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Identity at the Borders and Between the Borders

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Preface

Weaving the Border

This book—*Identity at the Borders and Between the Borders*—includes an integrated insight into the complex phenomenon of borders and identity. The process of making and negotiating border and the identity formation on the border have been here analysed by integrating psychological, social, historical, and cultural stances and with the help of empirical data from some European and not European Border Zone. Border-related phenomena have been here presented in order to elaborate a more general understanding of the identity formation at the borders and between the borders.

There is more to the topic of borders than the actual borders themselves. We are faced with structures in-between—of some parts of a system that contains at least two distinguishable parts. The border can be real—as in-between countries—or imaginary, in one's own mind. In any case—a border has some extension (width) and structural conditions for its crossing. The focus on borders as zones in-between relocates the focus from the parts of the system to the dynamics in-between. This new ontology of structures in-between opens the possibility to look at transitions within the dynamic system. This look is of central importance—in biological sense a border is a membrane that unites two cells. In a psychological and social senses, a border is a dynamic relationship between the parts in a system.

The book is an interdisciplinary effort—similarly to others in the same series (e.g. Innis, 2020) to reflect on the concept of border, the feeling and attitude towards the "other", and the question of identity. Border, in both its visible and invisible feature, structures our psychological and social life. In our globalised world where the migratory crisis is the unwanted hot topic in the political agenda of many countries and the inequality and fear of the others are present at the macro- and micro-scale actions, border turns out a prominent object of investigation.

In this book, aside from the multifaceted border-related issue and the link with the identity definition and reformulation, the authors made an effort to identify some general axis of the way in which we think about borders in psychological terms. Our thinking, like all living entities, is born to dress up borders, frontiers, and limits. This is a kind of architectural vice of our psyche and our human lives. As there is no infinity without a horizon line that makes imagining the step beyond it possible, there are no biological organisms, starting from the level of the cell, that can survive without making border with its surrounding.

Physical and mental life is then about borders. However, borders are not only about closing and delimiting. In analogy with the organic membranes, borders are living and permeable entities. They are made to delimit and negotiate at the same time (Marsico, 2016). While the dividing nature of borders is a frequent fact of life in everyday situation, borders study from a cultural psychology perspective may also unveil interactions and connection as well as the intrapsychological component involved in the border-making and border-regulating phenomena.

By examining spatial, material, temporal, or cultural aspects of borders in their intersectional and interactions, this book presents theoretical and methodological tools that help reveal border production processes, understand their complexity, multi-layeredness, and dynamics, and thus contribute to the critical extension of the oftentimes simplistic discussion of borders and border areas and their impacts on the identity definition of people.

As many of the chapters of this book pointed out, border is made by a fabrics of practices and discourses with some direct consequences on the self-definition and social relations. This is somehow new and the innovative aspect that the volume brought in the border study where usually scholars approach borders as an abstraction located somewhere at the fuzzy intersection of power, society, and territory. As a result, the conceptualisations of borders end up in complex and hyper-coded representations of border realities which tend to forget that at the border, millions of people are just living their daily lives, dealing and coping with the ordinary complexity of borders and bordering.

Every day, people cross borders to shop, play, study, or work; and many even lose their lives in the attempt. And every day, many face scrutiny and even harassment, while others cross without even noticing the border. Some dream of bridging borders, while others simply strive to erect walls and stop cross-border intercourse. As this volume emphasises, daily life on the border at between the border implies a construction and deconstruction of borders through ideology, cultural mediation, discourses, institutions, attitudes and social practices. Bordering is a multilevel and dialogical process (Marsico & Tateo, 2017), manifested, among other things, by physical borders and visa regimes (now even more rigid because of the Covid 19 pandemic), as well as in social discourses and media debates over national identity, migration, citizenship, cooperation, and other personal and collective ways of understanding, living, and acting borders.

Clearly, borders are not just abstractions, they are concrete realities where lives unfold and where a sophisticated psychological and cultural process of meaning making and identity definition takes place.

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Introduction: Making Borders Is Making Identities, Making Identities Is Making Borders

Katrin Kullasepp

Abstract Making and maintaining borders is an intriguing and complex process. Despite decades of exploration of how border-making affects and is affected by psychological functioning and social dynamics, it is still a fascinating topic that merits further exploration. In this book, various aspects of the border issue are approached from different theoretical perspectives. This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the main ideas of each chapter. This book tackles the interconnections between borders, identity, and self-other relations, linking them with various themes like public spaces, (national) identity processes, affectivity, and negotiation of borders.

Keywords Border-making · Identity processes · Cultural psychology · Place attachment · Urban public space/civic space · National identity

The project of creating book began with an international mobile seminar funded by Tallinn University (Estonia) and Aalborg University (Denmark), which took place in Estonia in 2017, and with the intellectually stimulating debates and insights that followed with researchers from different disciplines and institutions in various countries (e.g., Brazil, Colombia, Spain, Italy, Estonia, Poland, Chile, and the United Kingdom).

This book represents a landmark accomplishment of this joint international project and an important contribution to the discussion on borders, a subject that has been explored extensively for decades. However, it is still topical within the current context of globalization, which challenges the resilience of social-economic and political systems that must re-adjust, while it also highlights the border issues between and within states, social groups, and individuals, requiring solutions for tension-filled conditions. The construction and re-construction of borders are trig-

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gered by a variety of socio-cultural-political events and negotiated in disputes and conflicts. The crucial matter is to comprehend the relationship between their historical, socio-cultural, collective, and individual dynamics and their mutual interdependence.

This book offers a glimpse into the interconnections between borders, identity, and Self-Other relations. In general, borders are about difference. They create socio-spatial distinctions between places, individuals and groups. Borders represent an inescapable experience. One perceives the world through identifying events, things, forms, and movement in the physical world, but areas that are perceived as borders have different forms. They can be visible natural objects like rivers and valleys, artificial demarcations like geopolitical borders between states, invisible signs like conventional regulations and languages referring to national belonging, or invisible but sensible signals like smells and sounds. A distinction is made between areas in the geographic landscape and the groups affiliations that divide people into ‘us’ and ‘non-us’, or in- and out-groups. Why do we do this? Making borders involves putting the world in order, and in so doing, humans eliminate the chaos that otherwise would prevail. This is why the bordering process is so essential to our human existence. Making distinctions through identifying discontinuities in the physical environment and social surroundings is, then, a human behaviour that cannot be avoided and that affects people’s experiences of their social world and self-understanding in the matrix of social relations.

Within the general framework of cultural psychology, different theoretical, but complementary, angles and discussions built on the empirical data collected in different countries (Colombia, Estonia, Denmark, Brazil, Morocco, and Italy) are introduced and discussed in order to elaborate a more general understanding. This book aims at offering an “in-depth” comprehension of the intricacy of the border-making process and how this is involved in psychological and social experiences.

As the reader will learn, the bordering process is an interdisciplinary research object, a complex psychological-social-cultural-political phenomenon, which is explored in this book from the viewpoints of researchers from diverse disciplinary backgrounds like cultural psychology, human geography, political science, and cultural studies.

Outline of the Book

The book is divided into eight chapters. The discussion begins by exploring borders built from visible and invisible elements in urban public spaces and with an analysis of emotional attachment to these places as a kind of mental boundary, as well as their connections to psychological experiences and social processes. This exploration develops into an investigation of the impact of borders on the construction of identity in terms of the intrapsychological processes involved in crossing borders. The last two chapters offer complementary views about the negotiation of social borders in relation to national identity. These chapters align discourses disseminated

by institutions with intrapsychological processes of identity. In both chapters, construction of the 'other' is the central issue.

In Chap. 2, Tateo, Nugin, Jones, Marsico, and Palang focus on relations between public spaces that they describe as "specific cultural territories with borders which are both visible and invisible" (p. x in this volume), specifically pertaining to their sensory aspects and collective identity. In this chapter, borders are defined as a complex phenomenon with a multisensory nature that regulates everyday individual and collective life, and the construction of borders functions "to articulate, differentiate, or hierarchically integrate their relationships with the environment" (p. x in this volume). According to the authors, people's experiences are influenced by the invisible elements of places, such as smells, sounds, and tastes, that are incorporated into the meaning-making processes of the border. Public spaces are conceived of in this chapter as agents of power that can exclude or include social groups, unite or divide communities, and thus, they are significant in directing social processes.

Heidmets and Liik apply the perspective of environmental psychology and approach place attachment as an example of bordering in Chap. 3. Their central claim holds that place attachment is a universal border phenomenon in society. Based on this concept, an emotional bond with a place makes it more meaningful and distinctive compared to others. From the authors' point of view, place attachment—mental boundary making—organizes people's spatial and social relationships, and it is a promising tool for comprehending humans' behaviour and motivation to act globally or locally.

How crossing borders is related to identity processes, and how it appears in autobiographic narratives, is explored in Chaps. 4 and 5. In Chap. 4, Fontal, Marsico, Ossa, Millan, and Prado focus on the dynamics taking place in identity processes when moving to new socio-culturally arranged settings. Their discussion draws on approaches to narrative identity by Ricoeur (1999, 2006), Bruner (1991, 2013), and Valsiner (2017) and on Raggatt's (2000, 2010) concept of the dialogical triad. The authors conceive of borders as processes of semiotic configurations that make human action possible, viewing the self as a border that is the point of conjunction of what is internalized and externalized. Based on their analysis, the transition from one cultural context to another—from the indigenous community into the cultural setting of the city—manifests in the new subjective position of the self and in the tension resulting from different contradictory subjective positions. The authors posit that displacement and migration highlight the continuity and discontinuity of identity. Thus, identity is constructed in a spatial dimension unfolding over time.

The relationship between borders and the self is also explored in Chap. 5, by Español and Cornejo. By applying dialogical self theory (Hermans, 2001) and its extension (e.g., Aveling, Gillespie, & Cornish, 2014), and building on the narrative perspective on identity (e.g., Bruner, 1997, 2003; Ricoeur, 2009), this chapter seeks to answer how border experiences are related to the construction of identity, which "individuals create to give meaning to their existence" (p. x in this volume). The authors assert that borders are places that generate ambivalence. This has an impact on the construction of self-narratives. They also underline how experiences of crossing borders may vary depending on the individual's characteristics or affiliation with social groups.

Chapters 6 and 7 provide different levels of analysis of national self-formation and the relationships formed by the re-negotiation of identity into ‘us’ and ‘non-us’. Together, these chapters offer insight into the institution/person dialogues that create an arena for the negotiation of borders. Chapter 6, by Pawłusz, conceives of museums as powerful spaces for fostering dialogues about the relations between ‘us’ and the ‘other’ in society and introduces the example of the Estonian National Museum to address the role of exhibitions in the construction of cultural borders. An ethnographic perspective on the negotiation of national borders introduces two exhibitions that deliver somewhat contradictory messages in regard to differences between groups (e.g., cultural, ethnic), “creating and deconstructing cultural boundaries in different ways” (p. x in this volume).

