CHAPTER 4

Feminism at the Borders: Migration and Representation

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Introduction

Migration across state borders has become a defining issue of the first decades of the twenty-first century. According to Joseph Nevins, 'Increasing economic integration and liberalization' means that international boundaries are 'relatively open to flows of capital, finance, manufactured goods, and services', but the movement of people, especially people from lower-income countries, is welcomed to a far lesser extent.[1] Many migrants face death, detention, violence, and danger as they attempt to cross borders between nation states, the same borders which are 'relatively open' to financial flows.[2] I argue in this chapter that literary texts can play a crucial role in articulating a feminist approach to contemporary migration, the suffering it often currently entails, and the hope and potentiality it can embody. In her 2003 book *Feminism Without Borders*, Chandra Talpade Mohanty states that 'our most expansive and inclusive visions of feminism need to be attentive to borders while learning to transcend them'.[3] Through discussion of the representation of borders and migration in Valeria Luiselli's non-fiction book *Tell Me How It Ends: An Essay in Forty Questions* and in prose poems by Warsan Shire and Vahni Capildeo, this chapter examines literature's contribution to such visions of feminism.

Representing Migration

The feminist project of becoming 'attentive to borders while learning to transcend them' requires challenging some recurrent features of conventional representations of migration. In the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is defined as a person who 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of

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a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country'.[4] Nation states are required to grant asylum to people who are refugees, but the legal definition is limited: only a person 'persecuted' for one of the five reasons listed in the Convention is defined as a refugee. Those forced to leave their homes for other reasons – such as environmental catastrophe or extreme poverty – are not.[5]

Refugees, imagined as a relatively small group in desperate need of help, are often contrasted with another group: 'economic migrants'. In an article in *The Guardian* entitled 'Five Myths about the Refugee Crisis', journalist Daniel Trilling aims to directly challenge some of the misleading ideas about migration that circulate in popular discourse. He argues that the term 'economic migrant' has become a negative one, used 'to suggest that people are trying to play the system, that their presence is the cause of problems at the border, and that if we could only filter them out, order would be restored'.[6] In many different geopolitical contexts, there is a pervasive discourse of invasion related to migration, in which 'economic migrants' are depicted as the threatening other, putting national tradition and social cohesion at risk.[7] This refugee/economic migrant dichotomy is fraught with difficulties. According to Roger Zetter, many people who cross state borders 'are fleeing complex root causes in which persecution *and* socioeconomic exclusion are combined.'[8] Zetter also argues that – though many economies across the world are dependent on migrant labour – the laws dealing with non-refugee migration are extremely strict. As immigration laws become tighter, Zetter states that 'the label "refugee" has offered greater potential to gain access; indeed, it has been the most clearly established means of entry' (p. 183). At the same time, states are increasingly trying to limit the number of people who are recognised as refugees. This has created 'the perception that the protective label "refugee" is no longer a basic Convention right, but a highly privileged prize which few deserve and most claim illegally' (p. 184).

As an alternative to the discourse of suspicion and 'invasion' which surrounds the ambiguous categories of the 'economic migrant' and refugee, humanitarian discourse has often emphasised victimhood and suffering in an attempt to spur individual and governmental action. When three-year old Alan Kurdi, a Syrian refugee, drowned in the Mediterranean Sea on 4th September 2015, many newspapers and websites printed upsetting photographs of his body face down on the beach. His story attracted intense attention in the international media; *The Guardian* stated that 'the full horror of the human tragedy unfolding on the shores of Europe'

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had been 'brought home'.[9] Though not overtly discriminatory in the way that other mass-media depictions of migration are, such intense focus on individual suffering and victimhood is characteristic of a broader – and much critiqued – trend in humanitarian narratives.[10] Strong focus on one emblematic and shocking story, told in such a way as to provoke feelings of pity and sadness, can risk decontextualisation. The structural forces which produce horrifying suffering become disguised; the social and political histories which led up to a particular disaster are often occluded. As Alison Mountz and Nancy Hiemstra argue, global migration tends to be represented through notions of 'chaos and crisis', terms which 'hold in common the projection of danger, instability, panic and dramatic upheaval'.[11] The discourse of danger and panic focuses attention on moments of emergency, demanding immediate emotional responses (which then wane when the issue disappears from social media feeds and twenty-four-hour news), rather than encouraging the examination of longer histories.

