Introduction. Excluding Diversity Through Intersectional Borderings

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Introduction. Excluding Diversity Through Intersectional Borderings

Abstract This edited volume 'Excluding Diversity Through Intersectional Borderings: Politics, Policies and Daily Lives' critically examines the interplay between anti-migrant and anti-gender discourses and policies in Europe and North America, elucidating their convergence and divergence in targeting migrants and their families. The analysis foregrounds the normative constructions of family, gender, and sexuality that underpin these exclusionary political narratives and policies. Central to the analysis is Cassidy et al.'s (2018) concept of intersectional borderings, which articulates the reproduction of complex experiences at the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, and sexuality. The book contributes to the burgeoning scholarship on the governance and exclusion of migrant families by scrutinising how bordering processes are constructed through exclusions based on race, gender, and sexuality. It demonstrates the perpetuation of these processes by radical-right and conservative political movements, as well as their institutionalisation in migration, welfare, and family policies. Furthermore, it investigates the dual nature of these exclusionary discourses and policies, considering both the resistance and reinforcement by the 'audiences' of such discourses and those affected by them in their daily lives. This chapter outlines the key concepts and themes of the volume, underscores its contribution to the analysis of exclusion processes, and provides an overview of the nine chapters of the book.

It is 2017. The International Organisation for the Family (IOF) is holding its 11th World Congress of Families (WCF) in Budapest. The Congress is opened by the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán, who refers to 'besieged Europe' and brings up 'the continuing cultural conflict between immigrants and the continent's indigenous inhabitants'. Orbán announces Central Europe's and Hungary's opposition to addressing 'Europe's demographic problems through immigration' and pronounces that the 'family is at the centre of the Hungarian government's vision of the future…the restoration of natural reproduction is…the national cause. And it is also … the European cause' (Opening Speech at the 2nd Budapest World Congress of Families, 25 May 2017).

It is 2020. VOX, a Spanish radical right-wing party, achieved its largest electoral success to date the year before and entered the lower house of the Spanish Parliament, the Congress of Deputies. Now, a VOX representative articulates his party's defence of family against the left-wing parties:

> We have a State that invests more in death than in life and thus, of course, with a birth rate that is lower than replacement-level, along with the 2.5 million unborn children since 1985, which would have greatly alleviated this lack of generational replacement…. But you don't just want to abolish the family, ladies and gentlemen, you clearly want to abolish the family, by abolishing women. (Parliamentary Record of the Congress of Deputies, 18th February 2020, quoted in Fernández Suárez, in this volume)

It is 2017. The French presidential campaign is rolling. And the far-right party 'Rassemblement National' led by Marine Le Pen issues a policy aimed to 'fight against Islamism which reduces women's fundamental rights' (Rassemblement National, 2016). In a twist to legitimate their fight against immigration, and while predominantly voting against policies that favour gender equality, all of the sudden, Rassemblement National is using feminist slogans (see Van Oost et al., in this volume).

These three vignettes highlight the extent to which increasingly varied political groups are deliberately *excluding diversity*. Diversity of ethnic/racialised citizens in a given nation is excluded in an anti-migration expression. Simultaneously, the diversity of sexualities and rights supporting people's body integrity is excluded in an anti-gender/anti-feminist expression. Symbolic walls are built to establish and protect what is seen as 'us' from an imagined threatening 'them'. And while these are erected in the pursuit of specific political ambitions, they produce concrete exclusionary experiences for many people. These vignettes, related to cases presented in this book (Koch, this volume; Fernández Suárez, this volume; Van Oost et al., in this volume), are among many examples of processes that centre the traditional or 'natural' *family,* consisting of (white, Christian, heterosexual) mother and father with children, in mobilisations against immigration and gender/sexuality rights (primarily, reproductive and LGBTQ+ rights). Paradoxically, the third vignette also shows that feminist claims are selectively used to reinforce exclusionary claims targeting racialised migrant groups – such as the protection of women from sexual harassment allegedly perpetrated by immigrants.

This edited volume focuses on how anti-migrant and anti-gender discourses and policies diverge, converge, and sometimes merge to target and exclude migrants and their families in Europe and North America. In particular, we examine how specific normative constructions of family, gender, and sexuality underlie anti-migrant political and policy narratives, and how the political discourses and policies they generate are experienced, negotiated, and resisted by migrants and their family members. To this end, central to this book is Cassidy et al.'s (2018) approach of *intersectional borderings* that are (re)produced in the interaction/dialogue between different complex experiences (at the intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, and sexuality), which can be observed in political discourses and policies, and everyday social life.