The topic of the negotiation of relations with the ‘other’ is also addressed by Kullasepp in Chap. 7. However, instead of institutionally provided discourses on nation building, the attention here is shifted to how ‘us’<>‘non-us’ relations are constructed at the intrapsychological level. The discussion builds on dialogical self theory (Hermans, 2001; Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1992) and on the concept of hyper-generalized affective fields (Valsiner, 2017) to highlight the involvement of national identity—which can be also conceived as a social border—and the affective aspect in the multidimensional border-making process.

The concluding Chap. 8, by Kullasepp and Marsico, underlines the main ideas that this book presents. Issues and concepts like space, affectivity, and the multiplicity of ways of ordering the world, some of which are more explicitly associated with social processes like migration and mobility, are elaborated. This chapter provides a look at the socio-cultural mechanism behind the interconnections between border, identity, and Self-Other relations, building on the perspective of cultural psychology.

Even though this book brings together diverse approaches to the topic, some aspects of the border-making process remain to be explored. This theoretical and methodological gap may be rectified by future studies that this book may inspire and by advancement of the ideas it presents. This book aims to draw the coordinates of a new relational and dialogical approach to person-context relations and explore the individual’s perspective of the bordering process and its connection with identity construction.

The topics discussed in this book address issues that are of interest to experts and practitioners from a variety of disciplines. The book offers an approach that integrates the societal and psychological aspects of borders and border-making. Readers can formulate ideas for the prevention of social problems by considering the individual’s perspective in complex and dynamic social, cultural, and political conditions. What are the outcomes of encountering the ‘other’? How do borders affect identity construction? How can the design of the physical environment possibly affect inter-group relations? These are some of the questions that this book invites its readers to contemplate.

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Cities of Senses: Visible and Invisible Borders in Public Spaces

Luca Tateo, Raili Nugin, Alasdair Jones, Giuseppina Marsico, and Hannes Palang

Abstract Current understandings of borders in public spaces are informed by urban design theories, premised on the prevalence of visible, material borders. However, borders have a complex and multisensory nature, which has a significant bearing on the regulation of everyday individual and collective life. In multicultural urban spaces of Europe, the issue of invisible borders is related to the issue of collective identities. In this chapter, we will explore the multisensorial dimensions of border dynamics in space and time in relation to the integrative potential of urban public space. We will theoretically discuss how to understand the role of multisensory borders in public spaces to enhance or inhibit social interactions. In particular, we will consider the role borders in public space can play in mediating the integration of out-groups (for instance immigrants, deviant youth, ethnic minorities and older people) in civic life.

Keywords Borders · Public spaces · Collective identities · Integration · Europe

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Introduction: A Walk Through Public Space

Imagine yourself walking down a street of any urban area of a European middle-size town. It is a warm early-autumn afternoon. The air is not yet cold, sunset is a couple of hours away and people are walking, maybe back home after work or school. Shops are open and filling with customers doing their shopping on their way home. You are likely to see people of different ages, ethnicities and modes of dress. Likewise some people cycling, some people walking, some drivers parking their cars. After a while, the street ends in a square, with several other streets coming into this public space (Fig. 1).

You stop and observe for a while the changing scenario. First, you note that the urban space is organized in a certain way, so that the buildings create a distinctive configuration but also a distinctive atmosphere, a particular way in which the light flows in dialogue with the shadows. Second, you notice that the corners of the buildings acquire a new significance. They become more evident, in a certain sense, as they now mark the border between a narrower space (the street) and an open one (the square). At one of the corners, you note a shop, whose windows say “Kebab house” and “Italian pizza”. Then, you begin to observe the people in the square. How do they look? What are they wearing? What are they doing? You would probably see people from different ethnic backgrounds and dressed according to different (sub-)cultural norms. How might you try to figure out their presence in the square? Are they local residents, visitors, recent immigrants or tourists, for instance? What are the kinds of clues that constitute our understanding of an urban space?

Fig. 1 A street leading to a square in a North European town. (Photo by Tateo, 2018)

How do we learn to navigate and use public spaces? How do we judge, for instance, cues about personal safety or danger? How do we understand the kind of neighbourhood we have entered? How do we classify people we meet there and act accordingly? The nature of public spaces, such as town squares, is complex and full of clues, messages, objects that people use to make meaning of their own experience of those public spaces and of the collectively coordinated actions taking place therein. This chapter builds on a nascent literature on everyday urban walking as research method and practice (Bates & Rhys-Taylor, 2016; Brown & Shortell, 2016), and in it we use examples of and reflections on urban perambulation as a means to access "a multi-layered dynamic reality" (Brown, 2016, p. 197). In turn, through this empirical work we are trying to augment this literature by outlining an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that accounts for the sensorial complexity of public space and use this as a basis for proposing future directions of public realm research.

How Public Spaces Are Understood

People, culture and space are in "a dialogic process that links the social production of space and nature and the social development of the built environment (…) with the social construction of space and place meanings" (Low, 2017, p. 7). Current understandings of borders in topographically-defined public space (Iveson, 2007) are informed by influential urban design theories premised on the prevalence of visible, material borders (Lynch, 1960), and current studies tend to limit border thinking to a concern for "the meaning and boundaries of public and private" (Bodnar, 2015, p. 2096) in the various public-private constellations of regenerated urban fabric. Yet borders have a complex and multisensory nature, which has a significant bearing on the regulation of everyday individual and collective life (Marsico, 2016). In this chapter, we explore these multisensorial dimensions of border dynamics in space and time in relation to the integrative potential of urban public space (and specifically of what Carmona (2010, p. 169) classifies as "civic space"), exemplifying these dimensions with a few cases from European urban environments. We seek to understand how the existence of (invisible or visible) borders in civic spaces are subjectively experienced, perceived and seen by different groups of city dwellers. We also aim to show how these borders can change (for example seasonally, diurnally or in relation to exceptional events) (Jones, 2018), and how borders are negotiated by those claiming public space on an everyday basis, when ruptures emerge.

Public spaces are domains, which are constructed, negotiated, contested, shaped and reshaped through people's practices on a daily basis, and which are framed by cultural, social and political developments. Public spaces are also arenas of discursive disputes between social agents (Bille, Bjerregaard, & Sørensen, 2015). Space always embraces the imaginary, the symbolic, but also the practical and material (Lefebvre, 1974). Besides acknowledging the interrelatedness of different aspects of what constitutes public space, one must also analyze how different public and private

spaces (physical, digital and cultural) and their borders interact and form networks in the (re)production of these borders. Such relations constitute the various socio-spatial milieux we encounter in the city. Public (both urban and rural) spaces are specific cultural territories with borders which are both visible and physical (i.e. the borders of a central square), yet there are borders within these physical borders, for which visibility is sometimes obvious (e.g. roller skaters on certain areas of a given square), but sometimes symbolic and fluid according to the rhythms of the day (e.g. the presence of pensioners and children in the mornings and teenagers in the evening). The closer to the semiotic core of a given culture—the centre that determines the dominant, hegemonic meanings—the less diverse and more stable the structure of culture is; whereas the more into the cultural periphery, the greater the variety of different meanings and the higher their intensity and their speed of change (Lotman, 1990). The hierarchical and dialogic articulation of centre/periphery is granted by the dynamic of bordering. A person, or a group of people, constructs borders to articulate, differentiate, or hierarchically integrate their relationships with the environment (which include the self, other individuals, a group of people, the physical environment, etc.) and to manage ambiguity (Marsico et al., 2013). So, organizing the urban space through bordering is a way of attributing meaning, value and affordances to the different living contexts, and to reduce uncertainty.

Visible and Invisible Borders in Public Space

It is now time to resume your walk further into the square. You begin to gradually notice other elements in the environment. As you gaze around, sounds and smells emerge from what was an indistinct background just a moment before. The predominant sensation is the smell of food (cfr. Rhys-Taylor (2013) on the olfactory qualities of contemporary urban public life). You realize that in the square there are different places related to food, from which originate several smells: there are at least three different neighbouring food shops (marked by arrows in Fig. 2).

The shop “A” is a hotdog kiosk, selling sausages and hamburgers. The shop “B” is a kebab and chicken sandwiches kiosk. The shop “C” is an Arabic grocery with a lot of vegetables and fruit displayed on the benches outside. What kind of sensory experience are people passing by or standing near these outlets having? One would imagine that the proximity of such different shops to one another would generate a complex intertwining of sensorial stimuli. Colours, sounds, words and first of all smells. How would you experience these smells? Together, as a pleasant mix of different aromas, spices and ways of cooking? One of them might override the others as more familiar or as more exotic? Might you instead experience a mingling cacophony of sensations (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, pp. 398–399), and perceive some of these as unpleasant? What would affect and shape your experience? Your personal taste? Your cultural background? Your being an adult, woman, vegetarian, of religious faith etc.? How might these sensory impressions related to the different activities taking place in the public square help to signify the space, to whom the public space belongs, and who is the dweller and who is the visitor?

Fig. 2 Complex multisensory environment in public space. (Photo by Tateo, 2018)

Borders: Public Spaces as Multisensory Arenas

Public spaces are part of our daily environment, yet on an everyday level they are rarely seen as agents of power—sites that can divide or unite communities or draw the lines between social groups, produce and reproduce stigmatisation or marginalisation, empower or weaken social agents and carry ideological statements which influence our lives. Though notions of public spaces as domains of power and cultural representation have been recognised and researched (Low, 2000, 2017), and there is an increasingly established body of work on 'border studies' (Wilson & Donnan, 2012), the effects of complex border conditions in and around urban public space on urban integration is underexplored (for a partial exception see Jones (2014, pp. 51–86)). According to Vis (2018):

> the inhabited urban built environment is made of boundaries. Regarding the built environment as a composite complex of boundaries demands a new look at how spatial data truly represents the spatial and material characteristics that urban built environments comprise (Vis, 2018, p. 7).

Notable theoretical accounts of the potential for porous borders and impervious boundaries in urban public space to facilitate and foreclose integration respectively have been developed (Sennett, 2006), but empirical studies of this important phenomenon and their sensual dimensions (Vannini, Waskul, & Gottschalk, 2013) are lacking. Indeed, the under-theorization of borders and encounter in human geographical research has recently been highlighted as an important research gap (Wilson, 2017), and this observation is reflected more broadly in the absence of attention to borders in a recent overview of topics that have motivated interdisciplinary public space research (Bodnar, 2015).

