine forms of both the title and its determiner authorized (President of the Gymnastics Association, school principal, job seeker). However, the corresponding honorific titles become allowed with morphologically masculine forms (President of the Republic, Director of Cabinet, scientific researcher).

(1) Madame le président de (* l’association de gymnastique / de la république)

Madame le directeur de (* l’école / cabinet ministériel)

Elle est chercheur (* d’emploi / au CNRS)

It even becomes possible, when referring to the function, to refer via a masculine pronoun (il), which is otherwise perfectly ungrammatical in French. These exceptions to grammar rules bear the strong sociological subtext that a woman is performing a male's job. Language tags the individual as outside her assigned gender class, occupying an illegitimate space.³

(2) "...le premier ministre [masc, sing.] [of Britain C at the time, Mrs. Thatcher], il est vrai, n’avait pas caché, en s’installant au 10 Downing Street, que la période qui s’ouvrait serait plus marquée par le sang.

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³ See the English contrast: John is (a waiter/a prince) and Mary is too. For a state of the art of feminisations in French, see Baider et al. (2007).
la sueur et les larmes que par la facilité. II [masc, sing.] peut, en outre, faire valoir que nombre de ces
difficultés ont été héritées des travaillistes..."

The Prime Minister, it is true, did not conceal, when she moved into 10 Downing Street, that the
period then to begin would be marked more by blood, sweat, and tears than by facility. He could,
moreover, rightly maintain that some of these problems belonged to the Labour legacy."

(Le Monde, leader column, p. 1, 21-5-81, cited in Cornish 1986:252)

Systematic exogenous labelling of a person inside a group in which she is tolerated for work
reasons basically amounts to a work visa: it allows limited traffic in an otherwise forbidden
area. The period of validity for the visa, and its revocability, depends on the authority
regulating flows between segregated groups. Women who refuse to be assigned such a work
visa develop resistance strategies. On January 15, 2014 in the French National Assembly,
Deputy Julien Aubert addressed Deputy Sandrine Mazetier with Madam, followed by the
masculine form for President, which she corrected with the feminised form. The male deputy
next addressed her five times in his speech with the masculine form, reserving the same
treatment for the female minister. Deputy Mazetier responded by addressing him with a
grammatically unprecedented creation: Mr. the(feminine form) Depute. The next day, Deputy
Aubert publicly stated that this term "violated [his] identity" and was "aggressive" and
"offensive". His response is consistent with the hypothesis that this is basically the imposition
of a work visa.

Immigration

Some migrants are thought to be perfectly integrated into the target group, even in cases
where the border separates between saliently differentiated groups. In Northern Albania,
Kosovo and Montenegro, a person categorised as Woman can live almost entirely a man's life
(Hérault 2009). These so-called "sworn virgins" can take a wife, and have children with her
regardless of the genetic material used. Sworn virgins perform traditional masculinity,
providing a clear example of the migration of a group across a sex/gender border. This
immigration is integrative, and there is no return option.

Other types of migration take place in the context of work place, and raise the question of the
possibility of return. In the 70s in France, young middle- or upper-class Maoist activists were
encouraged to join the working class in the factories in order to, among other things, organize
class warfare (Rolin 1996). Many people, called "les établis", made this choice and remained
workers after the economic crisis. Immigration across a class line, like geographic
immigration, can be thought of under the angles of family reunification or the hope of return. Migrations across sex borders can also be observed in the workplace: women occupying places characterized as "for men", and men working as nurse or midwife. Some immigrations can be of shorter duration, or clandestine, repeated or not. The ability to make undetected day trips to the other side of a border is called "passing", literally taking this spatial image we are investigating. This term applies to racialized persons passing for white, to transgender and transsexuals, or to social classes, when not a mix of the above.