Feminism and Borders

What, then, do feminist insights have to contribute to our understanding of borders today? For Mohanty, 'there is no one sense of a border' (p. 2). Borders represent 'fault lines, conflicts, differences, fears and containment', and the 'lines between and through nations, races, classes, sexualities, religions, and disabilities' (p. 2). She associates state borders, which are typically demarcated physically and require documentation to pass through, with less concrete borders, such as the divisions produced by prejudice, unexamined privilege, and misunderstanding. Mohanty's wide definition encourages us to think about the relationship between state borders and other forms of social difference and differentiation, pointing to the fundamental questions of difference and identity that underlie bordering processes. As Gabriel Popescu puts it, 'Humans erect borders as a way to mediate between the familiar of *here* and the unfamiliar of *there* . . . . Border making is a power strategy that uses difference to assert control over space by inscribing difference in space.'[12] In particular, bordering often invokes longer histories of colonial domination, racialisation and othering. Mohanty's feminist approach to borders therefore reveals the connections between various forms of exclusion and domination, refusing to isolate state borders as technocratic inevitabilities, or see them as relevant only to certain, disadvantaged people.

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Nonetheless, focusing on the links between these various kinds of border, the symbolic and the unignorably physical, is not without its risks. As a result of the pervasiveness of borders, and the way that the term 'border' can signify widely differing types of experience, it is easy for discussions of the topic to become primarily metaphorical or symbolic in a way that does little justice to the sheer material difficulty and significance of crossing certain kinds of border for certain kinds of people. In postcolonial literary and cultural studies, the stability and ethnonationalism often associated with the nation state are typically criticised through contrast with the flexibility and hybridity of the migratory subject, something which fails to account for the difficulties of forced migration. Being attentive to borders must therefore mean paying close and careful attention to the way borders actually operate, and the differences between various kinds of migration, rather than relying too heavily on abstract, generalisable concepts such as the hybrid. Literature can play an important role here by facilitating readers' close attention to the particular operation of borders in particular times and places through its self-conscious use of language. Not all literature employs language in this way, but one striking feature of the texts I examine here is their shared obsessive interest in words' shifting meanings, and in the ways stories are told.

'On the Same Map': The Multiplicity of Borders in *Tell Me How It Ends*

Tell Me How It Ends (2017) describes Valeria Luiselli's experiences volunteering as a translator at the federal immigration court in New York for unaccompanied children who have crossed the border between Mexico and the USA. The children predominately come from Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Luiselli is a Mexican novelist and college teacher living in New York City, and during the period described in the book she is waiting for her green card, which will give her permanent residency in the USA. In the text, she highlights something she perceives to be missing from discourse around migration:

> The attitude in the United States toward child migrants is not always blatantly negative, but generally speaking, it is based on a kind of misunderstanding or voluntary ignorance. . . . No one suggests that the causes are deeply embedded in our shared hemispheric history and are therefore not some distant problem in a foreign country that no one can locate on a map, but in fact a transnational problem that includes the United States.[13]

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As this passage illustrates, Luiselli positions her writing as a counter-narrative and a corrective.

There are, she writes, 'Official accounts in the United States', which she characterises as: 'what circulates in the newspaper or on the radio, the message from Washington, and public opinion in general' (p. 83). By implication, what the reader encounters in Luiselli's book is an unofficial account, one that tries to speak back to prevailing patterns of decontextualisation and dehistoricisation, in order to insist on a 'shared hemispheric history' (p. 85). To make this concrete, Luiselli identifies a particular example. She writes that all the 'official reports' fail to note the connections between Hempstead, a city in New York state, and Tegucigalpa, a city in Honduras, because they 'almost always locate the dividing line between "civilisation" and "barbarity" just below the Río Grande' (p. 83). Accustomed to thinking of a contrast between Honduras and the USA, it becomes difficult, she argues, to understand their relationship. In fact, 'Both cities can be drawn on the same map: the map of violence related to drug trafficking', as the same gangs operate in both locations (p. 83). In the USA, the Mexican border has been rhetorically overlaid with another border – 'the dividing line between "civilisation" and "barbarity"' (p. 83). To counter this, Luiselli offers an alternative way of conceptualising space in the image of the drug-gang map that features both cities.