Yet, by looking at how these borders are created, contested and negotiated, we can try to make sense of mechanisms of social cohesion and exclusion and the distribution of power in public space. The current understanding of borders in public

spaces is relatively underdeveloped, being based primarily on the materiality and visibility of borders and/or the public-private distinction (Madanipour, 2003). While studies of geo-political borders have recognized borders "as socio-cultural and discursive processes and practices" (Brambilla, 2015, p. 15) for some time now, this shift has been less evident in studies of public urban spaces. Borders in public spaces can be created and experienced in multisensory modalities (e.g. physical barriers or passages, sound-scapes, smell-scapes, surfaces, visual cues or barriers to the gaze, etc.). A sound, a smell, a particular corner, can mark the organization and the transition from one way of living a public space and another. One can for instance think about the places of street food, the market places, and how these multisensory spaces can organize collective life and embed specific values and identities. Our cities are filled with ethnic food, and for instance, the presence of street food stalls marks the urban experience, offering at the same time a sign of presence and an opportunity for cross-cultural encounter and exchange (Rhys-Taylor, 2013).

Every socio-economic formation creates its own landscape with its own symbols and values (Cosgrove, 1984), enriching the semiosphere with heterogeneous and continuously changing messages: different layers and structures that change with varying speed (a condition Amin (2008, p. 10) has referred to as 'situated multiplicity'). These changes are produced and produce the borders of the public spaces, both in physical space and the metaphorical order (Kurki, 2014). The symbolic value of economic activities, such as street food or groceries, is extremely relevant both in creating, disrupting and demolishing boundaries, and in making visible or invisible demarcation between different social groups, and we will explore an example of this later in the chapter. The importance of food in intergroup relationships is clearly demonstrated by a recent political episode in which the Italian interior minister, a member of the xenophobic party "Lega", has been promoting a campaign against "ethnic shops" (meaning basically Muslim and Asian shops in the Italian lay discourse) (Robinson & Mezzofiore, 2018; Stone, 2018), threatening to strictly regulate their night-time opening hours as they represent "dangerous" places in which people get drunk and sell drugs (Robinson & Mezzofiore, 2018; Stone, 2018). On the other hand, we might imagine the situation for migrants or refugees of, for instance, Islamic religion in a North European country. How their everyday experience can be marked by sensory cues in public spaces where pork meat and alcohol is readily available as street food, or where some advertisements use sexualised imagery. However, the semiosphere of contemporary urban areas would be more probably populated by a complex mix of different signs, belonging to a number of traditions and times, sometimes contradictory, sometimes ambiguous and sometimes complementary.

The World in a Street: How Borders Create Distinctions and New Wholes in Urban Space

You continue walking down the square to the opposite corner. Here, you can observe a different configuration of elements (Fig. 3). On one side of the street, you can observe three shops in a row, inserted in old buildings, that date back to the early twentieth century (marked by arrows "A", "B" and "C" in Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 Complex configurations in public spaces. (Photo by Tateo, 2018)

The three shops are clearly different: “A” is a convenience store selling primarily Arabic goods; “B” is an Asian grocery and “C” is an expensive Nordic design furniture-maker and -seller. On the opposite side of the street, you can see other shops of a different kind. There is an Italian Pizzeria just next to a Thai kiosk (bottom right of the Fig. 3). On the opposite corner, there is an east Asian massage shop (marked with the small dotted circle in the bottom right). In the bottom left of Fig. 3, following the arrows, there is a detail of the window of the massage shop, with a *maneki-neko*, a cat of good fortune waving its paw. Everything is clearly delimitated by a series of elements: the buildings’ frames; the colours and languages of the shop signs; the flags of different nation states displayed in the shop windows. But at the same time, collectively they form a configuration. They give a special quality to the street, a unique atmosphere. What constitutes the “atmosphere” of the place? How might people experience the *Gestalt* of the street? Would people experience the different shops as specific signs of social fragmentation or as a distinctive configuration of the neighbourhood? A literary description of the Belleville quarter in Paris by the author Daniel Pennac gives us one clue. Belleville is the vernacular multiethnic neighbourhood in which Pennac lived for many years and where he set all the novels of the *Monsieur Malaussène*’s saga. Belleville was a *banlieue* (or suburb) mainly inhabited by Arabic African immigrants. As Pennac (1997, p. 164) put it,

"[e]ven at fifteen below zero, Belleville does not lose its colours, Belleville always played the Mediterranean."

At the end of the 1980s, a new wave of Asian migration started to change the appearance of Belleville, and Pennac registers this process in a way that represents the double nature of borders in urban public spaces:

> But that didn't matter. When all of Belleville had become Chinese then, way, way up there, they could add on some jagged pagoda-like wavelets … Architecture is the art of suggestion (Pennac, 1991, p. 106).

Pennac (1991, 1997) tries to capture the essence of the life trajectory of a multicultural neighbourhood. He describes in few lines the *atmosphere* of Belleville (Anderson, 2009; Bille et al., 2015), relying on a mix of elements (colours, architecture, etc.). What Pennac's creativity and sensitivity has staged in the idealized neighbourhood of Belleville, we will try to capture in a real urban context. How can a whole quarter become "Chinese", "African" or whatever? How can public space contribute to create a semiosphere in which borders can at the same time mark distinctions and create configurations?

Everyday Rhythms Negotiating Ruptures in Borderscapes

Multisensory borders in public spaces are rarely fixed. Public spaces, especially civic spaces, are often sites for public events that shift the meaning of space, albeit temporarily. In such cases, the term *borderscape* (Rajaram & Grundy-Warr, 2007) becomes useful, to mark the complexity of the border, which is "fluid and shifting" and is influenced by discourses, practices, symbolic boundaries and a number of other actors (Perera, 2007; Rajaram & Grundy-Warr, 2007).

Such borderscapes are especially fluid in public squares. Many towns have one such central square that hosts events which are often contradictory in character (such as army parades or mourning rituals, sports events or religious processions, rock concerts or political demonstrations). Each event has its own dedicated audience, but also those who dislike the ideological dispositions of these events (for example the religious beliefs being promoted are not shared, the political agenda of the demonstrations is not supported, the type of music being performed is disliked etc.) and stay away. Every event creates its own borders during the event and, depending on the event, the borders may be very clear or rather blurry. For instance, the trajectories of soldiers during military parades are predetermined, the borders between the army personnel and the citizens clearly drawn, the sport events' start and finish points are marked with gateways and so on. On the other hand, during an extempore demonstration or a public concert, the borders are less distinct. We have all likely noticed such distinctions, and they come as no surprise. Less attention has been paid to how these temporal borders are negotiated by those occupying those spaces on an everyday basis. Which events exclude the everyday users and in what cases are some borders are maintained and negotiated? Do users of the public space

make way for a time-limited intervention in space or try to maintain their territorial claims, drawing alternative borders to those that the organizers of the events have had in mind?

One example of such a tension is evident in the case of a spontaneous dance festival on Vabaduse väljak (Freedom Square) in Tallinn, Estonia in July 2017. The open-air youth dance festival was supposed to take place in a stadium in three separate performances. The weather was, however, ruthlessly cold with unrelenting rain, an unforgiving situation for the young dancers, many of whom wore traditional Estonian outfits made of woollen and linen fabrics which soaked quickly and would take ages to dry. Thus, shortly before the second performance, the organizing committee decided to call the performance off to enable the young dancers to dry their clothes. Young enthusiasts, however, decided to hold the performance nevertheless, using Facebook and other social media to rally the participants to make an alternative performance at Vabaduse väljak. Soon enough, most of the dancers were present and media channels were eager to make the most of it with live broadcasting. The emotions ran high and a spontaneous gathering (young people did not have time to apply for official permission for the event from the city government) turned into a symbolic act of civic activism and defiance (Fig. 4).

In the context of the theoretical focus of this chapter, this event is meaningful in several ways. Firstly, it exemplifies how digital communications can produce rapid social action and redesign the meaning of public spaces through acting on symbolic borders. A stadium meant for dance festival remained empty, while a square accommodated an unplanned event, drawing the attention of thousands, and perhaps even of some who would otherwise have missed or avoided the festival. It changed the symbolic borders or rules of organizing a public event at this city centre square: normally, it would take months of bureaucracy to schedule an event in Vabaduse väljak. It also modified the meaning of the event: an organized dance party with sold-out tickets turned into a civic act of spontaneous gathering, including people who happened either to pass by or had somehow heard about the event, also via social media.

Yet, a more interesting border negotiation took place on the margins of the square. As the event was organized in haste and spontaneously, the everyday rhythms of the square were in train. In the square, as we find in other modernist public spaces (Jones, 2013), young people are often seen practising tricks on their skateboards and scooters. When the event started, they continued their activities in a more restricted peripheral area of the square alongside some dance pairs who were practising for their next performance (Figs. 5 and 6). Folk dance and street sport subcultures differ substantially in their values and practices. Undoubtedly, street sport practitioners create their own borders and, during the process, exclude some public space users (Jones, 2014). Yet these groups co-existed in this part of the square that afternoon and the symbolic border between them was thinner than usual. This example leads to further questions about how and where are these borders usually drawn and how are they felt by those crossing the square.

Paradoxically enough, during the last 5 years the city government has made various attempts to ban urban street sport from the central square. According to the city

Fig. 4 Spontaneous dance festival at Vabaduse väljak. (Photo by Andres Putting. Source: http://www.delfi.ee/archive/leia-end-fotodelt-koik-valminud-delfi-pildiseeriad-laulu-ja-tantsupeolt?id=78748584#!dgs=dgsee-198584:4h3WVkUBqhr9fG4VyqX5aO)

Fig. 5 Street sport enthusiasts practicing during the spontaneous dance festival at Vabaduse väljak. (Photo by Raili Nugin, 2017)

Fig. 6 Folk dancers practicing at spontaneous dance festival at Vabaduse väljak. (Photo by Raili Nugin, 2017)

government officials, the skateboarders, scooter-riders and BMX bikers not only ruin the concrete stairs of the square, but their activity is also inappropriate in the space given the square is home to the Cross of Freedom (a monument to those who have their lives for the independence of Estonia and which is visible in the background of Fig. 4). Thus, the borders of this square are not only negotiated through daily activities, but, interdependently, on a symbolic and ideological plain as well.

Bringing the Theory Back to the Square

Our suggestion is that the phenomenon of visible and invisible borders in public space is crucial in understanding how such settings become sites for integration (or division) through the perceived presence and operation of multisensorial borders (lighting, soundscape, smellscape, architecture, etc.) at various scales and over time (during the day, through the seasons and over the years) in the "texture" of a public space (Laplantine, 2015).