**Tourism**

Border crossing can be purely exploratory and aimed solely at personal enrichment. Tourism is overwhelmingly committed by individuals from dominant groups. Christian Seidel became the transvestite Christiane in an exploratory manner over a period of two years. He tried to broaden his understanding of the world, perceive it from a different posture: as a woman. As Christiane, he partied with supporters of Bayern Munich, walked in the streets of San Remo, interacted with close friends and in his heterosexual couple (Seidel 2014, ZDF, 2013). The practice of "disability for a day", allowing one to experience social spaces with a wheelchair, or without sight, has the same exploratory character.

**Border crossing signs**

The boundaries of human categories are marked by specific, widely recognized signs: costumes, headdresses, (levels of) languages. Posting these signposts sends a clear signal. These signposts are not fundamentally attached to a given border, and evolve depending on location and time. This is the case of wearing pants in Europe, which long stood as a border sign between men and women, but no longer does. Like a signpost saying "Italy 200m" has nothing fundamentally Italian, signs and markers of social categorizations are purely conventionally attached to the group whose delimitation they signal. Pants have nothing intrinsically male or female, they mark bipedalism at most. Like the Italian signpost, it is only the border system that gives them meaning. These signs are not an expression of essence of a particular group, but they can deeply impact the body. They affect voice, posture, gait, (un)authorized gestures, how one occupies space, the amount of food that one swallows, even the pace of ingestion. Some signs seem so deeply pertaining to a particular category, they can be tempting to essentialize, like voice pitch, a common marker of male/female borders. Such literally embodied differences have categorical internal meaning, but no more than an arbitrary frontier signpost. The same way, a river can mark a geopolitical border. In neither
the river nor the salmon in the river is there anything fundamentally linked to the way humans from both sides decide to live their civil rights. The presence of the river is opportunistically used by humans, who consequently invest it with categorizing meaning. Physical and cultural attributes become attached to either side of categorical boundaries, with a fairly wide variation, although some constants emerge: hierarchically subordinate groups are generally associated with a greater capacity and taste for difficult, dangerous, and poorly paid work (e.g., supposed flexibility of children's fingers in carpet weaving, supposed physical endurance of slaves/colonized people/peasants, supposed tendency of women for abnegation, etc.). The dominant groups are often associated with elements morally justifying their privileged position (e.g., intelligence, merit won generations ago, responsibility, etc.). The principal function of these signposts is to justify the demarcation of the border and the related hierarchy. They are no more intrinsically linked to a given group than other signposts.

**Prohibitions and passing regulations, customs duties**

Crossing from one group to another is prohibited by definition. This does not mean that crossing is impossible, but that it is potentially dangerous or expensive. A group of smugglers will set their price. Prices may rise in places over which passage is easy to block, like mountain passes or maritime straits. Three parameters are at play:

(i) tolerance of offences — the threshold beyond which a repressive system is activated,
(ii) type of punitive system set in place when the tolerance threshold is exceeded, and
(iii) financial and human cost of the passage itself — via a public tax border system or through the private sector.

Consider the case of a human assigned to the *Man* category who crosses various social spaces with conspicuous attributes of femininity (dress, high heels, makeup, etc.). He will test the extent to which his presence is recognized and tolerated (i), and, beyond that, the type of repression triggered if any (ii). All economic actors whose profits are directly related to the existence of the border and the difficulty of crossing it levy the equivalent of customs duties. The financial and human cost of the passage in (iii) depends on many factors, but entire industries are built on this passage in particular: permanent depilation, facial remodelling surgery, hormone treatments, mandatory psychological evaluation in the event of a sex change operation, etc. On racialisation borders, we find skin bleaching industries (cosmetics and chemical), hair straightening institutes, various surgeries designed to shape the body to a
Caucasian referent type, or the administrative cost of a name change. On the border of social classes, school systems act as customs: they are given the task of regulating, and limiting, the flow of individuals and their descendants from one social class to another.

The invisibles: stateless persons and unclassifiables

A categorization criterion separating humans into two distinct groups without intersections presupposes that every human can be categorized according to this criterion. Such a system is weakened by any individual it visibly fails to categorize.

In the toughest cases, the very existence of the deviant individual is entirely forbidden. There is an international ban on States producing stateless individuals. National systems can tolerate a minimal set of "accidentally" stateless people, but if they were too numerous, it would endanger the entire system. In these rigid cases, the deviant individual has to comply to survive, and endure physical transformation if necessary.