Importantly, she is not challenging the double border which features in the official narrative with a naïve vision of a world without borders, as if by inviting readers to simply imagine a borderless world, one can be brought into being. Maps are, obviously, not typically border-free spaces – in fact, what they often do is represent and insist upon politically determined and sometimes arbitrary borderlines. However, the borders in the official narrative are lines of demarcation and separation, lines which attempt to produce and maintain division. By contrast, Luiselli wants to draw readers' attention to points of connection. She invites us to see the Mexico–USA border not as a marker of absolute difference, but rather as a place which reveals and mediates interconnectedness. The experience of the border is not the same for citizens or residents of the USA as it is for those trying to cross the border, but nonetheless the border shapes the experiences of both. This mutual interrelation is illustrated through the way Luiselli describes her daughter's interest in the children she translates for. In particular, Luiselli writes, 'There is one story that obsesses her' (p. 55). This is the story of two other little girls, five and seven years old. The girls' mother had migrated to Long Island three years ago

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and then sent for them. They left Guatemala by themselves, with 'a man' (p. 56). They 'made it to the border, were kept in custody . . . for an indefinite time period . . . . After that they went to a shelter and a few weeks later they were put on a plane and flown to JFK' (p. 57). It seems likely that Luiselli's daughter becomes especially interested in these children because of what she and they share in terms of age and gender – that is, there is a type of identification at play here.

In the text, her daughter's intense interest in these other girls is repeatedly connected to issues of storytelling and writing and prompts Luiselli's self-conscious reflection on the form that is appropriate for recounting the extraordinary experiences of child migrants. Importantly, it also gives the book its title. Luiselli's daughter asks her: 'So, how does the story of those children end?' (p. 55). Luiselli has 'not yet been able to offer a real ending': 'I don't know how it ends yet, I usually say' (p. 55). But 'She comes back to this question often, demanding a proper conclusion with the insistence of very small children' (p. 66). Because of the complexities of the immigration court, the girls' arrival in New York is not the end of the story: 'That's just where it begins, with a court summons: a first Notice to Appear' (p. 58). At the end of the text, there is an incident which brings together these themes – the daughter's imaginative investment in the girls' migration story, the interrelationship between different types of border, and the challenge to literary style. In the book's final section 'Coda (Eight Brief Postscripta)', Luiselli describes her horror and shock at the election of Donald Trump: 'the world is so upside fucking down that Trump somehow became president of the United States' (p. 101). She feels that – as a writer of fiction – she should have known what was about to happen: 'I should have foreseen some of it: I am a novelist, which means my mind is trained to read the world as part of a narrative plot, where some events foreshadow others' (p. 101). One of the events which feels, in retrospect, like foreshadowing, involves her daughter: they are playing together with face paints when her daughter puts white paint on her face and says 'now I'm getting ready for when Trump is president. So they won't know we're Mexicans' (p. 102).

The daughter's anxieties about a Trump election victory show that, as Trilling has suggested, 'In the 21st century, a border is not just a line on a map; it is a system for filtering people that stretches from the edges of a territory into its heart, affecting those who are already in the country.'[14] The daughter's experience is not the *same* as the experience of the Guatemalan girls she is obsessed with. But this incident – the sad, jokey

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performance of self-erasure, her deep understanding of racialisation at such an early age – suggests the extent to which she too is shaped and affected by the policing of the border. This is an experience which connects these differently located girls. This moment feels like foreshadowing: it feels as if it should be in a novel. Nonetheless, it appears in this non-fictional text, even though being a novelist is central to Luiselli's identity. Novels, she claims, provide a 'narrative plot, where some events foreshadow others' (p. 101). To do justice to the unknown ending of stories like that of the two girls from Guatemala, and her daughter's own sense of insecurity, a novel would be insufficient.

In this way, the text's challenge to the official narrative is twofold, working at the level of form and content. It directly points out the connections between the USA and the rest of the American continent which produce migratory flows, thereby challenging the decontextualisation characteristic of the official narrative. But in its form, it also performs incompletion, and draws attention to its own distance from rigid structure (by, for example, ending with a list of eight postscripta, instead of a conclusion which draws the threads together). It is as if the story is stretching and outpacing the forms the writer has available to her. In order to centre this particular female experience, the connected experience of different kinds of border which stretches between the unaccompanied migrant girls and her own daughter, a new type of narrative has to be developed. The text's own lack of closure makes the need for new stories about migration – ones which can account for connection and the multiple types of border which currently exist – appear increasingly urgent to the reader.