Intersectional Borderings at Two Levels of Analysis

Bordering consists of the attempt to erase territorial ambiguities and ambivalent identities and thus form a unique and cohesive order, while (re)producing differences in space and identity (Van Houtum & Lagendijk, 2001). This process of (b)ordering/othering, of demarcating an 'us' versus a 'them', is crucial to understanding our everyday contemporary lives. It plays out not only at national borders but also within societies, at an everyday level, through exclusionary discourses and practices (Amilhat-Szary & Giraut, 2015; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013; Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). For Yuval-Davis et al. (2019, p. 5), 'bordering constitutes a principal organising mechanism in constructing, maintaining and controlling social and political order', and affects societies as a whole. Intersectional bordering invites us to consider social exclusion at the intersection of individual migration status, national origin or race, gender, and sexuality (or any other characteristic rendering them (un)desirable to a particular society or migration regime). These markers of differentiation are not approached as individual 'properties', but as cultural logics of exclusion that serve as the basis for evaluations of (non-)belonging.

In this volume, we focus our analysis on the exclusion of diversity through the activation of a variety of bordering processes. In particular, we highlight how normative (racialised) constructions of family, gender, and sexuality are used to draw boundaries against specific groups of migrants and sexual minorities. For this purpose, the chapters of this volume analyse bordering discourses, policies, and processes, and how these are experienced and resisted in everyday practices. We believe such an approach responds to Cassidy et al.'s (2018) call for intersectional perspectives on bordering processes, and for firmly connecting this framework to the politics and politicisation of intimacy (Pain & Staeheli, 2014). They stress:

> Borderings are […] conceptualised as practices that are situated and constituted in the specificity of political negotiations as well as the everyday life performance of them, being shifting and contested between individuals and groupings as well as in the constructions of individual subjectivities (2018, p. 139).

Mobile, portable, and more or less tangible boundaries are generated by political discourses, policy implementation (Parker & Vaughan-Williams, 2012), and exclusionary mobilisations that target minorities along racialised, gendered, and sexualised lines. These boundaries operate by 'intersectionally racialising and sex-gendering target populations according to emerging and historical stereotypes' (Mai et al., 2021:1608). In particular, the family represents a key site for the (re) production of the nation-state and has increasingly become the target of rising populist discourses and policies, often in conjunction with racist and anti-immigrant stances (Grzebalska & Pető, 2018; Waterbury, 2020).

This book contributes to the emerging literature on the governance – and exclusion – of migrant families and their intimacies through bordering processes (Turner, 2020; Wemyss et al., 2018; Bonizzoni, 2018). It does so by providing an analysis of bordering processes as they are constructed at the intersection of race, gender, and/or sexuality-based exclusions, and it shows how these are *(1)* (re)produced in the

political discourse and practices of the radical-right and conservative political movements *and* institutionalised in migration, welfare, and family policies (section 1 of this Volume, which adopts a from-above lens); and *(2)* (re)produced and/or resisted by both the 'audiences' of such exclusionary bordering discourses and policies, and those affected by them in their everyday lives (section 2 of this Volume, which adopts a from-below level of analysis).

In terms of political discourses, 'protecting the (traditional) family' is one of the most consistent political frameworks of the anti-gender movement in all its different campaigns and configurations (Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017a; Graff & Korolczuk, 2022). Such a stance on the family also fits easily into the discourse of the (national) demographic crises often articulated by the right-wing populists (Hellström et al., 2020). We see this, for example, in discourses on the so-called 'great replacement' which target migrants as a demographic threat to host societies (Ahmed & Pisoiu, 2021; Varga & Buzogány, 2022). Such framing then extends into the realm of political demands and campaigns. These can range from familialistic policies that seek popular support by extending special assistance to traditional heterosexual families with children (Graff & Korolczuk, 2022), to welfare chauvinist policies that prevent access to any such assistance to immigrants. These policies are supported in different contexts by both heteronationalistic and homonationalistic arguments[1] (Hellström et al., 2020; see also in this Volume: Blum, this volume; Safuta, this volume; Fernández Suárez, this volume and Díaz de León and Yrizar Barbosa, this volume).