In pre-industrial societies, cultures commonly assume at least three official genders. In the Americas, the sexual physiology of the *berdaches* does not have to match man/woman gendered activities. Roscoe (1991:5) listed them in more than 130 North American tribes, in societies as diverse as nomadic Alaskan tribes and Florida city states. In contrast, in societies where only two fundamental sexes and genders are tolerated, the man/woman partition is thought of as natural and effortless. This fundamental belief is maintained at a very high cost in order to dissimulate humans most visibly failing the bipartition: intersexes and transsexuals. Reassignment to the male/female gender duality is overwhelmingly the norm for intersexes in all countries in which these operations are clinically feasible (Lahood 2012). In France, transsexuals have access to identity documents in accordance to their chosen gender if they are subjected to enforced surgical assignment (evidence of a sex change operation), itself subjected to a psychological testing of supposed adequacy with the requested gender. In more flexible cases, presence of a deviant individual is tolerated if they are invisible, "passing." In societies "tolerating" homosexuality, homosexuals still have to be discreet and not challenge the heterosexual norm. They are "tolerated" as long as they respect the normative dimension of the border. The outline of this border remains under the monopolistic control of an easily identifiable group (Lifshitz 2012). The threshold can come with a quota system, beyond which "enough is enough" (enough homosexuals, women, immigrants, impoverished people...). Once invisibility fades away, so-called tolerant societies can respond with great violence.
Exogenous individuals may occasionally reveal their presence, to the extent they propose a personal formula to avoid challenging the established order (humour, counter-signals, participation in the repression of their peers, etc.). It is important to note that the deviant individual remains entirely in charge of the invisibilisation process. Individuals fleeing their category have to take charge of completely switching their overt categorical symbols (costume, language, food habits, cultural reflexes, etc.) in order to avoid social isolation. People with disabilities quite commonly report such impossible assimilation strategies where they are tolerated in the exact extent to which they take their self-effacement (Vigand 2011).

This first section has established that borders between social groups can be approached as fundamentally similar to geopolitical boundaries. However, be they geopolitical or otherwise, borders are not uniform and do not all produce the same effects. I now propose three parameters that distinguish the between border types.

II. Border parameters of differentiation

Borders differ in their corresponding evasion loopholes: clandestinity, viable escape strategies, and extent of no man's lands.

II.i. Visible sorting criteria and clandestinity

Boundaries organize around a discrimination criterion. Visible criteria (morphological features of the body, skin colour, shape of the face, age) do not produce the same effects as concealable/invisible criteria (shape of the genitals, sexual orientation, culture, or to a lesser extent, social origin or language). For a given individual, the invisibility of a criterion opens strategies of clandestinization, allowing them to move in an exogenous space as long as the difference is not revealed. French colonization of Martinique and Brittany gave rise to fundamentally different colonial experiences, because the Breton people, while combining stigmas of language and social background, could access clandestinity by mastering French without identifiable accent, and dress like the settlers. A given person may choose to reveal her origin or hide it, change her mind several times, reveal it to some but not others, etc. This strategy is rendered far more difficult by a non-concealable criterion like skin colour. The danger of a strategy of clandestinization is the imperative of non-existence, and it poses the

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4 People with handicaps face one additional challenge, for to be recognized as such, and potentially helped, disability has to remain conspicuously visible. This paradox puts people in a double bind situation, whose cost is still dependent on them. The same paradox arises for racialized persons who want to claim the benefits of positive discrimination.
question of secret recognition signs. In the case of sexual orientation categorization, individuals must also meet to live their sexual orientation. Therefore they collectively develop ways of finding each other in a crowd, while organizing their own invisibility at the same time.