Mouths: Imagery, Sexual Violence and Migration in 'Conversations About Home'

Warsan Shire's prose poem 'Conversations about Home (at the Deportation Centre)' also emphasises the relationship between state borders and wider societal patterns of oppression. It employs imagery related to mouths to evoke the vulnerability to sexual violence that is, for many women, exacerbated by migration, illuminating the gendered dimensions of travel across borders. The text has four sections, but the relationship between these sections is left open: all have a first-person speaker, who describes forced migration, but whether this is the same speaker across the sections is not clear. Mouths are mentioned repeatedly in the poem. At first home is compared to a mouth: 'home spat me out, the blackouts and the

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curfews like tongue against loose teeth'.[15] The home–mouth analogy then becomes more particular: 'No one leaves home unless home is the mouth of a shark' (p. 24). Then it is the speaker's mouth which moves to the foreground: 'I've been carrying the old anthem in my mouth for so long that there's no space for another song, another tongue or another language', and 'I tore up and ate my own passport in an airport hotel. I'm bloated with language I can't afford to forget' (p. 24). At first home *is* the mouth; as the poem progresses, the home country is instead *in* the speaker's mouth, symbolised by the anthem and the passport. The 'old anthem' fills up the speaker's mouth – a metaphor suggesting the difficulties of displacement (p. 24). Belonging to her own national community and inevitably shaped by it, it is difficult – even impossible – for the speaker to adjust linguistically, culturally or romantically/sexually: there is 'no space' for 'another language', 'another song', or 'another tongue' (p. 24).

This imagery continues to be twisted and transformed as the poem continues: borders become personified and they too possess mouths: 'Look at all these borders, foaming at the mouth with bodies broken and desperate', the speaker says in section 2 (p. 25). A mouth is a kind of border between the body's inside and outside: that the borders' mouths are foaming indicates an uncontrolled sickness. Then the speaker describes being far from home and watching the news depicting the terrible events which are occurring there: 'I watch the news and my mouth becomes a sink full of blood' (p. 26). The image of the mouth as a sink suggests the intensity of the speaker's corporeal, visceral response to what she sees on the news: the mouth is filled with blood, as if it is taking on the injuries of others back home. Though blood in the mouth is probably an easily imaginable experience, the comparison of the mouth with the sink makes the image surreal and indicates the speakers' sense of disorientation.

Why do mouths recur across the poem in this way? One explanation is suggested by section 3, in which the speaker describes her reasons for leaving her home. After describing the indignities and difficulties of life as an immigrant, she states: 'But Alhamdulilah all of this is better than the scent of a woman completely on fire, or a truckload of men who look like my father, pulling out my teeth and nails, or fourteen men between my legs, or a gun, or a promise, or a lie, or his name, or his manhood in my mouth' (p. 26). The speaker fears violence; this fear causes her to migrate. The violence is notably gendered. There are female victims ('the scent of a woman completely on fire') and male perpetrators: 'the truckload of men . . . pulling out my teeth and nails'; the 'fourteen men between my legs' (p. 26). Early in the poem, mouths are symbolic. The danger of home

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is symbolised by teeth; the disaster of tightening border controls is symbolised by the foaming at the mouth. In this later part of the poem, the mouth is no longer a symbol but is, rather, the actual site of sexual violence. It is well established that sexual violence is a significant risk for women during wartime and during migration, and the repeated use of the image of the mouth in this poem, related to home, the border, and the threat of violence, works to make the link between sexual violence and migration clear.[16] Importantly, though, it does not do this through logical language or through statistics – it works in a different register. It is one thing to understand that there is a link between sexual violence and migration. But the insistent, obsessive return to the image of the mouth, its appearance in multiple, sometimes surreal locations, suggests more than the link itself. It also registers the frightening and traumatic impact of these intertwined experiences, the way they can unsettle ordinary life and make it impossible.

