The spatialities of contentious politics

Helga Leitner,* Eric Sheppard* and Kristin M. Sziarto†

The question of how space matters to the mobilisation, practices and trajectories of contentious politics has frequently been represented as a politics of scale. Others have focused on place and networks as key spatialities of contentious politics. Yet there are multiple spatialities – scale, place, networks, positionality and mobility – that are implicated in and shape contentious politics. No one of these should be privileged: in practice, participants in contentious politics frequently draw on several at once. It is thus important to consider all of them and the complex ways in which they are co-implicated with one another, with unexpected consequences for contentious politics. This co-implication in practice, and its impact on social movements, is illustrated with the Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride in the United States.

key words contentious politics social movements spatialities immigrant rights activism

*Department of Geography, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455, USA
email: eqj6139@umn.edu
†Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI 53211, USA

Introduction

The last 15 years have seen a flourishing of scholarship in and beyond geography that has interrogated the spatiality of social movements. This research has challenged social movements theorists to incorporate spatiality into their conceptualisations of social movements (cf. Miller 2000; Sewell Jr 2001; Martin and Miller 2003). This has been complemented by a flurry of case studies of resistance and activism around such topics as environmental justice, immigrant rights, neoliberalism and globalisation, animated by geographers' steadily increasing interest in activist scholarship and the spatiality of all forms of politics. More generally, there is much interest in how social norms, most notably neoliberalism, can be subject to (and possibly shaped by) contestations of all kinds (Leitner et al. 2007). The subject matter of this paper takes up a subset of these literatures. We seek to offer a conceptual framework for analysing the spatialities of contentious politics.

Within sociology, 'contentious politics' has come to replace 'social movements' as the term used to describe the phenomenon of organised social resistance to hegemonic norms. In the introduction to the book signalling this shift in discourse (Aminzade et al. 2001), Sidney Tarrow quotes the following definition of contentious politics, taken from his previous work with Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly:

> public, collective and episodic interactions between makers of claims when a) at least some of the interaction adopts non-institutional forms, b) at least one government is a claimant, an object or (sic.) claims, or a party to the claims, and c) the claims would, if realised, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants. (Tarrow 2001, 7)

We find this definition overly state-centric and interest oriented, and insufficient in acknowledging the differences within all collective action. Thus we adopt the following definition for this paper:

> Contentious politics refers to concerted, counter-hegemonic social and political action, in which differently positioned participants come together to challenge dominant systems of authority, in order to promote and enact alternative imaginaries.[1]

Concerted social action refers to forms of contestation in which individuals and groups organise and ally, with various degrees of formality, to push for social change that challenges hegemonic norms (whether the latter are located in the state, the market

or civil society). In this view, such action entails developing strategies and practices that advance alternative imaginaries (cf. Leitner *et al.* 2007). Construction of such political alliances necessarily means engaging with and drawing in individuals and other organisations with distinct positionalities. These differences are negotiated, and contested, shaping the positionality of the group/organisation itself vis-à-vis the hegemon. (One is reminded here of Antonio Gramsci's 'war of position', although he had in mind social change on a broader geographical and longer historical scale.)

Discussions of the spatiality of contentious politics seek to analyse the ways in which geography matters to the imaginaries, practices and trajectories of contentious politics. At issue is how the various theoretical frameworks developed to account for the location, dynamics and outcomes of contentious politics are complicated by socio-spatial theory. This question has, of course, received a good amount of attention from geographers and others, as noted above. Yet, in our view, these accounts remain incomplete. In particular, and reflecting the shifting fashions of socio-spatial theory, there has been a tendency to privilege a particular spatiality – only to abandon that in favour of another. Since 1995, for example, there has been a strong tendency to discuss the spatiality of contentious politics through the lens of the politics of scale. The literature on contentious politics in geography, and beyond, thus became replete with such ideas as scale-jumping, scalar and multi-scalar strategies. More recently, with recognition of the limits to scalar thinking and calls to abandon scale, scalar tropes have been replaced by networks, and now mobility (Sheller and Law 2006).[2]

In one sense, our argument is straightforward. Analysts of contentious politics have a variety of spatialities available to them (notably, for the purposes of this paper, place, scale, networks, mobility and socio-spatial positionality). In determining how geography matters, we assert that *a priori* decisions (ontological or otherwise) to reduce this multi-valency to any single master concept can only impoverish analysis, by offering a partial viewpoint into how geography matters in contentious politics.[3] Further, it is necessary to pay attention not only to the pertinence of particular spatialities in particular contexts, but also to their co-implication. It is not simply a question of the co-presence of the pertinent spatialities, but also how they shape one another and, thereby, the trajectory of contentious politics.

This is similar to the notion of intersectionality in feminist theory, in which it is argued that positionality is not simply a question of where an individual is located with respect to different aspects of identity.

> [R]ace, class, and gender are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively like armatures of Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other – if in contradictory and conflictual ways. (McClintock 1995, 5; quoted in Swarr and Nagar 2003, 496)

Our emphasis on the multivalent and co-implicated spatialities of contentious politics is not arrived at simply through abstract philosophical discussion, although such an argument could surely be constructed (for a continental European perspective on theoretical and philosophical debates, see the collection of essays in Dünne and Günzel 2006). In Anglophone geography, there is a tendency not only to swerve from one fashionable spatiality to the next, but also to construct ontological rationales for the choice of one or the other as the master spatiality. The practice of contentious politics is quite different, however, as we will attempt to show. Participants in contentious politics are enormously creative in cobbling together different spatial imaginaries and strategies on the fly, without deep reflection on the philosophical implications. Pragmatically, we seek to capture this empirical practice in our conceptualisation.

Finally, we argue for the importance of paying attention to the materiality of contentious politics (indeed, of social actions of all kinds). To do so means paying close attention to how agency is distributed across the more-than-human world, and not solely located with humans. This undermines attempts to separate (human) subjects and (non-human) objects. The conceptualisation of spatiality at the centre of contemporary socio-spatial theory, that spatiality is constituted through but also shapes social action, can be embraced within a materialist account, as long as 'social action' is extended to embrace non-human agency – the manifold biophysical processes and technologies that also shape the spatiality of the world. As John Law and Kevin Hetherington put it: 'spatial phenomena . . . are made by materials which are in space – but which also have spatial effects' (2000, 36).

The remainder of the paper is organised into two broad sections, plus a conclusion. The first section

illustrates the relevance of each of the five spatial-ities listed above for the trajectories of contentious politics, treated as if in artificial isolation. Since so much attention has been paid to scale, until recently, we treat scale in somewhat greater detail – both to argue for its relevance notwithstanding recent scepticism, and to point to its limitations. We complement conceptual analysis with brief empirical examples showing how a focus on that spatiality mattered to the practice and trajectory of contentious politics. The second section interrogates their co-implication (intersectionality). To illustrate how this matters in practice, we provide a more extended examination of the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride in the United States, in order to draw out the complex ways in which the strategies pursued by the organisers and freedom riders draw on the various spatialities discussed here.