Furthermore, unlike many other approaches to these issues, this volume does not limit its analysis to a top-down analysis of bordering. Bordering is a dynamic process that is reproduced or deconstructed in the interaction and at the intersection of both political and everyday practices. Indeed, as highlighted by Yuval-Davis, intersectional bordering is:

> by nature, a multilevel process that takes place, for example, at the level of high politics, manifested by physical [and intangible] borders [It] is the embedding of everyday border-crossing experience and issues of family, gender, sexuality. (2013, p. 10)

Working with a bottom-up lens, we also examine the individual experiences, negotiations, and resistances of those (and their families) who are targets of exclusion. Here we highlight everyday practices as a level at which resistance also takes place (Hanafi, 2015; Scott, 1990), through negotiating, pushing, or reframing the boundaries of intersectional borderings in one's everyday life and intimacy (Brainer, this volume; Vuckovic Juros, this volume; Busse & Montes, this volume). Equally, we show how the level of everyday practices is also the one at which resistance sometimes do not occur. This is not because 'audiences' are passive consumers of top-down messages, but rather because such messages can sometimes be

[1] Heteronationalism is defined as 'heteronormative nationalism that relies on the exclusion of homosexuals from the nation' (Slootmaeckers, 2019, p. 241) and homonationalism as the 'use of "acceptance" and "tolerance" for gay and lesbian subjects as the barometer by which the legitimacy of, and the capacity for national sovereignty is evaluated' (Puar, 2015, p. 320).

reproduced or adapted to meet the particular needs of people (see the work on cultural reception, e.g. Griswold, 1987, 1994; Schudson, 1989).

Bridging two levels of analysis highlights the importance of analysing responses to exclusionary discourses. While scholars have emphasised the value of countering exclusion with oppositional mobilisations and resistances (e.g. Hellström et al., 2020; Graff & Korolczuk, 2022), the focus of existing approaches has remained at the level of politics, civil society, and social movements. We emphasise that resistance, like bordering, takes place at different levels of everyday social life. Indeed, we do not limit the definition of resistance to public and organised forms of opposition, such as social movements or contentious politics (Tarrow, 1998). While such forms of organised resistance are extremely important and need to be disentangled analytically—and we do include one such case in this book (Busse & Montes, in this volume)—our focus is on the everyday experiences of and responses to bordering, whatever form they take.

This is all the more important because, as Murru and Polese (2020) point out, resistance is practised by all categories of people who challenge power relations along a wide spectrum of ideological beliefs—for example, a neo-Nazi group protesting against migration policies is also resisting a progressive worldview that they reject. Following recent scholarship that emphasises the importance and centrality of migrants' points of view and knowledge (Pezzani & Heller, 2013), autonomy (Mezzadra, 2010), and resistance (Stierl, 2018), it is analytically crucial not to think of migrants—and other marginalised minorities—as merely passive victims of a system that oppresses and excludes them. On the contrary, it is essential to explore—and thus bring to the surface—how migrants and their families actively respond to these power relations. Aligning with new developments in Resistance Studies calling for a more complex understanding of resistances, it is essential to illuminate individual experiences of resistance as situated within complex bordering practices (Lilja, 2022; Murru & Polese, 2020).

Within this framework, we include in this book contributions that build on the literature on anti-migrant mobilisations and the exclusion of migrants, highlighting how normative constructions of family, gender, and sexuality are used to draw boundaries against specific groups of migrants, and how these groups negotiate and resist such borderings. We also include contributions grounded in the literature on gender and sexuality-based exclusions and anti-gender mobilisations, which similarly highlight how racialised constructions are often used to draw boundaries against sexual minorities, and how these are experienced by migrants and their families in their everyday lives. Finally, we juxtapose the level of bordering through exclusionary discourses and policies with the level of everyday practices, experiences, and resistances of bordering. By doing so, we aim to disentangle how anti-gender and anti-migrant mobilisations merge at these levels.

Family in the Crosshairs: Excluding Diversity Within the Crisis of Liberal Democracy

Exclusions along migration, gender, and sexuality lines are deeply embedded in a global context of austerity and liberal capitalism. This context has proven fertile ground for populist mobilisations, drawing on convenient 'scapegoats' or 'enemy figures'—whether Muslim migrants or LGBTQ+ minorities—to create new societal polarisations (Kováts, 2017; Grzebalska & Pető, 2018; Dietze & Roth, 2020a). Once hailed as triumphant, the (liberal) democratic model is now cracking all over the world. These cracks are often produced by ordinary citizens who feel increasingly disenfranchised and made vulnerable by the global neo-liberal project, rather than empowered and prosperous. Their fears and insecurities are exploited by various populist actors who often use conventional means of protest within liberal democracies (such as petitions, referendums, or marches) to achieve non-democratic ends, from obstructing or rolling back gains in gender and sexual equality to threatening any attempt to achieve racial justice and secure migrants' rights.