II.ii. Totalizing paradigms and interstitial spaces

Border systems universally make totalitarian claims to categorize all available space. The claim is widely performative but also rarely true. From the point of view of a given individual, they vary according to the (un)availability of gaps and margins, to the opportunities available to escape the paradigm (even at the cost of marginalization). The borders between countries exhaustively partition the finite land space of the planet. This situation is new for humans, who have evolved for most of the known history of humanity in spaces with many relatively accessible margins for off-category individuals (deserts, steppes, forests, islands, mountains, wetlands, etc.). Withdrawing from social areas in geographical space had a cost, but was possible. In the last century, these interstitial spaces underwent a drastic reduction and the impact of geopolitical boundaries and of socially totalizing categorisations grew accordingly.

Deviant individuals undergo a symbolic decategorisation out of humanity. The paradigm is that of the Other, of the unknown, of liminality, madness, of sub-human monsters. A bearded woman is not considered as bordering the Man category, a move which would benefit her on many levels, but as bordering humanity. Intersexes testify of inhumane treatment of violent sex reassignment (Gosselin et al. 2008). In an analysis in terms of border crossings, the autobiographical story of Beatriz Preciado who self-administered testosterone for a year, could be understood as a clandestine immigration process across the woman/man border, but she stressed that taking testosterone did not include her into the Man category: "I do not take testosterone to turn myself into a man, but to betray what society wanted to make me, to add a molecular prosthesis to my low-tech transgender identity made of dildos, text, moving images". She precisely describes a passage from the Woman category to a new one labelled: Other. Some transgender or transsexual people who escape the woman category also oppose the "female to male" path, instead favouring the path from "female to unknown", a term that

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5 "Je ne prends pas la testostérone pour me transformer en homme, mais pour trahir ce que la société a voulu faire de moi, pour ajouter une prothèse moléculaire à mon identité transgenre low-tech faite de godes, de textes, d’images en mouvement".
best expresses the category they feel they embody (Binard 2006:398). The semantic field of robotics and digital technology is also invested. Haraway (1991) proposed the concept of cyborg, the new being overtaking the woman subject. Marginality figures often combine with spatiotemporal peripheral figures: the night, the bush, the wasteland. These concepts have in common an implied space beyond the usual, where human visions of self find a symbolic area to grow away from predetermined categories, a place where one's choices open. Logically, these exploratory positions are overwhelmingly represented in science fiction (see Ursula K. Le Guin). When a margin space offers refuge for a set of humans, their liminal visions crystallise in marooned identities and create still more borders within the margins. The power system can work around these margins provided they stay small and reasonably far apart. Some margins have higher potential to integrate individuals, and potentially short-circuit the entire system. Monique Wittig (1980) noted that the Wife or Human reproductive understanding of the Woman category excludes lesbians, and joyfully concluded that lesbians are not women, with the logical implication that lesbians were therefore free from compliance to womanhood. By doing so, Wittig opens a peripheral space with the potential to entirely bleed the woman category, which by parity of argument suddenly excludes bisexuals, pansexuals, heterosexuals without children, or anyone departing the slightest from the prototypical feminine image. Ultimately, the category reduces to an abstraction \( \text{THE Woman} \), revealing its essence. The category does not exist in itself, it is merely the result of an active and arbitrary act of categorization of individuals, perpetually recreated by a global hierarchy system among humans (Butler 1990). For those that society categorizes as women, the category manifests itself by its concrete effects (subordination, limitation of individuals, economic exploitation, etc., see Gunnarsson 2011).

New interstitial spaces emerge with social global changes. Internet for example offers new liveability solutions for category refugees. When lacking interstices, these small margins, uncomfortable as they may be, the only option remaining for individuals who cannot hide in plain sight is to settle on the dotted line of the border, that is, inside the borders’ intersection space.