Multiple spatialities

Before examining the five spatialities that we seek to link with contentious politics, it is important to motivate our strategy. Why these five spatialities and not others; and why present them separately, given that we intend to argue for the importance of their interdependence and co-implication? The reason for this is that they are already in circula-tion in socio-spatial theory, as tropes that have been successively drawn on to describe why geography matters (for contentious politics, but for many other phenomena also. For a related discussion of the spatialities of globalisation, see Law and Hetherington 2000; Sheppard 2002).

Scale and contentious politics
It has recently been popular to conceptualise the spatiality of politics, including contentious politics, through the lens of the politics of scale. Scale is conceptualised as a relational, power-laden and contested construction that actors strategically engage with, in order to legitimise or challenge existing power relations. In the course of these struggles new scales are constructed, and the rela-tive importance of different scales is reconfigured. Central to the politics of scale is the manipulation of relations of power and authority. This process is highly contested, involving numerous negotiations and struggles between different actors as they attempt to reshape the scalar spatiality of power and authority (Leitner 1997). For some, scale is invoked as an indication of the geographical extent,

or scope, of a political practice – distinguishing, for example, between global, national and local social movements. We argue, however, that the politics of scale should be invoked in a more restrictive, relational sense; to examine the ways in which various scales articulate with one another. As Brenner puts it:

> [I]n the absence of an explicit causal argument linking the substantive social content of the spatial unit in ques-tion to its *embeddedness* or *positionality* within a broader social hierarchy, there is little reason to theorize the issues connoted by the singular usage of the 'politics of scale' in a scalar terminology rather than through an alternative geographical lexicon, such as that of place, locality, territoriality, or networks. (2001, 601)

Some have argued that scale can be jettisoned altogether, in favour of a flat ontology (Marston *et al.* 2005). We disagree with this reading of the scale literature and the conclusion drawn (cf. Leitner and Miller 2007). Even the self-described flat ontologist Bruno Latour now argues that the proposition that '[s]cale is the actor's own achievement . . . is the oldest, and in my view, the most decisive proposition made by ANT' (Latour 2005, 185). For contentious politics, scale matters in at least four ways.

First, much contentious politics takes on state institutions, whose spatiality has traditionally been dominated by nested scales, ranging from the national to the local (cf. Swyngedouw 1997; Ferguson and Gupta 2002; Brenner 2004). This scalar spatiality is reconfigured by state and non-state practices in ways that shift the relative importance of different scales, occasionally even resulting in the construction of new scales. For example, local legal aid organisa-tions in the United States have had to adjust to funding restrictions stemming from the devolution of legal aid funding from Federal to state govern-ments, accompanied by Federal recommendations that local legal aid organisations should be consolid-ated into state-wide organisations. A supportive state bar association, state Supreme Court and state political environment may be crucial to the ability of such local organisations to survive the transition away from Federal to state and private sector resources, as happened in Minnesota (Laws 2004). To the extent that contentious politics interacts with the state, therefore, the strategies available will be shaped by state-constructed scalar configura-tions and the different conditions of possibility within local places.

Second, social movements often engage in scalar strategies. Some involve overcoming limitations of

localness through scale jumping, turning local into regional, national and global movements to expand their power (Smith 1992). Movements ranging from the Zapatistas, to labour unions, indigenous people's organisations, feminism, environmental justice and the living wage campaign have successfully used such strategies to advance their cause (cf. Herod 1997; Froehling 1999; Miller 2000). Others have argued that social movements can gain strength through keeping it local. Such localisation strategies often rely on attachments to place and culture, seeking to reaffirm the importance of local particularity as necessary to successful broader-scale strategies. For example, Escobar suggests that place-based cultural, ecological and economic practices are important sources of alternative visions and strategies for reconstructing local and regional worlds, no matter how produced by 'the global' they might also be (Escobar 2001). Multi-scalar strategies, simultaneously broadening the scale of action while drawing strength from reinforcing the local scale, are frequently employed. As Harvey observes: 'the choice of spatial scale is not "either/or" but "both/and" even though the latter means confronting serious contradictions' (2000, 51).

Third, the development and deployment of scale frames are important in contentious politics (Kurtz 2003; Martin and Miller 2003). For example, opposition to the concentration of power over immigration policy at the supra-national scale of the European Union has come from both nationalist right-wing political parties and transnational non-governmental human/immigrant rights organisations, each employing different scale frames (Leitner 1997). Nationalist right-wing political parties presented themselves as guardians of the national interest and of a national identity and cultural/racial distinctiveness that is in danger of being obliterated by European integration and foreigners. In contrast, non-governmental human/immigrant rights organisations framed their grievances within a universal/global framework that would require Europe to fulfil its human rights obligations towards economic migrants and political refugees, granting equality of treatment to all legal residents within its territory.

Fourth, an as yet under-examined aspect of scale in contentious politics involves the difficulties faced when conflicting scale frames and scalar strategies coexist within social movement alliances, potentially undermining their cohesion and shaping their strategies. For example, in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area in the United States, the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability has advocated a metropolitan scale solution to address socio-spatial inequities within the metropolitan area. Yet its coherence has been partially undermined by the different scale frames of Alliance members (Walling 2004). The metropolitan scale is of particular importance to middle-class white participants in the Alliance, such as those advocating metropolitan-wide fair housing. By contrast, the Just Equity Caucus, advocating on behalf of people of colour, eschewed the regional or metropolitan designation entirely, framing socio-spatial inequities at both the neighbourhood and the national scale. Differences in the scales at which problems are framed also influence the scale envisioned for action. In the case of the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability, disparities in scale frames of the problem/grievance resulted in conflicts over the scale at which Alliance action should be focused. Eventually, a compromise was forged in the form of a multi-scalar strategy, with the Alliance combining a focus on the metropolitan scale, for data analysis, with localised actions in particular minority neighbourhoods.

Yet an over-reliance on scale in understanding contentious politics does create problems. First, it presumes that vertical, inter-scalar relations dominate the spatiality of politics (Sheppard 2002). Yet the spatiality of contested politics often connects people and places directly, horizontally across space. When activists gathered at a World Social Forum meeting in Porto Alegre or Mumbai, they were not being brought together via some larger spatial scale that they each are embedded within. Rather, cyber networks established among activists allowed them to link up with each other and plan the event. They travelled to these events on their own initiative, and their co-presence and face-to-face deliberations in the space of the WSF meetings allowed for the further development of common agendas and strategies, and strengthened networks among activists from different parts of the globe. Such networks, deliberations and co-presence in place cannot simply be subsumed under a master narrative of scalar politics, but are suggestive of other spatialities not readily reducible to scale; socio-spatial connectivities through trans-local networks, mobility across space, and the building of social relations in place.

Second, the verticality entailed in any nested set of territorially bounded political entities can be suggestive of hierarchical power relations. In ecology and physical geography, scales are often conceptualised

in exactly this way. According to what is known as hierarchy theory, broader scales shape conditions of possibility at local scales (Sheppard and McMaster 2004). Such a top-down power hierarchy has been roundly and appropriately criticised by feminist and post-structuralist theorists for its neglect of the potential transformative power of the local (Freeman 2001). Yet it is important to remember that many scale theorists reject the assumption that scalar power operates through a top-down hierarchy (Leitner and Miller 2007). Power hierarchies always exist, with dominant, nodal and marginal scales, but the largest scales need not dominate (Collinge 1999). As Sayre notes, 'this is, in fact, what much of the recent literature on geographical scale is concerned to show and understand' (2005, 286).