This broader social context underscores both the rise of the populist right and the new empowerment of religious-conservative political actors. The former mobilises citizens by specifically targeting immigrants (Delanty, Wodak, & Jones, 2011; Lazaridis, 2016; Hawley, 2017), while the latter increasingly mobilise citizens to restrict or roll back various gender and sexuality rights (Grzebalska & Pető, 2018; Kováts, 2018; Roth et al., 2022; Graff & Korolczuk, 2022). It is therefore not surprising that these two very different groups of populist actors often form pragmatic alliances (Kováts & Põim, 2015; Korolczuk, 2020), both nationally and transnationally, and share many general mobilisational and discursive strategies. Foremost among these is a specific construct of 'family', which can be imbued with different meanings for different political agendas: from 'protecting' white Christian family from Muslim immigrants, to 'protecting' children and their parents from sexual deviants and gender 'ideologues'.

Right-wing populist actors, whether those entering mainstream politics from the fringes, like VOX, or those leading their countries into illiberal transitions, like Orbán, attract public attention because they have exposed the failures of the liberal democratic model. However, new right-wing populist rhetorical strategies putting the protection of the 'traditional' family in the spotlight owe much to earlier wave of religious-conservative mobilisations against gender and sexuality rights that took place in Europe and elsewhere since the mid- and late-2000s (Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017b; Corrêa, 2021). Religious-conservative actors learnt from the populist playbook and innovated mobilisational and discursive strategies. Notably, they have pitted 'the people' against 'corrupt elites' and presented themselves as democratic defenders of 'the people', i.e. the (Christian) majority (Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017a; Graff & Korolczuk, 2022). This populist and pseudo-democratic discursive shift proved crucial to the successes of their recent campaigns.

The largest such mobilisations were against same-sex marriage; others expanded public concerns to broader issues, including sex education, abortion, and gender in general – the so-called 'gender ideology' (Paternotte & Kuhar, 2018). This resonated with the right-wing populists who frequently centre their ideologies around heteronormative patriarchal values (Graff & Korolczuk, 2022). Many of these, such as the *League* (*Lega*) in Italy, were already vocal in targeting gender and sexual minorities. With religious-conservative movements popularising anti-gender claims, right-wing populists could more easily use these alongside a strong anti-migrant agenda as a strategy to enter mainstream politics and expand their appeal to voters (Dietze & Roth, 2020a; Hellström et al., 2020). Across these agendas, so-called 'gender ideology' has proven a powerful 'symbolic glue' (Kováts & Põim, 2015) connecting right-wing populist and religious-conservative actors. Specifically, the content made more widely salient by religious-conservative campaigns—concerns about gender, sexuality, and the family—became more easily attachable to the right-wing's 'thin' ideology (Mudde, 2004). This creates fertile ground for 'opportunistic synergies' (Graff & Korolczuk, 2022).

Such more or less temporary alliances between these two groups of actors operate at both national and transnational levels (Kováts, 2018; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2018). Indeed, although many empirical studies on both right-wing populism and anti-gender campaigns focus on national cases (e.g. De la Torre, 2019; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017c; Dietze & Roth, 2020b), several analyses also specifically acknowledge that the patterns described above are a product of transnational networks and alliances that transmit ideas and discursive strategies across and beyond national borders (e.g. Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017a). Furthermore, a growing number of studies explore the transnational dynamics linking and fusing mobilisations which target racialised groups of migrants, as well as sexual and gender minorities (Stoeckl, 2020; Cupać & Ebetürk, 2020; Trappolin, 2022; Kalm & Meeuwisse, 2023; Velasco, 2023), including Koch's contribution to this volume.