In these few pages, we have provided only an indicative suggestion of how it is possible to combine the semiotic analysis of cultural psychology with the multisensory approach in urban studies and cultural geography, and with the urban

sociological and social anthropological approach to public spaces, in order to develop new theoretical insights into the social and material dynamics unfolding in contemporary urban life; dynamics characterized by fluidity and multiplicity of identities, new center/periphery dynamics, and the gentrification and ghettoization of different areas. Our analysis is of course preliminary. We have presented a few cases of how visible and invisible border dynamics can and do work in two European towns, overlooking several relevant issues such as the temporal dimension, the daily life cycle that modifies the atmosphere of the public space (e.g. according to the lighting), and the kind of collective activities taking place at the different times of the day. Towns and big cities are very different in their organization and atmosphere, and the concepts of center and periphery can vary in meaning. There can be many centers and many peripheries or no center at all. The presence of borders is instead constantly true, because borders are not an ephemeral phenomenon but the very basis of any open system (Tateo, 2016). Borders are necessary to define the “me” in relation to the “non-me”: they “are peripheral spaces in contact with the otherness, the strangeness” (De Luca Picione & Valsiner, 2017, p. 536). But borders are also semiotic regulators that allow contact and the transition of the unfamiliar into the familiar (Marsico, 2016).

In Fig. 7, we present some examples of the pervasive nature of borders and their twofold nature. Figure 7a shows the daily activity at the grocery store in the square we considered at the start of this chapter. We can observe different kinds of borders in dialogue. The display with the vegetables is a site where people from different backgrounds meet. They meet in a joint activity of shopping in a place, the shop, that is at the same time “other” (as it is clearly an “ethnic shop”) and “familiar (as it allows contact between different groups). In the adjacent image, Fig. 7b, we can see a small table that can be found at the arrivals gate at the airport of the same small

Fig. 7 The infinite faces of borders: in a grocery (part A) and at the airport (part B). (Photo by Tateo, 2018)

Danish town. Local tradition dictates that friends and family member who arrive by plane be welcomed by their hosts waving a national flag. So, the airport management ended up providing a basket full of flags that says you can "borrow" a flag to welcome your visitors. In this case, the border is represented by the flags' basket. It demarcates the official point of entry into the "homeland" and at the same time is a distinctive sign of "danishness". One can of course observe any kind of person, independently of ethnicity, gender or age, waving the flag for people arriving by plane. Also in this case, therefore the sign of the border can both mark a distinction and create the possibility of an inclusion. Which of the meanings will prevail at a certain moment is a matter of complex negotiations between the person, the culture and the context.

Meaning-Making on the Borders

Borders have the double property of dividing and uniting at the same time (Marsico & Varzi, 2015). In public spaces, they create communities but can also foster conflicts. Public spaces are sites of unexpected outbursts as well as everyday maintenance of conflicts, and borders inside urban conurbations simultaneously organise the everyday as well as reproduce existing tensions (Lewin, 1948; Milgram, 1977). Yet cultural research has not yet fully provided the conceptual tools for a deep understanding of the coexistence between micro as well as large-scale urban tensions. If the city and its inhabitants are not understood in terms of an open system of meaning-making, one will continue looking either for environmental causes of conflict (e.g. economic, political, etc.) or for dispositional causes (e.g. personality traits). We claim instead that it would be more productive to focus on the conditions that lead human beings to produce (or inhibit) actions facing specific historical and living contexts, by producing meaning out of everyday experience. We assume that these contexts are the liminal spaces of everyday life.

Studies of exclusionary, privatised and segregated public space (Carmona, 2015), suggest how certain practices readily associated with public space—e.g. skateboarding, parkour, graffiti, but also street food, music, etc.—serve to disrupt some boundaries while at the same time producing others. Yet these practices, these sometimes contradictory border production processes, are elaborated and exchanged with and between diverse city publics (Iveson, 2007; Watson, 2006) constitutive of each local context. The prevailing trend in public space research has been to focus on larger, more global metropolises (Degen, 2008; Jones, 2014; Low, 2000; Makagon, 2004). Maybe, the border dynamics could be more relevant to study the context of public space in "ordinary cities" (Robinson, 2002) that are out of the spotlight but still subject to substantial flows of migration and characterized by multicultural populations. How can the public spaces of cities such as these become sites for social integration? How also might marginalised and socially insecure social groups claim their own space in public spaces (including in the digital sphere)? How do they appropriate space, how are borders drawn and how do they function.

Conclusion: Where Do We Go from Here

To sum up, every person produces a personal version of a given situation, on the bases of material and immaterial social guidance, that one could call culture, and on the basis of the spatio/temporal conditions in which the experience takes place. Public spaces are fabrics, woven with these conditions and guidance, *into* which the person experiences coordinated collective activities, such as dancing or skating (Figs. 5 and 6), or shopping (Fig. 7a). These spaces are filled with visible and invisible borders, that create systemic relationships between the elements of the environment and the people. They create distinctions (in sub-parts or sub-groups) and connections at the same time. This simple observation raises a number of pertinent research questions for the contemporary moment of the urban reorganization under conditions of political-economic crises and change (Darieva, Kaschuba, & Krebs, 2011), new patterns of migration and the digital revolution.

(a) How the public spaces (for instance both in urban and rural settings) are constructed in discursive fields, who defines them and based on what mnemonic cultures (heritage)? Who gets included and who is excluded (e.g. who gets to inhabit and organize events there and how the borders are drawn at such events: rallies, spontaneous gatherings, art performances, mnemonic ritual ceremonies); how are these discursive borders negotiated and contested?
(b) How do everyday practices inhabit and intertwine with the construction of public spaces, what practices are included and which are excluded (e.g. skateboarding on Vabaduse väljak)? How do everyday uses and appropriations of public spaces change the borders of those spaces?
(c) How do digital practices (in particular the use of of social media) enforce or stigmatise some public spaces; how do they enlarge or tighten the borders of public space (e.g. online broadcasting, or popularising events via social media)?
(d) How do marginalised and socially insecure social groups (e.g. immigrants) claim their own space in public spaces (including digital spaces in social media), how do they domesticate their space, and how are borders drawn, negotiated and contested—do they provide acculturation, assimilation, or separation, or potential for any of these (as the neat Danish flag at the airport example shows in Fig. 7b), and which bordering strategies are successful in integrating outgroups into society?
(e) How do recent mobility and migration processes change the borders of public spaces and how do digital social media platforms facilitate participation in spaces that one does not physically occupy?
(f) What are the mechanisms of meaning-making processes in public spaces; what emotions (fear, joy) are involved in negotiating borders in public space and how do conflicts arise and get resolved in the crystallisation of these borders?

We suggest that these questions represent many new potential directions for future interdisciplinary research on public spaces. In light of recent calls for work that explores “the specific contribution interdisciplinary work can make to

our understanding of streets as distinctive but contested social spaces." (Hubbard & Lyon, 2018, p. 937), these are questions that invite novel configurations of interdisciplinary research methods to capture the social, psychological, digital and political facets of the production, experience and significance of urban public space bordering processes.

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Multiple Place Attachment as Mental Border Building

Mati Heidmets and Kadi Liik

Abstract Place attachment represents one of the most fundamental ways of drawing boundaries (both real and mental) in the surrounding environment, describing the manner in which people construct themselves in the physical world. Environmental psychologists have carried out numerous studies to analyse the attachment processes at the micro-level, looking at an individual's connections with his or her home and neighbourhood, its dimensions and correlates. Macro-level studies (emotional attachment to a large region or the whole world) or studies focused on multiple attachment are rare. According to several recent studies (including a survey carried out in Estonia in 2018), a considerable proportion of people report emotional ties with very distant areas/territories, including the whole Earth. Those studies also reveal a positive correlation between different levels of attachment, which casts doubt on the validity of the widespread distinction between localists and globalists. Empirical data indicate that deeper attachment at the local level means also deeper emotional bonding with the larger areas, up to the whole Earth. This may give some hints on how to approach the great challenges of today's world, which are global in their essence—climate change, environmental pollution, migration pressure etc., taking into account expanding areas of emotional attachment and changing mental borders while organizing our everyday environments.

Keywords Place attachment · Mental borders · Multiple attachment · Local and global identification

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Introduction

The physical environment is an essential part of our everyday life. Environment constitutes resources for acting, self-determination through physical or mental borders drawn in the environment, opportunities to exhibit one's Self and regulate relationships with other people. In our minds the physical environment is divided into places with certain roles and meanings. Structuring the environment through places, drawing mental boundaries between belonging to us and to them areas is one of the most ancient and general ways to organise the surrounding world.

Various terms are used to signify the relationships between people and places—*place attachment* (Altman & Low, 1992), *sense of place* (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001), *place bonding* (Williams & Vaske, 2003), *place dependence* (Ramkissoon, Smith, & Weiler, 2013). In the context of environmental psychology, the one that prevails and often includes other definitions is *place attachment* (PA) (Lewicka, 2011), which describes person's emotional connection with or attachment to different physical locations—home, neighbourhood, hometown, homeland, but also workplace, "classroom", the favourite bench in the park or the preferred beach. According to Gustafson (2006, p. 19), PA includes place-based cognition (thought, knowledge, belief), affection (emotion, feeling), and practice (action, behaviour). A place is an area that a person is conscious of, which is delineated and emotionally charged, which the person is attached to and cares about.

Emotionally charged places do not arise by accident. Predominantly, they entail elements of the physical environment involved in a person's daily life and relationships. Historically, the strongest "attached" place is certainly home and its immediate surroundings—neighbourhood. It has been considered "*a natural condition of human existence*" (Buttimer, 1980). Along with the growth of individual resources and an increase in mobility, the whole pattern of emotionally attached places changes, becoming more and more concentrical: "*… smaller places are incorporated within larger ones. Home apartments are parts of buildings which are parts of neighborhoods which are parts of cities which are parts of country regions, countries, continents, etc.*" (Lewicka, 2011, p. 211). PA is representing one of the most universal border phenomena in human society, whereas its content and nature have undergone essential changes due to social development. About half a century ago Tuan (1974) introduced the idea that along with an increase in people's education and mobility the scale of their identification expands, including in addition to purely local places (home, neighbourhood) also wider areas—country, large regions, up to cosmopolitan identification, which means that also the borders of the areas people feel attached to expand.

Today, it is appropriate to ask—whether place attachment patterns and accompanying mental boundary-making have changed in the globalised world, whether alongside the common perception of home and neighbourhood as one's "own" also the wider areas of the concentre enter the sphere of identification—be it the united Europe or the whole planet Earth? Also, what the behavioural correlates of PA are—to what extent the identification with places and drawing borders around them gives

rise to willingness to contribute to the welfare of these places, a wish to stay there or leave, participation in the events and actions related to these places?