Third, scale theorists typically conceptualise scalar relations as connecting territorially bounded entities, ranging from the body to the globe.[4] This conceptualisation has been starkly critiqued, however, by place theorists who call attention to the open and heterogeneous nature of places (Massey 1991 2005; Verstraete and Cresswell 2002). They emphasise how places are heterogeneously constituted through the polyvalent inter-connectivities linking them, rather than as having distinctive essential characteristics that emerge behind the boundaries separating them from the rest of the world. In this view, place (and, indeed, any territorial entity) emerges from

> the coming together of the previously unrelated, a constellation of processes rather than a thing. This is place as open and internally multiple. . . . Not intrinsically coherent. (Massey 2005, 141)

Such a conception of place does not mesh well with the bounded territorial entities often at the centre of a politics of scale. Of course, the inter-connectivities among places may themselves have important scalar aspects, such as scaled networks (local, regional, transnational networks). But these reflect the co-implication of scale and connectivity, and are not reducible to either scale or network (Leitner *et al.* 2002). We conclude, therefore, that while scale does matter to contentious politics, it is one of a variety of co-implicated spatialities whose complex intertwining cannot adequately be captured through a scalar lens.

The politics of place

Places are sites where people live, work and move, and where they form attachments, practice their relations with each other, and relate to the rest of the world (Massey 1991). Yet they are more than just sites where dense social relations within and beyond that place join up. They have a distinct materiality, a material environment that is historically constructed – networks of roads and railroads, the layout and design of residences, offices, factories, public parks and recreation areas, fences, walls, etc. This materiality regulates and mediates social relations and daily routines within a place, and is thus imbued with power. For example, the walls and fences of gated communities, a distinct feature of US suburbia, work to restrict access and exclude non-residents. In this case the walls and fences facilitate the ability of its residents to control access to 'their' space, creating socio-spatial boundaries that define who belongs and often become the object of contention.

By shaping social interaction and mobility, the materiality of space also shapes the nature and possibility of contention. For example, at the 2003 Cancun WTO ministerial, authorities fortified the space around the conference centre on the peninsula with a massive system of barricades, steel fences, and thousands of federal police, seeking to control anti-WTO protesters. Different groups of protesters were forced to divide among the different spaces made accessible to them, preventing face-to-face interaction among the different groups and access to the conference centre. As Joel Wainright describes, this manipulation of space was, however, only partially successful in keeping the multitude at bay.

> That afternoon, the multitude staged the second major demonstration of the week with some 7,000 activists marching from downtown Cancun toward the conference center. As throughout the week, this march was met at 'kilometer zero' by steel walls and police lines. Denied further passage and unable to reach the ministerial, a Korean farmer at the head of the assemblage named Lee Kyung Hae climbed the steel fence in their path. From the top of the fence, Lee led chants as he sat poised between the two massed forces. Then he took his life, plunging a knife into his heart. . . . 2 days after his death . . . they marched back to the place where he died. They dismantled the fence that had kept Lee from advancing toward the WTO. (2007, 192)

Places are imbued with meaning as well as power, which is also of critical importance in contentious politics. Social movements often seek to strategically manipulate, subvert and resignify places that symbolise priorities and imaginaries they are contesting; to defend places that stand for their

priorities and imaginaries; and to produce new spaces where such visions can be practised, within that place and beyond. For example, the manipulation of micro-spaces within the city was an important component in the repertoire of the tactics of progressive religion–labour alliances in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, advocating for workers' and immigrants' rights (Sziarto 2003). One spatial tactic of protest involved transporting their grievances into the workplace. Thus a group of clergy entered the lobby of a hotel where working conditions were being contested in downtown Minneapolis, and prayed in support of the hotel workers before joining them on the picket line. By transporting religious modes of expression into the secular space of the hotel, these activists were temporarily re-signifying the meaning of this space of consumption as one of political contention.

A similar resignification of corporate places and symbolic practices occurred around a 1999 national movement by Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender employees of United Airlines (UA), in cooperation with queer community activists in San Francisco, pressuring UA to extend its employer-paid benefits to employees' domestic partners (Murphy 2004). Much of this successful campaign was staged outside the confines of corporate, government and law offices; on the streets and at the ticket offices of UA in San Francisco.

> [T]he activists adopted a spatial strategy, bringing queer comedy, theatrics, and irreverence into United's ticket offices, places coded in the airline's image as a highly regulated, sterile, and conservative Fortune 500 multinational corporation. The ironies and dissonances of United Airlines ticket offices becoming centers of queer performance brought unprecedented visibility to the campaign against the airline. After it came out that United was working in concert with the American Center for Law and Justice, a right-wing think tank funded by Christian evangelist Pat Robertson who had bizarrely lambasted the purple British Teletubby TV character for being 'gay', local activist Gilbert Baker . . . sewed several purple Tinky Winky costumes. Tinky Winky-clad demonstrators then shut down United's California Street ticket office, and were hauled away to jail in front of a wildly amused public and press. In a similarly striking disturbance, queer activists collected dozens of old suitcases and decorated each one with details of a different discrimination lawsuit against United filed by employees. They then barricaded the doors to the Geary Street ticket office, publicly demanding that United 'Get Rid of its Tired Old Baggage' before making headlines with another comedic arrest. (Murphy 2004, 11)

The politics of networking

In order to challenge states and corporations, which have their own space-spanning networks and technologies, 'social movements must build their own rival communication networks' (Sewell Jr 2001, 59). Such networks are crucial for sharing knowledge about strategies and tactics, and developing common political identities and alternative imaginaries. Networking may occur through face-to-face interaction as well as in virtual space with the help of diverse contemporary communications technologies. It is well known that technologies such as the Internet and cell phone are instrumental not only for connecting members of civic organisations and social movements locally, nationally and internationally, but also for the construction of activist networks. The general role of the materiality of such objects and technologies in the constitution of webs of social and economic relations has been highlighted by actor-network theorists, who associate networks with a distinct spatiality. For example, Law and Hetherington (2000) suggest that material networks imply a topological spatiality that he contrasts with continuous Euclidean space. Elsewhere, with Annemarie Mol (Law and Mol 2001), he contrasts network space to that of regions.[5] The argument is that this topological spatiality – spanning rather than covering geographic space – is necessary for stable ideas and practices to move through geographic space and between regions (immutable mobiles).