Although this book's studies were all undertaken before the COVID-19 pandemic, this sanitary crisis and the (ongoing as we write) war in Ukraine have made all these issues even more prominent. On the one hand, they have reduced the credibility and legitimacy of many of these semi/nondemocratic formations, whose political success was built on long years of fervently exclusionary political discourses and policies (Bieber, 2022). This is even more the case for those parties with strong past and present ties to Putin's regime in Russia (Carlotti, 2023). The pandemic and the war also exacerbated and exposed discriminatory policies operating in Europe, such as the different media and political treatment of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian asylum seekers, and the dramatic consequences that discrimination can have on minorities and vulnerable populations (Domingues, 2020). In other words, they made the limits and dangers of 'populism(s)' (more) visible to the general public.

On the other hand, both the COVID crisis and the economic consequences of the war in Ukraine also contributed to increasing precariousness and thus social frustration across several strata of society. Similarly, the extreme politicisation of the ways

in which governments have dealt and are dealing with the pandemic and the war in Ukraine has further exacerbated inequalities and arguably contributed to the polarisation of societies in the so-called 'liberal West' (Allam et al., 2022). As resentment, political discontent and unrest grow, there is a risk of an upsurge in even more aggressive political campaigns and mobilisations. There is, therefore, an urgent need to deconstruct the workings of exclusionary political mobilisations and analyse both how they unfold at national and inter/transnational levels (Pleyers, 2020) and how this impacts everyday practices, experiences of exclusions of diversity, and practices of resistances.

Chapter Overview

With our intersectional borderings approach, we highlight how new social polarisations are created across dimensions of gender, sexuality, race, and/or national origin in different regional contexts—i.e., Europe and North America. We adopt a multidisciplinary perspective, drawing on different conceptual and methodological approaches from sociology, political science, social psychology, and social policy. The chapters mobilise a variety of theoretical frameworks, systematically highlighting their contribution to intersectional borderings in their introduction and/or conclusions. Reflecting the comparative scope of the issue, both the from-above and from-below parts of the volume are nourished by various case studies. This allows us to make sense of the interconnections of discourses and policies and how they are dealt with in everyday social life within what are normally understood as the bastion of (Western) liberal democracies – i.e., Europe and North America. While the geographic scope of our empirical cases is limited, we attempt to present varied perspectives, including EU member states from Western Europe (Germany), Southern Europe (Spain), and Central Eastern Europe (Poland). In North America, as well as the USA, we include the borderlands between the USA and Mexico. Furthermore, several chapters in this book approach their topic from a comparative perspective and, in one case, provide a specifically transnational analysis. Keeping in mind the transnational dynamics of anti-migrant and anti-gender mobilisations, the aim of such an approach is not only to reveal similarities and differences between the strategies of exclusionary political forces operating in different national and regional contexts, but also to identify the common transatlantic (and global) underlying intersectional logics of what are often presented as national(ist) mobilisations.

By presenting and discussing cases from North America and Europe, the book is structured around two different lenses that we bring together to reflect on the parallels, intersections, and implications of these contemporary forms of intersectional borderings. In Part I, we use the from-above lens, focusing on borderings in discourses and policy narratives, and the actual policies that emerge at the intersections of anti-migrant and anti-gender mobilisations. In Part II, we shift to the from-below lens of people dealing with such discourses and policies, examining how they experience—and adapt or resist—such borderings in their everyday lives. While each

chapter stands on its own, the various contributions to this book also generate a comparative dialogue about the normative constructions of family, gender, and sexuality, and seek to contribute a multifaceted analysis of contemporary forms of intersectional borderings.

Part I: Intersectional Borderings Across Political Discourses, Policy Narratives, and Actual Policies

The volume begins with an analysis of key patterns in political discourses and policy narratives that serve to (re)produce multiple forms of intersectional borderings. Importantly, in addition to discussing a number of European cases, we also include a study from across the Atlantic Ocean, in the USA—and the country's southern border with Mexico. Alongside these national cases, we also analyse how anti-gender and anti-migrant mobilisations, which are strongly rooted in nativist and nationalist narratives, now also *de facto* operate and organise transnationally. The section combines contributions from political science and sociology.

The first chapter in this section, by Sonja Blum, provides a conceptual framework for identifying the multiple entanglements between anti-gender and anti-migrant exclusionary narratives advanced by populist right wing parties. In particular, the author focuses on the discursive (re)production of a highly contested policy area—the reform of family policy—in Germany. With the aim of broadening and deepening the conceptualisation of what is commonly known as 'welfare chauvinism', Blum complements existing studies on racialised migrant groups by also considering the intersection with exclusionary narratives targeting gender and sexual minorities. Through qualitative analysis, the chapter reveals how the modernisation of German family policy, its (populist) protesters, and the family policy agenda of the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) have served to construct different typologies of undeserving 'others' to be excluded from access to social policies. Thus, the author argues for the centrality of analysing policy narratives in order to identify how intersectional borderings can be mobilised within a European liberal democratic system.