This article looks at place attachment as a mental border-building process, which includes distinction-making, meaning-making, and value-adding, through which individuals articulate, differentiate and hierarchically organise the relationship with the others and the environments (Marsico, 2016, p. 211). The article relies on the tradition of environmental psychology in the area of PA, especially multiple place attachment and the questions the latter inspires—whether globalisation, an increase in mobility and the deepening knowledge of the connection of an individual to everything happening on this planet are shifting/have shifted the boundaries of identification; in which way have changes in political configurations and physical environment contributed to changes in the perception of places? The first part of the article will give a brief overview of the concept of place attachment and research in this field. The second part will discuss multiple place attachment, while also incorporating the results of a relevant survey conducted in Estonia in 2018.

Place Attachment: Actors and Borders, Strength and Impact

Actors

Environmental psychology distinguishes between three elements of PA: Person-Place-Process (Lewicka, 2011). Person means actors—those, who are the bearers of environmental perception, in whose consciousness the PA-based structuring of the environment happens and exists. Researchers have mainly focused on single individuals as actors, a large proportion of PA measuring today is based on single individuals' assessments. At the same time, the majority of meaningful places—home and neighbourhood, hometown and homeland—are collective by nature. Identification with these places is primarily related to belonging to a certain social group, according to Hopkins and Dixon (2006, p. 176), "… *many social identities incorporate a spatial dimension*". Indeed, as a rule, neighbourhood attachment requires a person to perceive himself/herself as part of neighbourhood community, whereas attachment to the homeland involves identification with the nation that lives in this homeland. Often place attachment and place identification are socially mediated "…*local social involvements—particularly those with friends, but also those involving kin, organizational memberships, and local shopping—prove to be the most consistent and significant sources of sentimental ties to local places*" (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 115).

Although two aspects of PA are differentiated—social and spatial attachment to places (Dekker, 2007), in practice it is hard to distinguish between them. A person's identification with the community in a place and the place's spatial dimensions are integrated. Based on the understanding that a person's identity is fundamentally social it is possible to find some explanation to the person-place

relationships in the context of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to this theory, social identity is defined in an intergroup context, based on social comparisons between in-group and other relevant groups to achieve a positive distinctiveness. The theory states, that through intergroup differentiation, persons aim to create a positive self-evaluation of the in-group identity, often through in-group bias and favouritism and out-group depreciation. It is not difficult to see that often the "spatial dimension of identity" serves as an instrument to achieve positive distinctiveness—"*… the search for a positive identity that contributes to the enhancement of self-esteem, can be achieved also by the identification to a positive place, or through a 'positive' in-place distinctiveness*" (Bonaiuto, Breakwell, & Cato, 1996, p. 172). The examples could be a richly decorated entrance of a neighbourhood, a working area marked by a team, or personalising physical environment and marking boundaries in any other way. Bernardo and Palma-Oliveira (2016, p. 241) argue, that the "*…geographical area of residence could be an important source of social categorization, influencing the way we see ourselves and others. … In this sense, the neighbourhood of residence can contribute to self-definition and be developed through comparison of one's own neighbourhood with other relevant neighbourhoods*".

Thus—from the actors' point of view, it is possible to distinguish between predominantly individual PA as a person's connection to certain places, and socially mediated collective PA, the prerequisite and element of which is belonging to a certain group, bearing a group identity. An example of the former could be favourite restorative places (Ratcliffe & Korpela, 2016) of the latter, attachment to the home, neighbourhoods or the homeland.

Borders

There is a really large variety of emotionally attached places. Some of these (my room) are spatially clearly distinguishable; others (landscape or seaside) have diffused boundaries. When in our 2018 study we asked the respondents to describe the borders of their home (as the primary emotionally attached place), it appeared that three quarters of them defined the boundaries of home through physical features (the surrounding fence and the gate in it, the front door of the flat), while a quarter described them through the group they belong to (family, relatives). The importance of clearly perceptible physical borders also arose in the PA to more extensive regions. From the same study it appeared that the residents of Estonian islands displayed higher place attachment to their home region than people living in the continental area of Estonia.

Borders of attached areas may be physically defined or merely existing in the actor's mind. Marking and "bordering" places to link them to a certain actor is described as personalisation of the environment. Personalisation means marking the "ownership" of the place, displaying the connection with this specific actor by using signs, borders, name tags, etc. Personalisation communicates ownership and marks

the territories, it helps to distinguish boundaries and increase security, it displays person's identity to others, including social rank and life histories, indicates defensibility (Omar, Endut, & Saruwono, 2012). Personalisation creates and exhibits boundaries between one's own and someone else's, the "violation of the borders" of the personalised place is often perceived as an attack on privacy and the integrity of the person's Self or that of an important group the person belongs to.

In personalised places the actor has left his/her own "footprint". In the more remote areas of the PA concentre the footprint tends to be collective and often more symbolic. *My hometown* does not merely entail certain territory but also the visual impression characterising it, sometimes called the environment's character. Hopkins and Dixon (2006, p. 178) discuss, "… *when opponents argue that some buildings (mosques in "the West") would compromise the local environment's character, they are typically talking about more than architectural aesthetics. So too, those behind the developments are rarely simply seeking to establish gathering places for prayer*".

Personalisation is also a way to display one's identity. Places may be integrally involved in the construction of both personal identities and social identities, there are a number of examples how places communicate social rank, whether through interior decoration of dwellings, through neighbourhood landscape styles, or the symbolic ecology of the metropolitan landscape.

In the context of PA, personalisation of a place means making the borders visible, exposing how a person has "constructed" their physical world, what their *environmental self* is. PA indicates which part of the surrounding environment the actor has included in their self, it is "… *an interpretation of self that uses environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity*" (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 112).

Strength

Emotional ties with a place can be very strong. Schnell and Mishal (2008, p. 248) describe a situation where Gaza settlers were forced to leave their place of residence, "*One religious Oriental woman in her thirties told us, 'It will be extremely difficult to detach myself from this piece of land. I feel as if my government betrayed me and tore out part of my body.*'"

A place as "part of my body" indicates very strong identification, the situation where a physical area is perceived as an inseparable part of one's self, its environmental extension. A danger to or the risk of losing the place constitutes a threat to the integrity of self, which one is prepared to confront and act against. There are many examples of people becoming one with their plot of land and dwelling, of situations where these are perceived as sufficiently valuable to sacrifice one's health, fate and even life for them.

On the other hand, there are places that are merely pleasant and preferred but do not necessarily significantly affect a person's identity. Take for instance places in a park to which dog walkers are "loyal" (Lee & Shen, 2013) or the so-called restorative sites in nature (Ratcliffe & Korpela, 2016). In the Gaza example, the loss of the

place is something existential; in case of favourite places it is just an unpleasant event that will soon be forgotten. Schnell and Mishal (2008, p. 256) believe that, "*Under some structural conditions, places, as local entities, may become salient sources of social identity. Under other structural conditions, the role of places in stimulating social identities may remain marginal*".

Several strength-based PA gradations have been suggested. Relph (1976) ranks PA from a total alienation from place ('objective outsidedness') through various stages of 'insidedness'. Shamai (1991) outlines three types of the increasing strength of sense of place: from place belongingness through place attachment, to place commitment. Hay (1998) offers five types of sense of place—superficial, partial, personal, ancestral, and cultural.

An important measure of the strength of PA is an actor's readiness to take action, to contribute to the welfare of the place. It may be assumed that readiness to act is greater when the places concerned are related to a person's identity, where "*…physical and symbolic attributes of certain locations contribute to an individual's sense of self or identity*" (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). The "strength" of PA often becomes explicit in the situations where the place in question is endangered, it is manifested as reaction to the loss of a place (the childhood home being demolished, leaving the country permanently), as a reaction to the significant change in the place (the construction of a factory, railway or electric line). It also occurs in the situation where a place is assessed either negatively or positively, where my hometown, neighbourhood or home is publicly acknowledged or criticised.

Impact

Most of the PA studies are correlational, which makes it complicated to determine whether place attachment is a cause or a consequence of the possible impact or outcome. A common finding is that place attachment is associated with greater **subjective wellbeing** of the actors of the attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2017). Lewicka (2011, p. 218), based on her studies, concluded that "*… place-attached persons, compared to non-attached ones, demonstrated a higher sense of coherence, were more satisfied with their life overall, had a stronger bonding social capital and neighborhood ties, were more interested in their family roots, trusted people more, and were generally less egocentric*". It may be assumed that in different situations, especially the critical ones, PA supports subjective wellbeing and balanced relationships and that both place attachment as well as interpersonal attachment offer a sense of safety and security.

Places are usually perceived as less dangerous among those who are attached to them (Billig, 2006), attached and personalised places appear to provide **sense of safety**, and home is a main haven in the face of threats. "*Identification with place is often experienced as a sense of being 'at home'—of being comfortable, familiar, and 'really me' here*" (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 113). "Really me" means agency,

and especially the attached and personalised places are supplying a freedom when they allow individuals to exercise agency over their environment (Gifford, 2014).

Attachment to places is linked to the readiness to participate in the place-related activities, to contribute to the wellbeing of the place. The study by Dekker emphasises the importance of both social and spatial attachment to the neighbourhood **participation**—"… *social attachment (social significance of the attached neighbourhood) is positively related to participation, as is spatial-emotional attachment*…" (Dekker, 2007, p. 372). Usually, when residents feel attached to their neighbourhood they take care of it. The study by Ramkissoon et al. (2013) revealed that place identity (followed by place affect, place dependence and place social bonding) was the strongest predictor of pro-environmental behaviour.

Controversial messages have come from researchers who analyse PA's connection with **migration**. The dominant view have been that a positive place attachment reduces the likelihood of migration. However, there are authors who see the situation differently. The study of Gustafson (2009b, p. 44), suggests, "…*that more cosmopolitanism does not necessarily mean less localism*…. *localism and cosmopolitanism may be regarded as two different dimensions, as two kinds of 'resources', rather than as a continuum*". Increased mobility of people, their activity in many different places and the development of virtual world is changing the whole structure of PA. Barcus and Brunn (2010, p. 292) describe the new situation as a *place elasticity*, suggesting, that "… *individuals with strong place attachments utilize different strategies to maintain their connection to place, not all of which require residency in that place*".

PA studies offer a picture of people's environmental relationships, which is a reflection of community-based way of life and the ensuing border drawing between one's own and the foreign worlds. In the core of this lifestyle are environmental extensions of *Self* and *Us*, on which basis the structures and order in a surrounding world are established. The physical environment is perceived as emotionally valued part of one's groups of belonging—family, neighbourhood, nation, humanity. "*Place identities affiliate the self with significant locales, bringing a sense of belonging and order to one's sociospatial world*" (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 113). Places are part of individual and group identity; they are physical bearers and delimiters of identity. Some PA based boundaries (for instance, a fence around the garden of one's home) are physically observable, perceptible and tangible, others (those that distinguish a neighbourhood, home village, home territory) are mainly mental distinctions constructed in a person's mind, which of course does not make them any less important as regulators of relationships and behaviour.