Contested politics is hardly about immutable mobiles. It seeks to contest current hegemonic norms, and may or may not seek to substitute this with stabilised alternatives. Yet such topological spatiality is often vital to contentious politics. Recent work on geographies of resistance has shown the importance of dynamic trans-local networks, connecting individuals, institutions and activists in different places, for preventing contestations from being contained spatially by stretching them to other places (Routledge 2003; Featherstone 2005). For example, since its inception in a living wage ordinance passed in Baltimore, the US living wage movement has spanned the country (without covering it) to create an inter-urban network of activists, NGOs and locally based political parties seeking to implement living wage ordinances in a variety of cities and counties. Organisers were well aware of the dangers of spatial divide and conquer, as local authorities dismiss living wage initiatives on the grounds that they would undermine local competitive advantage. Thus representatives from

some 12 local living wage initiatives, along with members of the activist non-profit Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) and the New Party, gathered in Chicago in 1998 to plan a common strategy, subsequently reproduced through both email and face to face meetings (MJ Maynes, personal communication). This network became a source of information for new local initiatives, which could draw on the knowledge, experience and strategies developed by previously successful initiatives in other cities to enhance their own success (and thereby that of the network). It also facilitated some coordination and standardisation of living wage activities across the nodes of the living wage network (in the process, promoting the living wage agenda and its underlying political imaginary nationwide) – although local activities varied with local context in a departure from Law's association of networks with immutable mobiles.[6]

In a study of strikes in eighteenth-century London, David Featherstone (2005) shows that the importance of a politics of networking to political activism did not await the advent of twenty-first-century information technologies. The formation of political identities and place-based political activities, such as strikes, was facilitated through networks of correspondence connecting distinct movements and struggles in different places, for example weavers in Dublin and London. He concludes that

> political struggles in particular localities bring together different routes of political activity. They do not exist merely as discrete struggles waiting to be brought together by intellectuals or broader political movements. (2005, 262)

This enables him to take issue with David Harvey's (1996) well-known concern about the limitations of militant particularism. He argues that Harvey reinscribes an essentially bounded notion of place, in which the local is elided with the particular, and universalism becomes defined against the practices of local struggles. It then becomes the task of intellectuals and class-based movements to abstract from the particular in order to develop broader and more effective political imaginaries. Featherstone suggests that close attention to the inter-local networking practices of contentious politics calls Harvey's theoretical argument, and its political implications, into question.

Socio-spatial positionality

We have argued elsewhere that whereas networks constitute an important insight into the distributed and relational nature of agency and power, there has been a tendency in recent discussions to downplay the power hierarchies that co-evolve within and across them. To summarise, the fluidity and contingent nature of many networks should not be taken to mean that anything goes (Leitner *et al.* 2002; Leitner and Sheppard 2002). Sheppard (2002) has proposed consideration of socio-spatial positionality as one way to keep analysis open to the resilience of unequal power relations within networks, as well as the possible emergence of new power relations (in Latour's terms, centres of calculation).

In feminist theory, positionality has been used to describe the social situatedness of subjects 'in terms of gender, race, class, sexuality and other axes of social difference' (Nagar and Geiger 2007, 267). Positionality means, first, that differently positioned subjects have distinct identities, experiences and perspectives, shaping their understanding of and engagement with the world – subjectivities, imaginaries, interests and knowledge (cf. Haraway 1988). It frames their ontological and epistemological stance, the starting point for action (Kline 2006). Second, positionality emerges relationally, through connections and interactions with differently positioned subjects. Third, unequal power relations are part and parcel of positionality: it is not only that feminine, for example, emerges through its relations with masculine, but that the latter often dominates the former. Thus positionality is simultaneously about difference and inequality – while calling into question the generality and normative function of any positionality.

Yet a subject's positionality cannot simply be read off from her social situatedness because the social and the spatial are mutually constitutive. Space is always already implicated in positionality, as when Chandra Mohanty chides Western feminists for their blindness to the distinct experiences and positionalities of third world women (Mohanty 2003). We use the adjective socio-spatial to mark this. Finally, socio-spatial positionality is not fixed. It is re-enacted on a daily basis, in ways that simultaneously reproduce and challenge positionalities; a process that Judith Butler has dubbed citation (Butler 1990). On the one hand, everyday practices routinely reproduce pre-existing positionalities, giving them a durability that seemingly naturalises them. Yet they remain social constructs, always subject to the possibility of transformation. Through subjects' practices and imaginaries, relations of power and situated understandings are contested and

re-negotiated, as are socio-spatial relations, thereby potentially transforming socio-spatial positionalities (Rose 1997b; Valentine 2002).

Social movements always face the challenge of building alliances between individuals and groups with diverse socio-spatial identities, interests and imaginaries. The challenges include mobilising differently positioned subjects and negotiating differences among them for collective action. Negotiations are never unproblematic. Alliance politics is plagued by power differences, some embedded in the social positionalities subjects bring to a social movement (male/female, professional/activist, local/non-local, native/foreign); others emergent as certain individuals or groups become influential in a movement, marginalising other participants.[7] For example, Paul Routledge's analysis of People's Global Action, an international network of social movements contesting neoliberal globalisation, has shown how disparities in wealth, and differential access to communications technologies between 'Southern' and 'Northern' activists, allowed certain groups to assume disproportionate discursive and material power within the network (Routledge 2003).

Yet at the same time subjects' participation in collective action can be transformative. Participation almost always is productive of novel inter-personal relations and experiences; shaping individuals' subjectivities, imaginaries, interests and knowledge – whether temporarily or permanently. The World Social Forum's (WSF) annual gatherings have been described by many participants as such a transformative experience, in terms of how they conceive of the world and see themselves in relation to others.[8] The World Social Forum coalesces around a series of place-based events and 'virtual common spaces' (websites, blogs, etc.) that connect and bring together subjects embodying, and differently empowered through, sometimes wildly different socio-spatial positionalities. For all its self-consciously collective, consensual and even anarchic organisational philosophy, differences in participants' socio-spatial positionality, articulated through the emergent spaces of the WSF, help shape its agenda and trajectory. For example, participants at place-based events come from all walks of life and regions of the world, but a few are invited to address plenary forums, others sit in the audience, while others again are performing street theatre or demonstrating. As these meetings have shifted geographical location (from Brazil to India and Africa) and scale (from world to regional to urban social forums),

corresponding shifts in access to an event and the socio-spatial positionality of its participants further affect the WSF's trajectory. Thus when the WSF was relocated from Porto Allegre to Mumbai in 2004, the presence there of South Asian indigenous rights and *dalit* activists who had been unable to travel to Brazil called into question the emergent self-understanding of the Brazilian-based movement and altered its focus (Conway 2004). The WSF is far from an immutable mobile.

Recall that taking materiality seriously means that agency is not simply located in and between the variously positioned human participants in a social movement. We are not aware of any attempts to extend the theory of positionality to the more-than-human world invoked in materialist accounts. Pending such an extension, we simply remark that the positionality of non-human agents must also always be at stake in contentious politics. For example, decisions about the use of information technologies create new inequalities among differently positioned social movement participants because of social and geographical inequalities in access to and comfort with such technologies, including the languages that they enable. Here, technology, itself occupying a particular socio-spatial positionality, empowers along some lines of difference while disempowering along others.