The book continues with the chapter by Belén Fernández Suárez, which focuses on Spain and the relatively new political formation VOX. The chapter examines this party of the European radical right and its core political discourses and positions by analysing official documents (e.g., electoral programmes of the party manifesto) and parliamentary debates on migration on the one hand, and gender-related issues and LGBTQ+ rights on the other. By unravelling the convergences, divergences, and overlaps between the party's positions on these distinct, but intertwined issues, the author outlines how attacks on gender equality are primarily supported by mobilising a strong narrative centred on the traditional family model. Migration, on the other hand, is opposed on the basis of a nationalist, exclusionary vision—i.e., rights only for the nationals. The author highlights how, somewhat contradictorily, VOX also mobilises a narrative of defence of gender equality to oppose the arrival

of racialised migrant groups—who are thus projected in public discourse as carriers of traditional gender roles. As such, Fernández Suárez effectively shows us how borderings operate at the intersection of gender, race, and sexuality, through the use of varied—and sometimes mutually contradictory—political narratives.

Shifting the focus from policy narratives to policy design and implementation, the next chapter by Anna Safuta focuses on a well-researched country for the growing body of studies on illiberal populism. The author focuses on Poland in an innovative way, examining welfare and immigration policies together. Both policy domains remain central to the (re)production of illiberal populist parties' authority and their electoral success in the country. Based on interviews with experts and an analysis of official policy documents, the author problematises taken-for-granted views which oppose so-called 'liberal democratic' and 'illiberal populist' parties when it comes to policies regulating the availability of and access to social services. In fact, somewhat surprisingly, there seems to be much continuity between the policies introduced by these two types of political parties, while what changes is the intensity of restrictions and exclusions. As Safuta shows, going beyond political discourses to examine actual policies helps to show how, in the Polish case, the illiberal populist forces governing the country do not produce significant policy changes in welfare and migration policies these areas. On the contrary, familialism and racism were already central to policies in these areas introduced by the parties that governed the country before what is commonly known as 'the illiberal turn'. Linking this analysis to the concept of intersectional borderings, the author introduces the concept of 'nationalist familialism' as opposed to 'market familialism' to complement typologies of welfare regimes and identify key continuities and ruptures between liberal and illiberal modes of (re)producing inclusion and exclusion.

With the fourth chapter, the book moves away from Europe and across the Atlantic, exploring the highly controversial 'Zero Tolerance Policy' of the Trump's administration. Here, Alejandra Díaz de Léon and Guillermo Yrizar Barbosa focus on the systematic separation of families implemented at the Mexican border in 2018. The authors first contextualise the Zero Tolerance Policy within the long history of attempts by successive US administrations to build deterrence at and across the border in Mexico and the rest of Central and South America. They then go on to analyse the timeline and implementation of the Zero Tolerance Policy. Coupled with this policy-centred analysis is an examination of the discourses mobilised by the administration to justify its decisions. The authors thus show how the authorities shifted narratives on a daily basis in response to mounting contestations from the media, civil society, and the rest of the political spectrum. By offering such a detailed and multi-layered analysis, and linking it to current work on intersectional borderings, the authors show how the implementation of the policy and the public discourses that the administration mobilised to support it served to (re)produce migrant families as racialised criminal 'others'.

This section concludes with a transnational perspective. Focusing on the International Organisation for the Family, Timo Koch examines the ways in which religious and conservative far-right organisations strategically mobilise heteronormative understandings of the so-called 'traditional family' to promote exclusionary

policies—including those targeting racialised migrant minorities. More specifically, the author unravels the workings of the Organisation for the Family in four different countries—Moldova, Russia, Germany, and Hungary—as well as transnationally, in order to identify its key modes of operation. By forming identities, sharing resources and adopting the same mobilisation strategies, this umbrella organisation is able to transcend national boundaries and engage in collective activism in different protest and electoral settings. The Organisation for the Family thus strengthens the transnational coalition building and, with it, the global (re)production of intersectional borderings.