The development and changing of PA do not constitute a random process, it is not merely a momentary or situational assessment of the surrounding world. It is a lasting emotional connection that reflects the role of a place in the life and mentality of an individual, it is a prerequisite and a factor of the development of the attitudes and behavioural patterns related to a physical environment. The perception of a place as an extension of Self makes one take care of the place and worry about its fate, behave towards the place the same way as one would towards themselves.

In the daily routine, there may be little awareness of the relationship with places—the relationship may be latent. This relationship becomes topical in a situation where changes take place. Moving home or the renovation of the neighbourhood, the construction of a cellulose factory or a skyscraper in the neighbouring street make explicit the bonds between a person and a location and indicate the boundaries. It is often in the light of forthcoming changes that the value of a place is perceived and people are prepared to interfere in the developments, confront the changes or even restore the lost relationship with the place. The latter could be exemplified by the approach called *place-based-education* (McInerneya, Smytha, & Down, 2011).

Multiple Place Attachment

Emotionally attached places are located concentrically, usually the structure of attached places reflects people's in-groups and social identities arising from those groups. Throughout history, the spheres of identification have broadened. Zhang (2018) describes the historical expansion of identification as follows—from the initial family and kin identity through identifying with one's nation and religious group to today's regional and even global identity. The picture is likely to be similar if an attempt was made to describe the same (historical) changes in PA—increasingly new concentres are being added, from the identification with the immediate living environment gradually to the more remote areas, and, at least in some cases, to the whole Earth.

Especially the places further away from home—homeland, continent, the whole Earth—and people's emotional attachment to them, or absence of attachment, has recently caught researchers' attention. Along with globalisation, the more distant areas are objectively becoming parts of our daily existence, while our knowledge about global interactions in nature and society has fast improved. To what extent is this reflected in people's subjective worldview, in their mental boundary drawing, their social representations related to the surrounding world? Does it mean, that nowadays people feel more attached to higher level places and demonstrate attitudes that are cosmopolitan rather than local? (Lewicka, 2011).

Various interested parties—architects and designers, nature protection people, also boundary-creating or wall-demolishing politicians express their interest on PA. Being aware of the inevitable cross-border nature of climate change, environmental researchers and activists ask, "*…can individuals form relations of belonging and stewardship to the whole Earth, impacts upon national interests*" (Devine-Wright, Price, & Leviston, 2015, p. 68). An important goal of the European Union is to facilitate an emotional bond of Europeans with Europe as a whole. According to Capello (2018, p. 489), creating a shared place identity has become the key of European political integration, "… *creation of a European identity is becoming an issue to address, a goal to achieve, a system of values to identify, protect and build over time*". Would researchers of place-related processes be able to contribute to answering these questions?

There are relatively few studies focusing not merely on single places (the favourite of researchers for years has been neighbourhood), but on multiple place attachment, the system of connected places at different levels. However, the studies that have been conducted have revealed at least two intriguing points.

First: Spatial Closedness/Distance Does Not Determine the Strength of Emotional Attachment

People are reporting considerable emotional ties with very distant areas/territories, including the whole Earth. In certain circumstances, attachment with home and neighbourhood may even be weaker or less common than that with the more distant areas. Based on their study conducted in Australia, Devine-Wright, Price and Leviston (2015, p. 76) claim that, "… *global place attachment is prevalent amongst Australian adults, second only to national belonging, and significantly higher than attachment at the neighbourhood, city/town and state/territory scales*". Several researchers describe the curvilinear, U-shaped attachment, which means, that the intermediate level (neighbourhood) evoked less attachment than home or city and regions (Lewicka, 2010; Hernandez et al., 2007).

Proof that the spatial distance-closeness is not related to the strength of PA was also provided by our empirical study carried out in Estonia in 2018. The study aimed to assess the strength of attachment at five levels—neighbourhood, village/city, country, Europe, the whole Earth—as well as to analyse the relations between the levels of attachment. As a measure we used the similar wording as Gustafson (2009a) and Devine-Wright, Price and Leviston (2015, p. 70), asking our respondents, "*To what extent do you feel a weak or a strong sense of belonging to the following areas?*" Seven-item Likert scale was used, starting from "*no sense of belonging at all*" up to "*feel strong sense of belonging*". Also a question about the importance of those five places was included, "*How important is to you that you belong to the following areas*", evaluated also by the *s*even-item Likert scale, starting from "*not important at all*" up to "*very important*".

Responses to those two questions were summarised and the result used as an indicator of the attachment to the respective five levels of places. The results of the survey ($N = 544$) indicate, that the strongest attachment was reported with the country (Estonia), the country was followed by the whole Earth, then Europe, city/village and neighbourhood. The share of respondents indicating the feeling of belongingness to the place, was also highest in the case of country (79% of the respondents reported an attachment), followed by whole Earth (71%), Europe (61%), village/city (53%) and neighbourhood (43%).

The sequence of the attached places in the Estonian sample were similar to the results of Devine-Wright et al. (2015) using the Australian sample—the highest being the national belonging, followed by global place attachment. Attachment to the neighbourhood and city/village appeared to be considerably weaker. This indicates

that the strongest boundary in the minds of both Estonian and Australian respondents runs around the national concentre/group of belonging, which tells—my primary in-group is my nation and my most important place to be attached to is my country!

Second: Relations Between the Levels of Attachment Are Not Contradictory or Exclusionary, But Complementary

Earlier studies suggest that the strength of PA in its nearer and further concentres is not mutually exclusive by its nature but complementary. In the study by Devine-Wright et al. (2015) the positive correlation between different levels of PA fluctuated between 0.29 and 0.71.

Our 2018 study also revealed positive correlation between all the presented five levels of attachment ($r = 0.16–0.74$). This may carry an important message—identification with more extensive areas, up to the whole Earth does not mean weakening of the emotional attachment to regions closer to home. Local and global attachments do not contradict each other, global "builds" onto local and in certain circumstances global attachment may even increase the strength of local attachment. This is suggested by the study conducted in Ireland by Inglis and Donnelly (2011, p. 140): "*It is quite clear that despite globalization and the world increasingly becoming one place, identity with local place is still very strong in Ireland. Prior to our analysis, it might have seemed logical to think that in an increasingly mobile, fluid, cosmopolitan, globalised world it would increasingly be anathema for Irish people to identify strongly with place, their town/city, county and country, but our findings clearly suggest that globalisation has not diminished attachment to the local and national. Indeed there is some evidence that it may have helped increase it, particularly among those more likely to be cosmopolitan*."

Considerable attachment with regions (such as Europe) and with the whole Earth may give some hints about the possible path of PA's development. In spite of the fact that longitudinal studies describing the development and change in the multiple attachment processes are almost absent, one may hypothesise, that along with the expansion of the sphere of people's worldview and experience, the historically dominating attachment at the level of home and neighbourhood will gradually develop towards emotional bonding with more extended areas. What Tuan (1974) anticipated and hoped for half a century ago is actually happening. Expanding in time, PA is like a growing onion, with new and new layers of emotional bonding continuously added to its core, finally involving the whole Earth. The message is—in the globalising world PA and the resulting mental boundary drawing does not disappear or crumble but keeps changing, it is expanding and diversifying. "*The experience of, and attachment to, place remains one of the anchors of our human experience and thus remains strong even in a more globalized world where mobility has increased and our sense of being part of global community has been strengthened through the expansion of new ways of communicating, knowing and engaging with people across the globe in real time*" (Perkins & Thorns, 2012, p. 177).

Discussion

PA describes one of the most fundamental ways of drawing boundaries (both real and mental) in the surrounding environment, the manner people construct themselves in the physical world. Although over time PA-based boundaries change and diversify, PA still remains the basic format people use to organise and define their spatial and social relationships. PA research has unravelled micro-level attachment in a relative detail, an individual's connection with his or her home and neighbourhood, its dimensions and correlates. The number of macro-level studies (emotional attachment to a region or the whole world) is low. At the same time, several "big issues" of today's life are specifically about that. This is where PA researchers are expected to provide more information and possible solutions. According to Brown, Raymond and Corcoran (2015, pp. 51–52), "*… while there has been considerable academic writing on place attachment, the practical application of place attachment beyond the hypothetical has been minimal… Mapped place attachment could be linked to a set of behavioral intentions for a list of proposed threats or alternatively, place enhancements*".

The fact revealed by multiple PA studies that global emotional attachment is a reality and presumably also a growing trend. This may be seen as psychological factor which has a potential to help and support finding solutions to the global issues, be it environmental changes, migration or terrorism. Motivation to act regionally or globally assumes a wider sense of identity than merely a home or nation state; it requires the expansion of people's emotions, interest and care to the whole planet. McFarland, Webb, and Brown (2012) calls it maturity, the widening of our areas of social interest and a genuine concern, a situation which he describes as recognition that "all humanity is my in-group". "*… as one matures, the range of that concern expands. Less mature forms of social interest may focus on the welfare of one's family, community, and ingroup, but with maturity, social interest extends to the community of all people, even to unborn generations. A person with mature social interest acts 'in the interests of mankind generally*'" (McFarland et al., 2012, p. 831). Indeed, in the end "*all human beings on planet Earth are on the same boat on a vast sea*" (Zhang, 2018, p. 21), in a longer perspective, individual interests and interests of mankind generally largely coincide. What is happening in the seas of the world, rainforests or war zones eventually reaches everyone in spite of the distance, location, or the thickness of the walls one has built around some personal places.

The development of global identity and global place attachment is an important prerequisite for the perception of great challenges of today's world, and finding solutions to them. In their study, Renger and Reese (2017, p. 875) found that global identity is a significant predictor of pro-environmental activism and environment-friendly behaviour. Similar conclusions were drawn by Devine-Wright, Price and Leviston (2015, p. 76) "*… individuals holding a stronger sense of belonging at global than national levels were significantly more likely to perceive climate change to be anthropogenic rather than naturally caused. In contrast, individuals with stronger national than global belonging were significantly more likely to perceive*

'natural causes' and to disagree with human causality. Furthermore, those who believe in anthropogenic climate change demonstrated an inverse pattern of attachments to those who deny climate change".

The positive correlation between local and global identity found by several studies tells us that the world is not divided as much into localists and globalists as into people with smaller or greater degree of place bonding. Globalists also keep tidy their courtyard and the area in front of their house, whereas true localists care about events taking place on the big globe as well. In real life the different levels of PA intertwine ever more deeply and gradually penetrate the attitudes and views of all of us, "*…efforts to promote both personal and collective forms of environmentally relevant behaviours, including support for policies with potentially wide-ranging effectiveness, must foster concurrent senses of local and global belongingness*" (Walker, Leviston, Price, & Devine-Wright, 2015, p. 843). By supporting and promoting positive and caring attitude towards local places we give impetus to the development of similar attitudes towards more distant regions.