Refugee, Exile, Migrant, Expatriate: Vahni Capildeo's 'Five Measures of Expatriation'

So far in this chapter I have been arguing that literary writing, with its intense interest in language and in forms of storytelling, can help readers to become attentive to the connections between state borders and other forms of social differentiation and oppression, such as the experiences of racialisation and fear which link Luiselli's daughter and the girls from Guatemala she is interested in, and the specifically gendered aspects of migration, such as women's experience of sexual violence. In the final section of the chapter, I turn to the second part of Mohanty's definition of feminist thinking on borders – transcendence. I argue that, through its linguistic innovation, Vahni Capildeo's prose poem 'Five Measures of Expatriation' invites readers to contemplate the creativity, freedom, and opportunity that crossing borders can produce, without losing sight of the associated difficulties and suffering. As we have seen, the words used to describe a border-crossing person matter deeply. Luiselli argues that the USA needs to 'rethink the very language' used to describe the migrants who cross the Mexico–US border – a rethinking she considers unlikely, because of the legal significance of certain names (p. 86). A 'war refugee', she writes, 'is bad news and an uncomfortable truth for governments, because it obliges them to deal with the problem instead of simply "removing the illegal *aliens*"' (p. 87). Meanwhile, the word 'refugee' has also taken on other meanings beyond the law. The speaker in Warsan Shire's poem hears people saying '*fucking immigrants, fucking refugees*' (p. 27). 'Refugee' – legally defined as a person

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outside of her country of citizenship and with a well-founded fear of persecution – is here an insult.

It is against the background of the names given to border-crossers, their shifting meanings and life-changing significance, that Capildeo's prose poem 'Five Measures of Expatriation' can be read. The speaker in the poem was born in Trinidad and lives in the UK, and the poem explores a series of experiences with, and reflections on, borders. For example, it describes the party game 'where each person says the first word that comes to mind, prompted by what the person before has just said', and asks: 'If these words: expatriate, exile, migrant, refugee: turned up in the children's game, what, on the instant, would be my wordless upsurge?'[17] The section is titled 'A Record of Illegitimate Reactions', and each of the four words appears on the page accompanied by a set of associations. For example, 'Migrant geese or some such was where I first heard the word so as to note it, the word migrant actually not alone at origin, part of a phrase with white wings' (p. 102). Exile, meanwhile, 'is Joseph. Exile is Moses. Exile is a boy or a man and sand and serpents. Exile is Sri Rāma' (p. 102). The accumulation of associations includes colours ('Migrant is cerulean and khaki' (p. 102)) and recollected personal experience: '*Refugee.* Severity of the olive green cover of the J.S. Bach *Preludes and Fugues* book that was my master such long hours of my teens . . . *Refugio.* A cavern. Mary and Joseph, straw in a rough box?' (p. 101).

Listing the diverse ideas associated with each name for a border-crosser, the poem carefully attends to the shades of meaning that these words can possess. It thus distinguishes itself from a prominent trend in postcolonial literary and cultural studies, which has often symbolised migration in general through one concept: the figure of 'the unencumbered exile who rejects the need for home altogether and, through this process, finds self-actualization through authorship', as Lucinda Newns puts it.[18] The problem with the heroic exile figure, David Farrier writes, is that it 'too easily equates voluntary exiles and asylum seekers', failing to acknowledge that some movements away from home produce trauma without contributing to redemptive experiences of personal growth.[19] By contrast, 'Five Measures' is careful to distinguish various kinds of migratory experience. For example, the speaker finds 'expatriate' to be the most fitting name. This term is arrived at via the process of haphazard, responsive creation which the poem sees as characteristic of the expatriate: 'An exile, a migrant, a refugee, would have been in more of a hurry, would have been more driven out or driven towards, would have been seeking and finding not' (p. 101).

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However, the poem does not only use its list of names for border-crossers to suggest that we need to be attentive to the specificity of individuals' experiences, and resist collapsing distinctions. What is so striking about the list which follows each of the words is that they float entirely free of the expected meanings: they are allusive, sometimes obscure; they follow chains of association that go off in wild directions. The poem does not only show that each name for a person who crosses a border suggests different shades of meaning, but also connects the words 'refugee', 'migrant', 'exile', and 'expatriate' to surprising, idiosyncratic, specific, and evocative ideas, phrases which recall religious practice and mythology, colour and art. In this way, it implies a rethinking of the words used to describe migration – not in the sense Luiselli means, as a way of spurring targeted political action, but rather in an imaginative sense. The poem refuses the static meanings and bureaucratic jargon of border control – the discourses that decide which label an individual will acquire, and therefore the kind of treatment they will receive. It does not regurgitate the legal or political definitions of a refugee, for example – it insists on the possibility of finding new meanings in this familiar category.