Part 2: Experiencing, Practicing, and Resisting Everyday Intersectional Borderings

In line with our broader approach of exploring everyday experiences of and resistances to intersectional borderings, in Part II we use our from-below lens to bring in the often-neglected perspective of people who deal with exclusionary politics and discourses in their everyday lives, either as their targets or as their intended audiences, drawing especially on anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

It begins with the chapter by Pascaline Van Oost, Olivier Klein, and Vincent Yzerbyt on the use of anti-sexism discourse to justify individual anti-migrant and anti-Muslim views. Unlike other chapters in this collection, this is not an empirical study but an analysis that draws on the results of various social psychological studies in Europe and the USA to examine how ordinary people—the audiences of politicians and political movements—can simultaneously hold tolerant views and express prejudice against religious, racial and gender minorities. This chapter therefore provides a transition from the discourses and narratives presented in Part I to a different lens in Part II, where we look at the lived experiences of these discourses and narratives—which explains why we placed it at the beginning of this second section of the volume. Specifically, after looking at political discourses that mobilise feminist narratives to justify anti-immigration claims, Van Oost et al. explore what happens at the individual level: how and why these conflicting ideas are adopted and reproduced by the audiences of such discourses, and how do people cope with adopting publicly condemned prejudices, discriminations, and racist views. Mobilising social psychological concepts such as ‘modern racism’ and the ‘malleability of ideologies’, they explore the possibility that people rely on egalitarian ideologies (such as anti-sexism) as a justification, or virtuous validation, for expressing prejudice (in this case, linked to anti-immigration attitudes). They do so by bringing into dialogue similar patterns of malleability of other ideologies, namely colour-blindness, freedom of speech, liberty, diversity, and secularism, which are used to create an ‘us’ in confrontation with a ‘them’. With this contribution, Van Oost et al. provide a new understanding of bordering processes from the perspective of social psychology.

In chapter seven, Amy Brainer's study of queer marriage migration to the USA illuminates a pervasive systemic influence of exclusionary policies on migrants' lives and families. Drawing on data from in-depth interviews, online forums and migrants' and couples' videos, short films, and memories, she describes how LGBTQ+ and same-sex couples develop their relationships and navigate the presentation of these relationships within gendered, racialized, and classed borderings of the US immigration policy. Importantly, immigration officials' assessments of what constitutes a 'bona fide' marriage can grant certain immigrants the right to enter the USA via their fiancé or spouse. Brainer poignantly highlights the financial, personal, and relational costs that such intersectional policy and normative borderings inflict upon queer migrant families. However, her simultaneous exploration of migrants' mixed feelings towards the USA as an attractive destination for migration and the pressure to conform to (homo)normative relational structures also sharpens the often neglected focus on everyday resistance to such borderings.

In the penultimate chapter of this volume, Tanja Vuckovic Juros remains in the area of queer migration and families, but interestingly looks at how 'the stayers' are affected by exclusionary discourses and policies. In her case, 'the stayers' are the Central Eastern European parents of LGB migrants. While LGB people moved to countries with more inclusive LGBT policies, their parents remained in contexts where national belonging is framed in heteronormative terms. For these parents, everyday bordering thus happens along the line, or the frame, of national belonging. Vuckovic Juros analyses how parents navigate a double positionality of caring for their LGB migrant children (and in some cases, grandchildren) living abroad, and the tensions and hostilities that come with living in a context of state-sponsored homophobia. In doing so, her study highlights the macro structures that discursively border against non-heterosexual national belonging, particularly nurtured in the context of anti-gender mobilisations.

Our volume concludes with the chapter by Erica Busse and Veronica Montes, which also shows the high cost of exclusionary policies and discourses for migrants and their families. It highlights resistance to such borderings and analyses how such resistance has developed into a social movement. Busse and Montes' chapter focuses on a specific form of anti-migration discourse and its consequences: anti-deportation. They start from the everyday experiences of a group of migrant mothers who have been deported from the USA and live in Tijuana near the US-Mexico border. Looking at three specific 'maternal acts of public disclosure' (Orozco Mendoza, 2019)—vigils at the border, turning weddings into political statements, and occupying space in the media—the authors observe how these women embody and make visible their intersectional identities as deportees and as mothers. Deportation is usually associated with crime and danger, while motherhood is highly valued and protected in society. The deported mothers have ambiguous and conflicting identities, but these identities are used to promote their struggle for recognition, rights, and dignity. They oppose anti-migrant policies and discourses by engaging in resistance at both the individual and collective movement levels. Busse and Montes analyse this form of resistance, following Sørensen's (2016) framework.