Although every social movement attracts a variety of different, and differently empowered participants, collective action requires expounding an explicit standpoint on the issues being contested. This is often the result of intense negotiation of antagonisms, is sometimes arrived at through enforced consensus and can catalyse residual disagreement within the organisation. This standpoint is simultaneously spatial and social, a product of internal negotiations and external contexts shaping the trajectory of contentious politics, productive of those trajectories, and subject itself to renegotiation. Steven Pile draws on Mohanty's (1987) idea of a politics of location in feminist identity politics to describe the spatiality of resistance, making it more explicitly geographical:

> resistance is formed through the production of location as much as through the uncovering of location. . . . If locations disrupt any sense of singular, isotropic, universal experience of power relations in space and time, then boundaries are about the definition of resistant spaces. (Pile 1997, 29)

There are clear affinities here with the notion of socio-spatial positionality, although other spatialities are

also in play. Social movements' agendas and priorities are shaped by their socio-spatial positionality (the kinds of participants, from where, who participate in various ways; the social priorities and geographical situatedness of the organisation itself), but this positionality is continually subject to negotiation. It makes a difference where an organisation seeking a particular kind of political change is located geographically, and its location shapes the kinds of social issues it is likely to contest. In short, context matters (Martin and Miller 2003). Yet political strategy is all about shifting social and geographical location as circumstances demand – very possibly altering the social movement in the process.

Thus far, we have artificially separated consideration of spatiality from temporality, even though all these spatialities have a temporality and time is always spatialised. Our final category, mobility, makes time explicit.

The politics of mobility

Mobility is currently heralded as the latest spatial master narrative. The turn to mobility is presented as a way of acknowledging the ever-changing nature of space-time.[9] For Tim Cresswell, mobility, unlike movement, involves paying close attention to how the displacement of people entails meaning, power, practice and embodiment: 'If movement is the dynamic equivalent of location, then mobility is the dynamic equivalent of place' (Cresswell 2006, 3). For Mimi Sheller and John Law the 'new mobilities paradigm' seeks to capture how '[a]ll the world seems to be on the move' (Sheller and Law 2006, 209); emphasising the located and materialised nature of mobility and associated immobilities. (For a sketchy application to social movements, see Urry 2003, 71–2.)

Mobility refers to the material or virtual movability of individuals or objects through space-time, within and between places. It is essential to the strategies and struggles of contentious politics. As Pile suggests,

> it is no coincidence that communities of resistance are termed movements. . . . The point seems to be that social movements move because they have an origin, a projected destination and a path to travel, over an overt public political terrain. (1997, 29)

Social movements have long used various mobilities, including mass demonstrations, rallies, pickets in public spaces, and bike and bus rides traversing and transgressing space, to transform their spatiotemporal conditions of possibility. Indeed the ability of social activists to appear unexpectedly in certain places, ahead of those seeking to contain their actions, is widely recognised, by activists and their opponents, as an effective tactic – at scales ranging from local street protests to national revolutionary movements. Mobility also shapes the experiences and identities of participants. The shared experience of being in motion, together with co-presence in particular spaces, may induce negotiations of differences among movement participants, while also helping create the collective understandings, visions, strategies and tactics essential for collective action.

Examining the politics of women's suffrage in New England, USA, Creswell highlights not just the mobilities associated with protest, as a deliberate political strategy, but also the role of individual mobilities – of bodies and objects in space – in advancing the women's suffrage movement between 1911 and 1915 (Cresswell 2006). He suggests that the travel by two movement leaders on a steamship to England allowed them to connect with fellow suffragettes there, and car trips through New England enabled them to reach wider audiences beyond the spaces of suffrage activists. Mobility involved not only the movement of bodies, but also ideas and things/objects. Together, they enabled the reconfiguration of the moral geography of gender at that moment.

Co-implicated spatialities: the Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride

The scholarly literature on geographies of resistance and social movements has produced valuable insights into each of these various spatialities (scale, place, networking, socio-spatial positionality and mobility), showing how they have shaped both political mobilisation and the trajectories of contentious politics (e.g. Knopp 1997; Moore 1997; Rose 1997a; Slater 1997; Miller 2000; Wainwright *et al.* 2000; Rose 2002; Featherstone 2003 2005; Routledge 2003; Wainwright 2007). Yet the co-implication of these diverse spatialities remains at times underexposed, in face of the tendency in contemporary geographic scholarship either to privilege one particular spatiality, or to subsume diverse spatialities under a single master concept. For example, Glassman's (2001) insightful analysis of resistance movements to neoliberal globalisation discusses multiple socio-spatial practices, but his conceptual framework focuses on scale and scale jumping by local activists.

Similarly, in analysing black social movements in Colombia, Oslender (2004) subsumes scale, networks of spatial connectivity and mobility under the concept of place.

Deborah Martin and Byron Miller, together with William Sewell Jr, have noted the complementarities that consideration of different spatialities bring to theorising contentious politics (Sewell Jr 2001; Martin and Miller 2003), and others have highlighted the variegated spatialities drawn on in political struggle (Featherstone 2003; Routledge 2003; Sarre and Jehlicka 2007). Yet these scholars have paid less attention to how different spatialities intersect and may affect one another. John Law and his colleagues examine the intersectionality of different spatialities (in their case, regions, Euclidean space, network, fluid and 'fire' space, Law and Hetherington 2000; Law and Mol 2001), but in science studies rather than contentious politics.[10]

We argue that multiple spatialities are co-implicated and co-constitutive in complex ways during social movement struggles, with unpredictable consequences. Those practising contentious politics do not necessarily sit around discussing the merits of, say, mobilities vs place as domains of action. Rather, they draw on their experience and knowledge, crafting and intuiting strategies that they hope will succeed, and which simultaneously engage multiple spatialities. We use the example of the Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride (IWFR) to document this, illustrating the complexity of these inter-relations, and indicating how they shaped the movement's mobilisation and trajectory.[11]

In the United States, the last five years have seen increased political activism by immigrants, in alliances with community and faith-based organisations and unions, to challenge dominant public and political discourses about the negative impacts of immigration and immigrants' illegality; to contest US immigration policies that focus on border enforcement and deportation of undocumented immigrants rather than the integration of immigrants; to publicise the discrimination of immigrants in diverse spheres of life; and more generally to push back against the increasing abrogation of workers' rights under the onslaught of neoliberalism. In 2003, such an alliance staged what was dubbed the Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride (IWFR), which in turn was instrumental in the emergence of what is now known as the immigrant rights movement in the US. The purpose of the IWFR was to publicise a broad agenda for, and to build a movement in

support of, immigrants' rights and national immigration policy reform – with the longer-term goal of changing US Federal policy. Specifically, the alliance was advocating: the legalisation of working and taxpaying undocumented immigrants; eased access to citizenship; restoration of workers' rights on the job; reunification of families separated by immigration laws; and respect for and the upholding of civil rights and liberties for all.

In September 2003, nearly 1000 immigrant workers and activists in 18 buses set out from ten different cities in the US for a week's journey across the United States, bound for Washington DC, with stops in 103 cities and towns (Figure 1). The idea of the freedom ride originated in 2001 with a staff person of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) Local 11 in Los Angeles, an organisation with a large immigrant membership. This reflects the re-emergence of Los Angeles as a place of union, immigrant and race-based activism (Pulido 2006). Maria Elena Durazo, then president of Local 11 in Los Angeles, took up the idea with HERE's national leadership. The national leadership was receptive to the idea, and announced their intention to organise an 'immigrant freedom ride' in cooperation with civil rights leaders and immigrant rights activists.