\textbf{II.iii. The borders’ intersection space}

Radical geographical theory attempts to articulate the relations between spatiality and the relations of power and domination (Harvey 2008, Soja 2009, Gervais Lambony & Dufaux 2009). It is in this context I note that spatialisation of borders reduces their intersection areas.
Some borders are inherently spatial, like geopolitical borders or the categorisation between urban centres and peripheries. Some borders are only partially spatialized. During forty years of apartheid in South Africa, some areas were segregated and some shared. The man/woman border is clearly spatialized in public toilets, but heterosexuality induces sharing other spaces. The constant is that the more spatialized borders are, the harder it is to live inside their intersection space. Border spatialisation implies absence of intersection of categorized groups but not the reverse: two non-intersecting groups may co-exist in the same space provided the tight separation line is time. In an office space, management and maintenance teams can work completely separate hours, without time intersection space. Such categories can even be profoundly antagonistic. During the Rwandan genocide in mid-April to mid-May 1994, Hutu people of the Nyamata Hills "worked" every day, precisely from 9 am to 16:30, murdering Tutsi people. On this schedule, the surviving Tutsis hid in another space, marshes, where they took cover under papyrus or sank into the mud. Outside the Hutu "working hours", some Tutsis slept in their homes or in the village school, heading back to the marshes at 5am (Hatzfeld 2000:81,177). The same space thus was constantly crossed by individuals from two strongly opposed groups, but during blocks of time that carefully prevented their intersection. However, the temporal dimension may also create an intersection along a spatial line. At a given time, when a categorical border is drawn in a space, a person can belong to both categories at the same time. Once we add the temporal dimension to space, in accordance with the actual conditions of human life, we see that a person can go from one side of a border to the other, without doing anything. Passing creates, within a human, an intersection between the categories. The intersection of spatially separated borders is to be found in the story of humans who cross these borders.

Humans have both individual and collective history. From the human point of view, belonging to two spatial categories lacking spatial intersection is thus difficult to avoid. Some humans even have several passports from different countries which officially state they belong to several non-intersecting geopolitical spaces. The importance of an exogenous space can also be purely symbolic. A human living on an island likely has a cultural symbolic system organized around sea/continent concepts. Moreover, the most watertight boundaries
are precisely those that create a strong symbolic elsewhere. The limit of the hypothesis (3) could come from real cases where the border is never crossable, even in thought.6

**II.iv. Multiple intersections**

With our typology of borders in hand, it is now important to emphasize that it is not empirically correct to analyse a human in terms of a single border system. A social being is always in tension between multiple borders, crossed by some, bypassed by others, categorizing her as dominant in one criterion and dominated in another. The result of this weaving is very different from that of addition or stacking of unique borders. How borders form between various category boundaries changes their social content, their impact on individuals and therefore the possible strategies of resistance. This brings us to the study of intersectionality, the dimension that is a major academic research field, originating from Anglo-Saxon women's studies (McCall 2005, Phoenix, A. & P. Pattynama 2006 and references therein), and irradiating now well beyond (including Dorlin 2006, 2009, Anthias 2013, among many others). I give here only a few examples extending those mentioned above, emphasizing the different effects of intersectionality.

Borders are designed against each other and are mutually dependent. In the case of geopolitical boundaries, with rare exceptions such as Australia, passports or national identity documents indicate the male/female. A person who crosses gender borders automatically loses her citizenship rights. Similarly, a person switching social class must precisely revise her gender behaviour, because these are coded differently for each social class. The intersections of borders also change their alignment. In Northern European areas with significant low-income economic immigration, a racialized person will likely also suffer social stigma, and categorization as poor. She will suffer discriminations carried out on the basis of both race and social class. In emigration areas such as rural Brittany, where economic relations do not bring in new people, but rather subtracts them, economic immigration is very limited. Rural lack of variation in humans morphology means that someone non-racialized in urban space may become racialized a few kilometres away. Crossing the spatial border of labour pools, an individual can also cross the border of race categorization, which inevitably will redefine her experience of the four areas cut across by these two borders. Similarly, Bohuon (2012) points out that the criteria of what constitutes a "real woman" for sport competition specifically draws from Western culture's femininity. Historically, the suspicions