However, the way of thinking that "*all humanity is my in-group*" does not yet dominate in today's world. McFarland et al. (2012, p. 849) thinks it is still luxury merchandise, "*perhaps identification with all humanity is a luxury that can be afforded only by those whose lower level needs are generally satisfied. Further, in cultures where there is substantial hunger, long-standing civil strife, authoritarian family structures, and rigid social hierarchies, all of which likely impede satisfaction of lower level needs, it seems plausible that caring for all humanity will be in particularly short supply*". The dependence of the extent of identification spheres on the fulfilment of people's basic need has already been pointed out by Maslow, "*… people living at the level of self-actualization are, in fact, found simultaneously to love mankind most and to be the most developed idiosyncratically*" (Maslow, 1954, p. 100).

PA and the resulting drawing of mental boundaries between important and valued places and "the rest" are undergoing a change. The tradition of drawing firm lines between "my world" and "their world" is gradually being replaced by a wider, more diverse and softer PA structure. It is a welcomed change. Objectively, we live in the conditions of the globalisation where our success and coping inevitably requires increasingly "more mature" (in McFarland's sense) worldview and relationships with the surrounding environment.

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The Dynamic Functionality of Borders: A Study from a Cultural Perspective

Andrew Fontal, Giuseppina Marsico, Julio César Ossa, Juan David Millán, and Alexander Prado

Abstract The identity construction processes are becoming more and more complicated in our nomadic world. Globalization and migration make difficult to talk about an identity determined by geographically localized cultural and ethnic factors. In these contexts, identity becomes a kind of polyphony of voices as a result of relations between two or more cultures. In this chapter we use, as an empirical example, an interview with an indigenous young man of the Misak community located in southern Colombia, who has moved to the city to attend university. From the interviews, it was identified that the young Misak built his identity on the liminality of the city's culture and the traditional and cultural values of the Misak community. The young Misak uses certain symbolic tools that allow him to create new meanings about himself and the history of his people.

Keywords Dialogical triads · Borders · Indigenous communities · Narrative identity · Semiotic

The Borders Are Around Us and Inside Us

When we think about Border, what come first to our mind is probably the idea of a line that marks the contour of nation, states and even cities and that defines them by separating them from all others. Border can be natural—as an ocean, a river, a chain

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of mountain—or can be artificial as a line drawn on a geographical map splitting a homogeneous landscape into two (as in the case of the conventional line that divides the territorial waters between two countries). Often border announces itself in highly literal form as in the case of walls or fences. Other times, instead, it assumes an invisible feature as in the case of social norms that regulate the human interaction in a specific socio-cultural context. However, whatever forms it takes, a border always conveys meaning and meaning-making process and this is what makes borders such an interesting phenomenon to investigate from Cultural Psychology perspective.

Border is an innovative multidisciplinary theoretical construct that is raising interest in human and social sciences and it entails a multidisciplinary perspective. Different bio-psycho-social processes can be explored and better understood focusing on what happens on the border. In contemporary scientific world, there are several disciplines that are investigating the borders and the borders related processes from different angles. Their outcomes could be of a great benefit for the current psychological investigation.

For instance, one of the most interesting concepts that can illuminate the borders functioning is the biological notion of permeability. In biological terms, Border is equal to the "membrane" that facilitates the bidirectional transfer of something from inside to outside in a biological system and permits the cell movement within the larger biological environment (Beloussov, 1998; Marsico, 2011; Rayner, 2017). The sociological point of view offers an interesting elaboration of the function of the border which is not only to create a framework within which something assumes significance (an object, an idea, a feeling, etc.) but also it is to create a dynamic interface between the subject, the world and otherness. The work of Simmel (1994) is of great relevance in this respect. Simmel considers human activity as tending to both the definition of borders (fences, walls, ditches, etc.) and the systems of crossing borders (roads, gates, bridges, doors, windows, balconies) (Brentano, 1981; Marsico, 2013; Simmel, 2007). In political science there is a vivid debate underlying the process of "bordering" and "re-bordering" that have changed over the ages among countries and all the implications in the nowadays-globalized society (Brunet-Jailly, 2005).

Yet, the most promising and challenging contribution to the definition of the borders issue come from the Mereotopology, which is a part of contemporary philosophy that provides tools for the ontological analysis of formal structures of parts and whole (Ordóñez, 2014; Smith, 1997; Smith & Varzi, 2000; Varzi, 1997, 1998). Mereotopology faces, from an ontological point of view, the part-whole issue and, therefore, the question of the relationship between a border and the thing it bounds. Mereotopology rises from the ambitious attempt to provide a unified framework of the way we represent space, the objects that occupy it and the relationships between them. It consists of a combination of topology—the discipline which deals with the qualitative aspects of geometric structures—and the "theory of parts and the whole" (or mereology), whose Aristotelian roots have been systematized by Brentano (1981).

In the vast domains of human and social sciences, borders are constructed artifacts that are externalize into the wider word to culturally shape and regulate human

social and psychological functioning in relation to the environment. A person or a group of people construct borders to articulate, differentiate, or hierarchically integrate their relationship with the environment (Marsico, Cabell, Valsiner, & Kharlamov, 2013). The environment, in this sense, includes the self, other individuals, a group of people (e.g. society), the physical environment, etc. Therefore, a person or a group construct and impose borders on the world to make their relationship with themselves, with others, and with the surrounding less ambiguous. Meaning making, distinction making, and value adding are the three processes for an individual construction of borders in mind and in society. Once these borders are established, those who have made them distinct and added-value to them, then engage in the process of "border control", or management, and navigation of the meaningful, distinct, valuable border.

Theory of Border in Cultural Psychology

It seems that we desperately need to draw borders, for instance, by labeling things, categorizing objects and making distinctions between them (both concrete and abstract objects). As Varzi (2011, 2013) pointed out, we, as human beings, must define and distinguish the world around us in order to understand it—otherwise we would get lost. In other words, by defining the world and distinguishing objects from each other, we create an understanding of the world, but at the same time, we are creating partitions within the whole. As a consequence, new parts-whole dynamics emerge with all the psychological implications in regulating our relationship in this new set of circumstances (Marsico & Varzi, 2016). In addition, the three processes of border construction (meaning-making, distinction-making, and value-adding) occur on the basis of the understanding of the human condition we have at that specific moment. All these issues make the borders construction and border regulation a very interesting psychological phenomenon to investigate.

More specifically, from the perspective of cultural psychology, borders are the outcome of culturally organized processes that are not fixed but based on a continuous organization and reorganization of the I-Other-World relationship (Simão, 2012, 2016). Borders are in fact not rigid and durable delimitations, but they are processes of semiotic configuration that make possible human actions in a given environment. The capability to create borders is strictly connect with the semiotic ability to produce "devices" for defining contextual occurrences (De Luca Picione & Freda, 2016). As Valsiner (1999, 2014) pointed out, cultural psychology contributes to reflect on the borders in human lives as cultural constructed objects. They stop and enable movement, regulate power relations, create new horizons for the human actions, provide a structure for the mind. Borders act through a sign-making process and they are temporary structures for the purpose of hierarchical organization of acting, behaving, feeling and thinking.

But what is the "nature of the borders?" Usually, a border is understood as something in between two or more sites. In this sense, the border evokes the idea of

differences and difficulties in interaction. Even if the border implies the idea of separation, it is also "the point of contact" of different settings (Marsico, 2013).

From a very abstract and philosophical standpoint, we can adopt a realist or a constructivist perspective in order to decide on their nature. One of the main distinctions, as briefly mentioned above, would be whether borders are natural or artificial. At this point, we can introduce a first conceptual differentiation between bona fide borders based on some objective discontinuity or qualitative heterogeneity and fiat borders which are the result of conventional demarcations, of political, social and administrative agreements, defining, as in the case of geo-political borders, where a territory starts and ends (Beloussov, 1998; Smith, 1997; Smith & Varzi, 2000; Varzi, 1997). In other terms, bona fide are natural borders—and fiat—are human established limits. Although artificially produced by human action, the power of the fiat borders is not less binding than a natural border and they have practical effects in the management of our daily lives.

Sufficient is to think to all the walls and fences we build up in our ordinary lives (i.e. urban environment) that indicate the property of this or that owner or, at geopolitical level, the invisible and imaginary line into the sky that divides one country sovereignty to another and from which derive practical and sometimes dramatic consequences, as in the case of military attack of the air force. This aspect assumes a crucial role in cultural psychology's perspective. In fact, the arbitrariness of the borders allows us to create, re-organize, and ultimately modify them. What is terrifically important to investigate from a psychological point of view is, then, not only the borders per se but the process of border making and border crossing and the human vicissitudes that take place on those borders (Marsico, 2013, 2016). Equally important from the theoretical point of view is the triadic nature of the borders processes. They happen in the present time that are the inevitable border between past and future. So, definitively, borders construction and borders regulation are driven by the imagery of the future.

At wider level of analysis, it is possible to claim that a border is not a concept exclusively spatial but that it assumes the value of an ongoing process over time. If psychology as science starts looking at borders, it has to presume the inherent ambivalence of the border zone in between the world "where we are" and the world "out there" (a not-yet region). After all, psychological phenomena exist at the border of the person and the environment, for this reason psychology is intrinsically a science "in-between" ad what should be the very core of the psychological investigation is the liminality of the human condition.

Subjective Limit and Its Dynamic Performance

Bearing in mind that the theory of borders affirms that social and cultural reality is built between limits and continuities, we would like to ask the following: how does the Self originate? (Varzi, 1997). There are many explanations that can answer this question. From the perspective of the borders the self arises as dialectic way from

two contradictory or diverse elements. It is a kind of dynamic ontology "without foundation" in other words, the self is a process where cultural and social elements intervene (Ordóñez, 2014, p. 100). First we will see it from the theoretical approach of Paul Ricoeur, a subjective border that unfolds a temporal dimension or narrative of the Self. Then we will discuss a subjective border from the theoretical approach of Charles Pierce, Raggatt, Valsiner, Bertau among others, in which the self is distributed in different semiotic positions assumed by the participants in conversation, autobiography, dialogue etc.

Subjective Border from Time Perspective

Our discussion focuses mainly on the conceptual distinction used by Paul Ricoeur (1999) to refer to identity. According to Ricoeur, the term of identity comes from the identical word and has two meanings corresponding to two Latin terms *idem and ipse* (Ricoeur, 1999). The idem (same, identity) is what is immutable and fixed in the identity while the ipse (self, selfhood) is mutable over the time and open to new properties. So the identity is at the same time fixed and mobile in time, the self is defined by what is and what will be. In the words of Paul Ricoeur, "the self is the Other", is the self distributed in a series of elements that exceed their individuality (PAST NON ME <> FUTURE NON ME) (De Luca Picione & Valsiner, 2017; Ricoeur, 1999).