The choice of a bus ride, traversing the country towards the centre of national political power, was simultaneously strategic and symbolic. It enabled activists to carry alternative messages about the impact of immigrants, and demands for immigrant rights and workers' rights more generally, across the US territory. It also represented a re-enactment and commemoration of the Freedom Rides of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. This symbolic connection was reinforced by the participation of activists from the Civil Rights Movement, drawing on its strategies and tactics, and stopping at its memorial sites. For example, participants in the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride from Houston visited memorial sites important to the collective memory of the Civil Rights Movement, such as the Slavery and Civil Rights Museum in Selma, Alabama, and held a rally at Dr Martin Luther King Jr's Ebenezer Baptist church. The symbolism inscribed in these places was utilised by IWFR organisers to help to make connections with both the imaginaries and remembered successes of the Civil Rights Movement and to commemorate struggles of people of colour.

The mobility of the IWFR enabled activists of different backgrounds and from different locales to
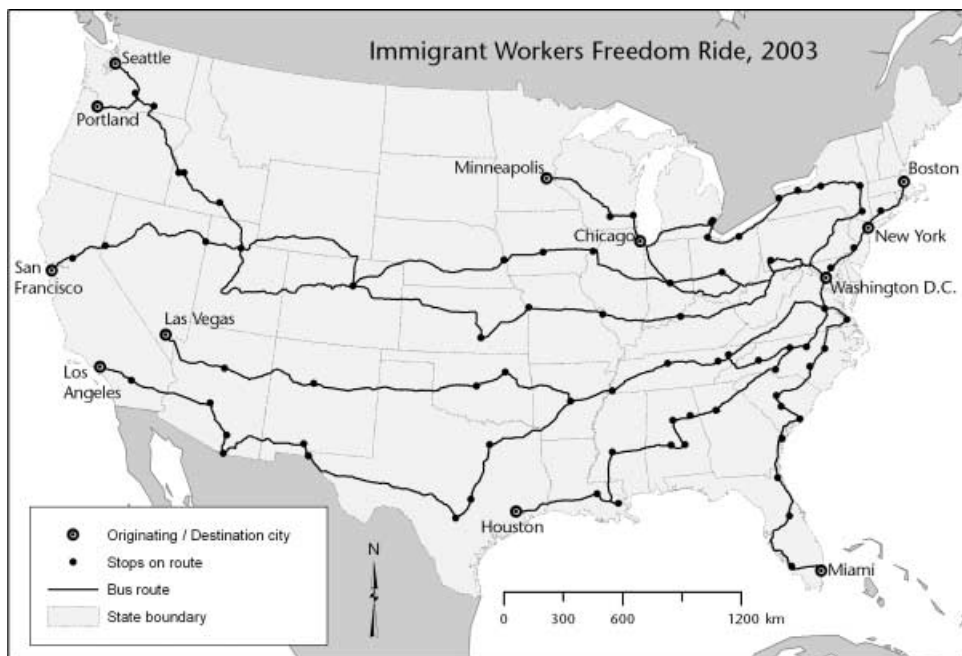
Figure 1   Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride

link up with one another in the places where the buses stopped, constructing trans-local networks in support of immigrants' and workers' rights. IWFR organisers combined nation-wide mobility with local mobilisation at the stops along the route – working with a wide range of secular and religious organisations in order to build a national movement. In planning the stops, local coalitions were formed among union locals, community organising networks (e.g. the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) and Jobs with Justice), local churches and local chapters of faith-based organising networks (e.g. the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Interfaith Worker Justice), local chapters of United Students against Sweatshops, and locally based immigrant organisations (Sziarto and Leitner 2007). At the stops along the route, participants in the freedom ride engaged in a multiplicity of practices that drew upon the different identities of participating groups, including union rallies, pickets, marches, prayer breakfasts or lunches, and worship services. These shared practices and the coming together in place helped create a shared political identity and a sense of solidarity.

While the sharing of lived experiences and visions of social justice was central to many of the events at the stops, it was particularly the 'safe' space-time of the buses, relatively autonomous from the state and/or hegemonic public, that provided a material base for developing alternatives to hegemonic discourses (e.g. No Human Being is Illegal), in the process constructing and enacting a shared political identity among diverse riders. On the bus, immigrant workers shared stories – their experiences of crossing the borders, of being separated from their families, of being discriminated against at work, of fears of deportation, etc. – with other bus riders, each learning from one another. They also taught each other songs and sang together, and learnt and prepared themselves to practise civil disobedience. For example, riders on the buses from Los Angeles were stopped by the Border Patrol outside El Paso, Texas. Anticipating this, bus riders had hidden their legal identification and wore only IWFR identification cards with their first name. They presented these identifications to border patrol agents who had boarded the bus and demanded identification from all riders of colour. In response, border patrol agents ordered all riders

off the bus, separated them into small detention cells in the checkpoint station, and threatened them with arrest unless they divulged their names and citizenship. None of the riders acquiesced, and those in the cells kept singing 'We Shall Overcome', a song they had started on the bus. Throughout the four hours of interrogation, all riders were neither immigrants nor citizens, but state-less human beings without papers successfully challenging the authority of the territorially bounded nation-state.[12]

This practice of civil disobedience was a performance of solidarity that was made possible by riders being able and willing to negotiate pre-existing differences in positionality – along lines of gender, class, legal and citizenship status, place of residence, culture/religion. Alternative imaginaries were constructed and strengthened through getting acquainted, sharing lived experiences, and learning together. As bus riders began to connect with one another, the day-to-day performance of positionalities could result in shifts in positionality (Butler's process of citation). For some, these may have been temporary changes (see below), for others they may have become permanent life-altering experiences.

While such changes were part and parcel of alliance politics, it does not follow that individual differences are sublimated into a shared subjectivity. This became evident as the IWFR entered into and came to confront the spaces of Washington DC and New York City, where national and international political, corporate and media power concentrate. In these places shared political identities and discourses, forged during the IWFR, were pulled apart and differences in socio-positionalities asserted themselves. In order to gain access to the sanitary confines of the Congressional offices of national politicians, IWFR discourses were adjusted to align with dominant discourses about immigrants. For example, as buses arrived in Washington DC, claims-making about immigrant rights shifted from a human rights discourse ('no human being is illegal') to one of 'hardworking, tax-paying, play-by-the rules' immigrants, in line with discourses framing the two proposed immigration reform bills then under discussion, the Craig-Kennedy farmworkers' bill, and the McCain-Kennedy immigration bill. Furthermore, pre-existing power asymmetries between differently positioned IWFR participants reemerged as union leaders and activists with national experience took centre stage. For example, the voices that were heard at the final mass rally of 150 000 people in New York City were not those of

the riders, but mostly those of white male union organisers and politicians familiar with this context. While this might be interpreted as a purely strategic move, many riders felt marginalised, and found these strategic shifts to be problematic. Above we have stressed the capability of social movements to practise complex socio-spatial strategies, shaping space to advance their agendas, but the events in Washington DC and New York City remind us that already-existing spatialities with their existing power geometries intrude on social movements.