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6 Such examples could be looked at in the domain of classes and castes (cf. Delphy 2005).
of non-womanhood foisted on athletes heavily targeted athletes from Eastern countries during
the Cold War, next extending to all non-Westerners (Philippines, Brazil, Niger, etc.). The
effects of categorization may also differ in their content. Out of Breton industrial employment
areas, racialized groups consist mostly of children adopted by local middle class families and
doctors and nurses working in hospitals. The attached social stigma is potentially different
than in high-immigration areas, which in turn creates changes in the classist content
associated with the racialisation. In Huelva, Spain, production of winter strawberries is
performed by an imported Moroccan workforce, under the "contracts in origins" negotiated
between the town halls of production locations and Moroccan state. Because Spanish
producers have a gendered representation of Moroccan women as submissive, they restrict
these contracts to women, and because the municipalities have a gendered representation of
parenthood, they first target women with young children in order to ensure they will return to
Morocco. Since producers and institutional actors have an installed colonial representation of
Morocco, they impose conditions of work and, nearly, detention on workers, while enjoying
the moral benefit of the white liberating symbolic position against the supposed more intense
sexism of Moroccan men (Zeneidi 2013). Inside the cramped boundaries of the workplace,
trapped in a scissor-pincher at the intersection of racialisation and gender assignment,
Moroccan workers attempt individual liberation moves. These strategies cannot be understood
without understanding precisely how the colonial and gendered dimensions of their
oppression articulate and modify for them the understanding of Woman and Moroccan
immigrant. The social content of the categorization borders is transformed by the interaction
between the two. Social border intersections logically also affect their resistance strategies.
Living in Barcelona as a white undocumented migrant profoundly changes the experience of
hiding, opening the possibility of invisibility (Ressler & Begg 2014). Some humans
categorized as women in Arab societies are organized in feminist movements and meet
resistance, like any feminist movement. The novelty is that the neo-colonial context of Arab
societies creates a context for the accusation that Arab feminists are colonial in essence,
which profoundly modifies Arab and Islamic feminist strategies of resistance (Ali 2012).
Regardless of the real or fantasized nature of Western collaborations, this accusation is
impossible to refute because only illegitimate beings have to prove their legitimacy. Such
prerequisite, impossible proof marks all struggles at the intersection of multiple borders. In
Northern Europe, the prerequisite imposed on Marxist feminist movements is evidence of
non-betrayal to the class struggle (Delphy, 2002:174). The same presents itself in national
liberation struggles. By the end of 2013 in Brittany, following massive layoffs, a social
movement demonstrated in Quimper and marshalled Breton nationalist slogans claiming the right to live and work in the country. They called themselves "red bonnets" in reference to a seventeenth century Breton struggle to abolish serfdom that was bloodily repressed by the French army. The French press and French social unionists noted the presence of Breton employers at the event and presented a class collaboration charge. Media and union structures tasked with representing the discourse of demonstrators actively made it unintelligible. French national class collaboration for resistance to the German occupation during WWII is highly praised by the same groups, showing they can otherwise easily accommodate class collaboration. Demonstrating workers in Quimper are portrayed by their own social camp like big business puppets, and in the same strategic move, veiled women are successively portrayed as puppets of patriarchy/western world.

From the perspective of power, intersectionality in others favours division between people upon whom power is imposed: "dividing and conquering". From the perspective of an individual combining different dimensions of domination, intersectionality profoundly modifies the apprehension of domination, and possible strategies of resistance.

III. Smugglers

Never are power systems as powerful as when they are invisible or unspeakable. A geopolitical border is not invisible, and we each have a body of knowledge organized around it. Now that we have seen these borders are not fundamentally different from other categorisation lines between humans, and we have a typology of borders articulated in an intersectional framework, we should be able to test this framework in a case study: the complex phenomenon of smuggling. Who are the smugglers of social relationships? Who develops a personal interest in crossing borders? What is the motivation for this activity? What is exchanged and for what price? Can smuggling be a source of political change?