Excluding Diversity by Erasing Intersectional Experiences of Family and Intimacy

This volume stems from a conference which we organised to bring together scholars whose work centred on analyses of anti-migrant and anti-gender mobilisations, and how these are reproduced, resisted, and experienced in society. Our overarching scope was to explore the main convergences, divergences, contradictions and intersections between these two exclusionary tendencies, and to discuss possible strategies to counter them. If originally we did not consider combining contributions under the intersectional bordering analytical lens, we soon realised that the different chapters composing this collection in fact offer a unique entry to the concept developed by Cassidy et al. (2018). By engaging simultaneously with political discourses, policies, their implementation, and how they are performed and/or resisted, the contributions to this book in fact make visible how central the construction and mobilisation of the 'proper' and/or the 'deserving' family is for the (re)production of intersectional borderings. Intersectional borderings allow us to engage with inclusion and exclusion by exposing the ubiquity of borders. In/Tangible and mobile lines of separation structure macro national and international politics, and shape the intimate lives of individuals and their families.

As shown through the different cases analysed in this volume, 'family norms are crucial to the drawing of national, cultural, and racialised boundaries' (Welfens & Bonjour, 2021, p. 215). These constructed boundaries are, in turn, fed back into the policies, discourse, and values on 'family', often by drawing further on gender, sexual, and racial hierarchies (Turner, 2020). Therefore, to investigate the working of intersectional borderings from a family perspective exposes how 'othering' and exclusion (Bonjour & Kraler, 2015) are distributed in society along the axes of race, gender, and sexuality—but also class (Powell, 2020). Studying intersectional borderings through a variety of societies and different categories of migrants (including white, middle-upper class) allows us to deepen and expand our understanding of how intersectional borderings operate strategically, by deflecting attention from their own logics of differentiation.

As seen from the discussion of the different cases examined through the from-above lens in this volume, the exclusionary political discourses, policies, and mobilisations which centre around the family attempt to erase intersectionality and the operation of multiple forms of intersectional discriminations. This projects the image of a certain type of family as 'the family'. This specific 'type' can be adjusted as needed, as seen, for instance, from the use of both heteronationalistic and homonationalistic narratives for similar types of exclusions. But, as a rule, 'undesirables' (be that migrant and/or other types of 'undesirables', such as gender and sexual minorities) are left out of 'the family' or labelled as a threat to it—and consequently a threat to the reproduction of the nation (Gottfried, 2008). This hinders social empathy (Segal, 2018) and, with it, intra-group solidarity and the possibility of building shared strategies of resistance (Santos, 2020).

However, the cases examined through the from-below lens demonstrate that it is precisely in these lived, embodied intersectional experiences that multiple forms of resistance lie. Private, individual questionings of 'the family' in the face of the diversity and complexities of one's own families and experiences, and strategic mobilisations of one's intersectional experiences to challenge the exclusionary political discourse, policies, and practices, build on an *intersectional consciousness* (Greenwood, 2008; Doetsch-Kidder, 2012; Tormos, 2017) to negotiate and deconstruct intersectional borderings. Intersectional consciousness refers to 'people's awareness of privileges and disadvantages associated with multiple intersecting identities that shape their experiences' (Nair & Vollhardt, 2020, p. 995), and contrasts with singular consciousness, which involves 'giving primacy to the impact of the shared social identity, thereby overlooking differences stemming from other intersecting identities' (Nair & Vollhardt, 2019: 995; building on Greenwood, 2008).

The mechanism of intersectional borderings rests strongly on the erasure of intersectionality, the suppression of intersectional consciousness, and the promotion of singular consciousness. Both our from-above and from-below lenses therefore highlight that intersectional consciousness thus appears in itself as a form of resistance. Intersectional consciousness can therefore help to expose the exclusionary logics of populist anti-migrant and anti-gender discourses, policies and mobilisations. It can be used to dismantle the borders constructed against migrants and their families across race, gender, and sexuality. This deeper understanding that the erasure of intersectionality is not only one of the ways in which intersectional borderings work, but rather its core principle, is one of the main propositions of this volume, made clear precisely by juxtaposing the from-above and the from-below levels of analysis.

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