Notwithstanding such challenges to IWFR alliance politics, the IWFR laid the foundation for the contemporary immigrant rights movement in the US. At the local scale, as the ride ended and riders returned home, existing coalitions were strengthened and new coalitions were formed among diverse activist groups to promote and organise for immigrants' and workers' rights. In 2004 and 2006, highly publicised demonstrations for immigrants' rights occurred in cities across the United States. These multi-sited demonstrations were coordinated by the New American Opportunity Campaign (NAOC), which emerged from the sponsors and extra-local networks established during the IWFR. This national-scale coalition has also been engaged in grassroots lobbying for comprehensive national immigration reform. The NAOC has faced its own difficulties in negotiating differences between more radical and reform-oriented local coalitions, after the euphoria of the initial mass rallies triggered increased anti-immigrant crackdowns by the office of Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE). Nevertheless, the political space of immigration debates has been expanded through the multiple and co-implicated socio-spatialities of grassroots organising and collective action.

Mobility and trans-local networks were instrumental in not only achieving a wider geographic circulation of the alternative imaginaries and messages of the IWFR, but also creating local and national immigrant rights organisations. Key to movement building were both the safe space-times of the buses and the places where the riders stopped en route to Washington DC. The daily coming together and performances of riders in the safe space-times of the bus provided a material base for developing a shared political identity and practising solidarity. Stops at places symbolising struggles for civil rights and racial justice were chosen to commemorate and rework the political

spaces that the Civil Rights Movement had opened up. At other stops freedom riders joined local residents in a multiplicity of practices that drew upon the different identities of participating groups to at least temporarily rework power-geometries in those places. These events and practices enhanced an emergent sense of solidarity, connecting the riders with those who greeted and joined them in the diverse activities. The stops also enabled activists of different backgrounds and from different locales to link up with one another, constructing a trans-local network connecting disparate people and groups in different places in support of immigrants' and workers' rights. This example also shows that the IWFR, like any social movement, has to negotiate power relations within the movement, and the power geometry of the socio-spatial relations it is embedded in.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have sought to establish that a variety of spatialities (place, scale, networks, positionality and mobility) matter for the imaginaries, material practices and trajectories of contentious politics. Scale is one of these, particularly given the scaled nature of political and economic structures, but the spatialities of contentious politics cannot and should not be reduced to scale or any other spatial 'master concept'. No single spatiality should be privileged since they are co-implicated in complex ways, often with unexpected consequences for contentious politics.

Our arguments are grounded in the practices of contentious politics rather than theoretical and philosophical debates. Through case study vignettes we have sought to show the variety, complexity and co-implication of spatialities in contentious politics. The Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride illustrates these complexities and their co-implication, as organisers and participants deploy imaginaries and practices that, while centred on mobility, simultaneously work through and rework place, networks, scale and socio-spatial positionality. It also shows that these spatialities are not completely malleable to such reworkings. They emerge as a result of manifold material and discursive processes, and exhibit a certain durability that shapes the conditions of possibility for political action. For example, the production and control of the safe space of the bus allowed freedom riders to extract themselves, at least temporarily, from the larger socio-spatial power relations, until they reached and tried to enter the centres of corporate and political power. Nevertheless, an immigrant rights movement of national scope did emerge from imaginaries and practices that were grounded in and built alliances across diverse localities and participants. Such complex and multi-faceted material socio-spatial practices are worth recalling as a corrective in times when socio-spatial theory seems overly abstract, theoretical and polarised.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 We will use the term social movement interchangeably with contentious politics.
2 This has not only been true for contentious politics, but for theorisations of spatiality more generally.
3 Our ontological claim is that spatiality matters, rather than that some particular spatiality trumps others.
4 Some geographers argue that the politics of boundary-making is a politics of scale (Martin and Miller 2003; D'Arcus 2006). In our view, this only makes sense if a relational understanding of inter-scalar relations is essential to boundary-making; otherwise, it is a politics of place.
5 In our view, Law's discussion of distinct spatialities develops a too rigid distinction between continuous 'Euclidean' space – which by definition is external to social action – and network space to which he attributes the material properties summarised here. This is problematic because continuous space need be neither Euclidean nor external to socio-natural

processes (consider Einstein's relational conception of a continuous space-time).

6 Law and Mol (2001) coin the idea of fluid space to describe the spatiality of such 'mutable mobiles'.

7 Transversal politics has been proposed as a way of negotiating the power differences always already bound up in alliance politics, in which participants recognise inter-personal differences in socio-spatial positionality and seek to work across these without imposing consensus or accepting unexamined notions of community (Yuval-Davis 1999).

8 The WSF is 'a permanent political and social process of networking inside organised civil society across the world punctuated with forum events, regulated by WSF charter of principles' (http://www.wsfprocess.net/).

9 Massey (2005) identifies constant change as an essential element of space, without reducing this to mobility.

10 Fluid space is much like what has since been dubbed mobility. 'Fire' space, 'a flickering relation between presence and absence' (Law and Mol 2001, 615), is the realm of what they call mutable immobiles.

11 The materials presented here, drawing on fieldwork by Kristin Sziarto, are excerpted from Sziarto and Leitner (2006).

12 This civil disobedience replicated a strategy of the civil rights movement, in which jailed protestors refused to communicate with police, instead singing 'We Shall Overcome.'

References

Aminzade R R, Goldstone J A, McAdam D, Perry E J, Sewell Jr W H, Tarrow S and Tilly C 2001 *Silence and voice in contentious politics* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Brenner N 2001 The limits to scale? Methodological reflections on scalar structuration *Progress in Human Geography* 25 591–614

Brenner N 2004 *New state spaces: urban governance and the rescaling of statehood* Oxford University Press, Oxford

Butler J 1990 *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* Routledge, London

Collinge C 1999 Self-organisation of society by scale: a spatial reworking of regulation theory *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 17 557–74

Conway J 2004 Place matters: India's challenge to Brazil at the World Social Forum *Antipode* 36 357–60

Cresswell T 2006 *On the move* Routledge, London

D'Arcus B 2006 *Boundaries of dissent: protest and state power in the media age* Routledge, New York

Dünne J and Günzel S eds 2006 *Raumtheorie: Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt

Escobar A 2001 Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization *Political Geography* 20 139–74

Featherstone D 2003 Spatialities of transnational resistance to globalization: the maps of grievance of the Inter-Continental Caravan *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 28 404–21

Featherstone D 2005 Towards the relational construction of militant particularisms: or why the geographies of past struggle matter *Antipode* 37 250–71

Ferguson J and Gupta A 2002 Spatializing states: toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality *American Ethnologist* 29 981–1002

Freeman C 2001 Is local:global as feminine:masculine? Rethinking the gender of globalization *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 26 1007–36

Froehling O 1999 Internauts and guerrilleros: the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico and its extension into cyberspace in **Crang M, Crang P and May J** eds *Virtual geographies: bodies, space and relations* Routledge, London 178–201

Glassman J 2001 From Seattle (and Ubon) to Bangkok: the scales of resistance to corporate globalization *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 19 513–33

Haraway D 1988 Situated knowledges: the science question and the privilege of partial perspective *Feminist Studies* 14 575–99

Harvey D 1996 *Justice, nature and the geography of difference* Basil Blackwell, Oxford

Harvey D 2000 *Spaces of hope* University of California Press, Berkeley CA

Herod A 1997 Labor's spatial praxis and the geography of contract bargaining in the US east coast longshore industry, 1953–89 *Political Geography* 16 145–69