'Expatriate' is the term claimed by the speaker in Capildeo's poem. This term is chosen for circumstantial reasons, because of the bureaucratic machinery of immigration – it is not in any sense a personal experience of inner identity.

> Expatriation: my having had a *patria*, a fatherland to leave, did not occur to me until I was forced to invent one. This was the result of questions. The questions were linked to my status elsewhere. (p. 95)

The speaker is compelled to assert an identity in order to travel, but even so 'expatriate' is not simply an externally imposed label – it also opens new possibilities. The word is heavily weighted. As Mawuna Remarque Koutonin has written, 'In the lexicon of human migration there are still hierarchical words, created with the purpose of putting white people above everyone else', and expatriate or expat 'is a term reserved exclusively for western white people going to work abroad'.[20] Because it is being born in Trinidad, once colonised by Britain, that poses such problems and hold-ups for the speaker in European immigration systems, there is a certain irony in the choice of this word; it is an attempt to reclaim and reconfigure a term conventionally used to maintain racial hierarchy.

The word 'expatriate' also has gendered connotations. In feminist terms, liberation from the father is – archetypally – cast as an important movement towards individual freedom (however well-loved actual flesh-and-

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blood fathers might be). The poem suggests that leaving a real father can be a source of freedom: ‘My father, in Trinidad, was very ill, as he had been ever since I had known him. In my early twenties, I realized that this illness was not going to change, except to get worse. In some ways this realization was freedom. I started looking to cross other waters’ (p. 96). Though this ‘freedom’ is not uncomplicated or unambiguous, because it comes at the cost of a father’s illness, the connection between the father and the fatherland here is suggestive. If leaving the actual father provides some opportunity for freedom and movement and mobility as well as sadness and pain, for the feminist reader, alert to the significance of patriarchs as symbols of masculine power, there is an implication that becoming an expatriate can also become a source of new possibility in gendered terms. The poem causes the reader to linger over the meaning of the familiar word ‘expatriate’, and draws attention to the movement away from the symbolic figure of masculine authority, the figure of the father, embedded in the literal meaning. In this way, it suggests that the expatriate might function as a symbol of feminist possibility, even through and within the grief and pain of loss: ‘Expatriate, I had acquired the confidence to hurtle into having to start over. It was a way of going on’ (p. 99).

Conclusion

The texts discussed in this chapter present feminist perspectives on the injustices of contemporary bordering practices, and all three use innovative literary approaches to do so. The imagery of the mouth in ‘Conversations about Home (at the Deportation Centre)’ makes the connection between sexual violence and migration viscerally and uncomfortably clear, powerfully evoking the suffering experienced by many women and girls who cross borders today. An intersectional feminist politics cannot treat gender in isolation, and the texts also emphasise the racial politics and colonial histories that intersect with gender in bordering processes. *Tell Me How It Ends* self-consciously draws attention to the limitations of its own narrative form as it tries to depict the interconnected experiences of the child migrants from Guatemala and Luiselli’s own daughter. Through its unsettled narrative structure, it emphasises the need for new stories to adequately reflect the ‘shared hemispheric history’ that links the girls (p. 85). Finally, Capildeo’s poem reimagines the words ‘migrant’, ‘refugee’, ‘expatriate’, and ‘exile’, and – through playing with the word ‘expatriate’ – intertwines the possibilities of anti-patriarchal and migratory freedom. Through these gestures, border crossing is depicted as a source of

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imaginative and creative liberation, even as it is also associated with loss, pain, and grief. The feminist approach to borders that emerges when the texts are read together, therefore, is one that attends to the extreme difficulties of many migrations today, and represents the particular experiences of women as well as understanding gender in relation to racial politics and colonial histories. Against the background of intense anti-migrant sentiment, it also resolutely celebrates and defends the value, significance, and creativity of the act of crossing borders.

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Notes

1 J. Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 10.
2 Ibid.
3 C. T. Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.
4 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, unhcr.org.
5 J. B. Cooper, 'Environmental Refugees: Meeting the Requirements of the Refugee Definition', *New York University Environmental Law Journal*, 6:2 (1998), 480–674.
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