Smuggling arises from supply and demand between groups or individuals on both sides of a border. Smugglers inhabit the dominant classes and develop traffic directed toward a neighbouring dominated category. Popularization of science, popular education theatre, progressive intellectuals or pro-feminist men movements are examples of smuggling where knowledge and practices are passed on from one group to another. The smugglers come mainly from near the border for two reasons: first, populations living near a border of a given class are closer to their target; they are not the privileged lot in their own group. From their
point of view, smuggling activities do not put them at risk of a repression experienced as important. A number of pro-feminist men demonstrate peripheral masculinities that keep them distant from male power centres (Thiers-Vidal, 2010). Second, proximity facilitates smuggling. Near border inhabitants have the necessary intimate knowledge of the terrain to initiate meaningful exchanges with the other side (panel signs, no man's lands, landmine words). The French State is heavily centralized and a human from the capital will struggle to generate any trade interest if using the words "province", "region" or "periphery", terms associated by her interlocutor with denial of identity and symbolic takeover. The lower-middle class is adjacent to the peasant or working class, and logically provides large numbers of political activists directed toward these classes. In countries where universities have moderate registration fees and low wages, university executives, scientists and the so-called intellectual class populations are significantly more oriented towards popular classes. In contrast, the North American system organizes the debts of its students, who will repay them by purchasing very high academic salaries, which in turn ensures distance between academics and average-wage non-academics, consequently reducing the conditions of smuggling possibilities, among which the diffusion of their scholarship through the population. The proximity necessary for smuggling can also come from friendships or love, solidarity bonds, common resistance experience at another border, or family ties (when the youngest explains the Internet to grandpa). Proximity is necessary but not sufficient: social workers or bailiffs are not inherent smugglers. Various smuggling techniques allow smugglers to loosen the links between two terms of trade: in coastal marine settings, recipients recover the goods on the beach or over the water. The content of books, films and songs can be analysed in these terms, which poses scientists and artists as good potential smugglers. The smuggler does not always know the nature of what is exchanged: she can believe she sells forbidden goods when really people just want a glimpse of life on the other side of the border. There are different trading currencies. Chomsky (1967, 2002) for example poses that there is a moral responsibility for intellectuals to use their analytic tools to uncover the actions of the State and reveal it to the people. In these terms, the smuggler is paid in moral value, which is itself subject to cyclical inflation or deflation. As every worker conscious of her interests, a smuggler can recycle when she finds better sources of income, or greater job/status security. Reorientation of the French leftist intellectuals from 1968 to 1981 toward the right wing and anti-revolutionary values is concomitant with the Socialist Party integrating them into power enrichment systems. They abandoned radical political struggle and its moral value payments for income raise and security.
Does this mean betrayal is inherent to smuggling? Smuggling is doubly linked to the concept of borders in contradictory ways, both against and for the border. On the one hand, smuggling opposes the border. It creates exchanges precisely where they are banned. Having personal, political and/or emotional reasons against the establishment of the border facilitates smuggling. On the other hand, the border is the very thing that makes smuggling possible. Smugglers develop a personal interest in its preservation. Having personal, political and/or emotional reasons for the preservation of the border also facilitates smuggling. This paradox embodies perfectly the revolutionary paradox: one wants a border to disappear, but it implies wanting one's own disappearance (or individual transformation). It concretely means wanting to lose the conditions of possibility of the installed exchange, and lose the benefits drawn from them. Smuggling reaps the benefits of an unequal relationship. A person who can cross the border exchanges precisely with people who can't. From the smuggler's point of view, growing in this relationship means finding moral benefits in always having the place of offer in the exchange, an insurance to interact with people she is not equal with. Potential disappearance of the border would make equality possible and radically redefine the terms of the trade, plausibly by removing its necessity. What then of individuals specialized in smuggling? Thiers-Vidal (2010, 2013) has superbly pointed out these contradictions in his analysis of pro-feminist men's groups. Scientists-as-smugglers face the same problem. In progressive academic representation, science decrypts the world and its results are used by democratic human governments for the good of all. However, the most rewarding works for scientists are either those written in a dominant language and published in books with prohibitive prices inaccessible to citizens, or those that sell well to large industries whose work is most detached from common good. A given society might wonder what alternative political reward systems could be put in place to ensure a massive smuggling of scientific knowledge toward the population.

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