Kline D T 2006 Theorizing the child in late medieval English culture Paper presented at the Conference on Medieval Children 1200–1500 University of Kent, UK, 16–18 June

Knopp L 1997 Sexuality and urban space: gay male identities, communities and cultures in the US, UK and Australia in **Pile S and Keith M** eds *Geographies of resistance* Routledge, London 149–76

Kurtz H 2003 Scale frames and counter-scale frames: constructing the problem of environmental justice *Political Geography* 22 887–916

Latour B 2005 *Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network-theory* Oxford University Press, Oxford

Law J and Hetherington K 2000 Materialities, spatialities, globalities in **Bryson J, Daniels P and Pollard J** eds *Knowledge, space, economy* Routledge, London 34–49

Law J and Mol A 2001 Situating technoscience: an inquiry into spatialities *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 19 609–12

Laws S 2004 Legal aid in the neoliberalized state Seminar paper University of Minnesota available from author

Leitner H 1997 Reconfiguring the spatiality of power: the construction of a supranational migration framework for the European Union *Political Geography* 15 123–43

Leitner H and Miller B 2007 Scale and the limitations of ontological debate: a commentary on Marston, Jones

and Woodward *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32 116–25

Leitner H and Sheppard E 2002 The city is dead, long live the network: harnessing networks for a neoliberal era *Antipode* 31 495–518

Leitner H, Pavlik C and Sheppard E 2002 Networks, governance and the politics of scale: inter-urban networks and the European Union in **Herod A and Wright M** eds *Geographies of power: placing scale* Blackwell, Oxford 274–303

Leitner H, Sziarto K M, Sheppard E and Maringanti A 2007 Contesting urban futures: decentering neoliberalism in **Leitner H, Peck J and Sheppard E** eds *Contesting neoliberalism: urban frontiers* Guilford, New York City 1–25

Marston S A, Jones III J P and Woodward K 2005 Human geography without scale *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 30 416–32

Martin D G and Miller B 2003 Space and contentious politics *Mobilization: An International Journal* 8 143–56

Massey D 1991 A global sense of place *Marxism Today* June 24–9

Massey D 2005 *For space* Sage, London

McClintock A 1995 *Imperial leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial context* Routledge, London

Miller B 2000 *Geography and social movements: comparing antinuclear activism in the Boston area* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN

Mohanty C T 1987 Feminist encounters: locating the politics of experience in **Barrett M and Phillips A** eds *Destabilizing theory: contemporary feminist debates* Polity, Cambridge 74–92

Mohanty C T 2003 'Under western eyes' revisited: solidarity through anti-capitalist struggles *Feminism without borders: decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity* Duke University Press, Durham NC 221–51

Moore D S 1997 Remapping resistance. 'Ground for struggle' and the politics of place in **Pile S and Keith M** eds *Geographies of resistance* Routledge, London 87–106

Murphy R 2004 Boycott United Airlines! Defending the queer workplace, contesting neoliberalism Seminar paper University of Minnesota available from author

Nagar R and Geiger S 2007 Reflexivity, positionality and identity in feminist fieldwork: beyond the impasse in **Tickell A, Barnes T, Peck J and Sheppard E** eds *Politics and practice in economic geography* Sage, Thousand Oaks CA 267–78

Oslender U 2004 Fleshing out the geographies of social movements: black communities on the Colombian Pacific coast and the 'aquatic space' *Political Geography* 23 957–85

Pile S 1997 Introduction: Opposition, political identities and spaces of resistance in **Pile S and Keith M** eds *Geographies of resistance* Routledge, London 1–32

Pulido L 2006 *Black, brown, yellow and left: radical activism in Los Angeles* University of California Press, Berkeley CA

Rose G 1997a Performing inoperative community – the space and the resistance of some community arts projects in **Pile S and Keith M** eds *Geographies of resistance* Routledge, London 184–202

Rose G 1997b Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics *Progress in Human Geography* 21 305–20

Rose M 2002 The seductions of resistance: power, politics, and a performative style of systems *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 20 383–400

Routledge P 2003 Convergence space: process geographies of grassroots globalisation networks *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 28 333–49

Sarre P and Jehlička P 2007 Environmental movements in space-time: the Czech and Slovak republics from Stalinism to post-socialism *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 32 346–62

Sayre N F 2005 Ecological and geographical scale: parallels and potential for integration *Progress in Human Geography* 29 276–90

Sewell Jr W H 2001 Space in contentious politics in **Aminzade R R, Goldstone J A, McAdam D, Perry E J, Sewell Jr W H, Tarrow S and Tilly C** eds *Silence and voice in contentious politics* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 51–88

Sheller M and Law J 2006 The new mobilities paradigm *Environment & Planning A* 38 207–26

Sheppard E 2002 The spaces and times of globalization: place, scale, networks, and positionality *Economic Geography* 78 307–30

Sheppard E and McMaster R M 2004 Introduction: Scale and geographic inquiry in **Sheppard E and McMaster R M** eds *Scale and geographic inquiry* Blackwell, Oxford 1–22

Slater D 1997 Spatial politics/social movements: questions of (b)orders and resistance in global times in **Pile S and Keith M** eds *Geographies of resistance* Routledge, London 258–76

Smith N 1992 Geography, difference and the politics of scale in **Doherty J, Graham E and Malek M** eds *Postmodernism and the social sciences* Macmillan, London 57–79

Swarr A L and Nagar R 2003 Dismantling assumptions: interrogating 'lesbian' struggles for identity and survival in India and South Africa *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29 491–516

Swyngedouw E 1997 Neither global nor local: 'glocalization' and the politics of scale in **Cox K** ed *Spaces of globalization: reasserting the power of the local* Guilford, New York 137–66

Sziarto K M 2003 Faith vs. neoliberalism? Religion-labor networks, neoliberalized spaces, and workers' practices Seminar paper University of Minnesota available from author

Sziarto K M and Leitner H 2006 Migrant labor and spaces of social justice activism Annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Chicago IL

Tarrow S 2001 Silence and voice in the study of contentious politics: introduction in **Aminzade R R, Goldstone J A, McAdam D, Perry E J, Sewell Jr W H, Tarrow S and Tilly C** eds *Silence and voice in contentious politics* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1–13

Urry J 2003 *Global complexities* Polity, Cambridge

Valentine G 2002 People like us: negotiating sameness and difference in the research process in **Moss P** ed *Feminist geography in practice* Blackwell, Oxford 116–26

Verstraete G and Cresswell T eds 2002 *Theorizing place, placing mobility: the politics of representation in a globalized world* Rodopi, Amsterdam

Wainwright J 2007 Spaces of resistance in Seattle and Cancun in **Leitner H, Peck J and Sheppard E** eds *Contesting neoliberalism: urban frontiers* Guilford, New York 179–203

Wainwright J, Prudham S and Glassman J 2000 The battles in Seattle: microgeographies of resistance and the challenge of building alternative futures *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space* 18 5–13

Walling D 2004 Contesting neoliberalism at the metropolitan scale: a case study of the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability in the Minneapolis-St. Paul region Seminar paper University of Minnesota available from author

Yuval-Davis N 1999 What is transversal politics? *Soundings: Journal of Politics and Culture* 12 88–93