Figure 1 shows the configuration of a self from a temporal or historical dimension, that is, between the idem and the ipse. According to Bruner the "I" is an instrument to "affirm our uniqueness". Human being is, indeed, constantly engaged in organizing her own experiences through the process of more or less coherent narration (Bruner, 2013). Unicity can be understood as the ability to distinguish ourselves from others. In other words, the self remains the same despite being crossed by one or more cultures and therefore by more than one identification. *Identity-ipse* means the moving of our identity that ends up being the other, the different, the "self as another" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 13). The self (ipse) implies otherness and in that sense, it can only be defined in relation to the mutable, particularly, what is outside the idem-identity.

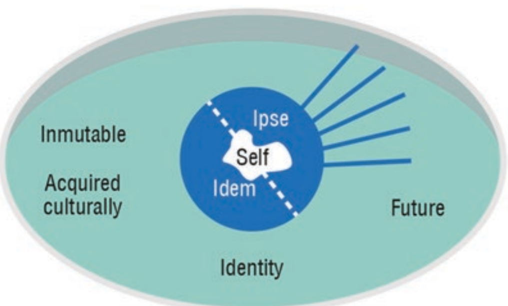

Fig. 1 Identity between the idem and the ipse

According to Paul Ricoeur and Jerome Bruner, the subject attains identity through the narrative function, in which the self is designated as the agent or author of its own history and is capable of designating a more or less stable version of herself.

So, the Self becomes a border between the exterior and the interior, between the mind and the culture, the point of conjunction between what comes from the exterior to the interior, as well as from the interior to the exterior, "from culture to mind, as well as from the mind to the culture" (Bruner, 1991, p. 108). So, when we talk about ourselves or make an autobiographical narration we can ask ourselves, who do we speak of when do we speak of ourselves? According to Ricoeur, identity can be investigated based on the predicates and positioning of a subject in a dialogue. Subjective positions can be investigated through the narrative or the predicaments that the subject makes about certain topics in particular. The narrative is always projected towards the future, when the "Self narrates, does not limit itself to tell (…) always pointing towards the future" (Bruner, 1991, p. 119) and in that sense the self becomes an act of balance between heterogeneous versions of itself, "the self is a product of our stories and not a certain essence to be discovered" (Bruner, 2013, p. 122).

The Positioning Theory of Self

We know from Jerome Bruner's "theory of the narrative construction of the ego" that a narrative is composed of the different positions that the narrator takes in a certain conversation or narration about herself and also has a line (or driving force) that gives a coherent sense to that positions (Bruner, 2013). So that the Ego can only affirm its uniqueness through its capacity to implement discursive practices that are active ways of producing new social and psychological realities (Boesch, 1991; Harré & Davies, 1990).

The positions of oneself in a narrative construction are based mainly on the theory of the Charles Pierce semiotic triad (Pierce, 1973) who talked about:

1. Firstness or I-position 1 that involves immediate sensations
2. Secondness or I-position 2 that assumes the dyad that involve interactions
3. Thirdness or other: That implies the mediation between the first and the second positioning

The approach of Charles Pierce has been widely used by the cultural psychology of semiotic dynamic theorized by Jaan Valsiner (2002, 2019). Particularly, theoretical incursions have been made in the conceptualization of the third element in a traditional dialectic logic (be and not be). The thirdness has the following characteristics: it acts as a link to the outside world. As a mediator, it generates movement between contradictory positions and has an ambiguous or multi-stable meaning. Charles Pierce's definition of thirdness or sign is that of it "replaces something else". In that sense, with the introduction of a sign in a dyad of elements, Pierce manages to set ontological novelty process in motion. According to Valsiner, "the human self is not a thing (property of the person) but a process" (Valsiner, 2019, p. 27).

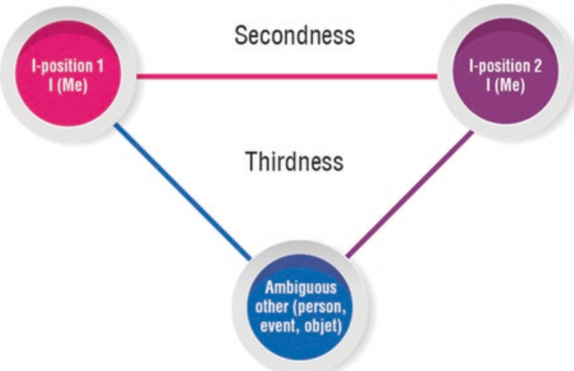

Fig. 2 Triad of the positions of the I (I positions). (Source: Taken from Raggatt, P. T. F. 2010)

According to Fig. 2, in a narrative the subjects generate different ways of referring to themselves that can be complementary or contradictory. The identity is at the same time, dialogical, multiple and localizable in the conversations through the different "subject positions" that the participants establish. According to David and Harrè:

> The positions are identified in part by the extraction of autobiographical aspects of a conversation in which it is possible to find the form used by each participant to conceive oneself and the other participants (1990, p. 246).

So, positioning theory is a way to analyze the social behavior through the different positions that a subject takes in a conversation or in a particular narrative. According to Raggatt the conversations have a three-pole structure: I-position 1 (Me) defines the intrapersonal positioning of the subject while the I-position (Me) 2 is of an interpersonal nature while the Other position or Thirdness is the referent that mediates between the two positions that are usually contradictory or opposed, "The basic constituent of the personal chronotope is a triad defined by an I-position, a counter I -position, and third term interpretant" (Raggatt, 2010).

The interpreters or the "Ambiguous others" act as a semiotic border, as Peter Raggatt (2010) states that the interpretants, such, as significant persons, objects, ideas, events, serve an important function in the Development of the dialogical self of their structurally ambiguous meaning value. Ambiguous "thirds" simultaneously mediate both integration and differentiation across positions and counter-positions in the self (Raggatt, 2010). That third middle element between is what Paul Ricoeur called the identity-idem (the immutable, the character, the same) and the identity-ipse (mutable, open). According to Raggatt, "the third position has ambiguous properties". It supports and rejects and it also provides one of the keys to understanding our multiplicity (Raggatt, 2010).

Method

This study used dialogical triads to analyse the identity construction in a Misak indigenous population established outside their ancestral territory, focusing specifically on their displacement to the city (see, Castellanos, Ossa, & Achipiz, 2017; Olivares & Franco, 2015). To investigate the dialogic self system and the semiotic borders that are established, the I positions of the young Misak were mapped through three dialogic triads. (1) Identity Triad, (2) Special Triad, (3) Event Triad (Raggatt, 2000).

The Case Study

In this study, we take in consideration the narratives of the governor of Misak community from the indigenous ancestral territory in Silvia, Cauca, South of Colombia (see Alcaldía Municipal de Cali, 2008). The criteria to select the participant were the following: young person, relevant member of his community, university student of last semesters that have lived in the city of Cali for 3 years. The indigenous participant is a member of the administrative, political, social and cultural organization that represents this indigenous population in the city. Its main objective is to strengthen the cultural and ancestral knowledge and to defend the rights of Misak community.

Procedure

In-depth interviews took place at the weekly meetings of the Misak community. Each session lasted approximately 2 h.[1] This technique allows us to investigate the outstanding experiences in the life of the participant and the definition that applies to those experiences (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987). This technique allowed maintaining an open conversation with the participant to explore the meanings of cultural practices encountered throughout the life history.

Results

The young Misak narratively constructs his "self" through his political struggle for the recognition of the rights of his people before the Colombian government. So, the young Misak adopts a political position that acts as a border between the culture of his community and the culture of the city. The young Misak's political discourse

[1] The participant signed the consent form to use the data collected for this research.

leads him to construct different narrative and subjective positions of himself. He discursively constructs his subjectivity through a recurrent opposite relationship (A <> -A) that are determinant to produce his self definition (or subjective positions):

(a) Identity triad: Politician (Son of water and University student)
(b) Spatial triad: We (Here and There)
(c) Event triad: Peace process (State and indigenous community)

I-Position

In the first triad, the participant used political discourse to reconcile his cultural roots in the Misak community and his new position as a university student. The young Misak develops his research interests in his university career around the resolution of the needs of his native population. There is a new version of himself built through political discourse that also manages to reconcile both "cultures".

I *= Could you tell me about the customs and traditions of the culture?*
YM[2] *= Yes, of course, each indigenous people has their worldview, that is the way of seeing the world, so we always start from the fact that we are children of water, because we were born from it. We were born from two lagoons, one is a male lagoon called Piendamó and the other is female called Iyimbe, from those two lagoons two rivers are born, and at a point where they meet, is where a child was born, that child born is the first Misak. Then we are children of water.*

As shown in Fig. 3, the political aspect of the young Misak is a symbolic resource that allows his Misak worldview and his university career to enter into dialogue.

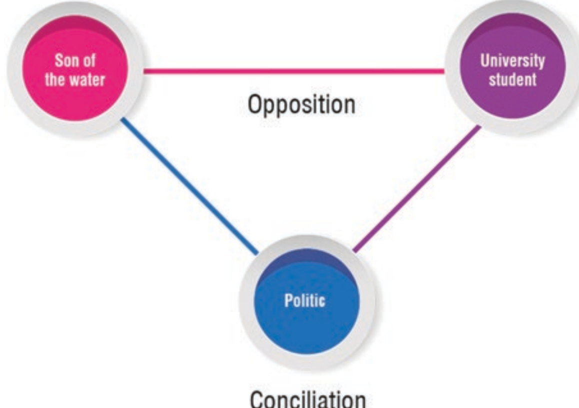

Fig. 3 Triad identity

[2] "I" is to identify the "interviewer" while the "YM" is for the "Young Misak".

The "son of water" becomes an "indigenous political leader" capable of engaging in certain struggles in favor of the conservation of his indigenous community in environmental and cultural terms:

I *= Are you a student at Universidad del Valle?*
YM *= I am a student of the Universidad del Valle's geography program, I am in the ninth semester. I am in the process of doing the thesis. The thesis title is, "The spatial transformations that exist within the community on the bank of the Cacique river micro basin" the objective is to investigate what transformations has had that river bank and how overpopulation has transformed that micro-basin over time. I also intend to look for strategies to conserve this micro basin that runs within the Guambian reservation.*

For the Misak indigenous community, given its cosmology and mythology, the conservation of water sources and the care of the environment is very important. In this sense it is very interesting that the young Misak, pursues his defense through his research work in the undergraduate course (see another experiences of political indigenous resistance in Moreno, 2008; Motta, 2008, 2010).

Spatial I-Position

The spatial I-position is a subjective position that has, as a reference, two spaces or spatial references that are parts of the narrative discourse of the young Misak in his experience in the city.

As Fig. 4 shows, for the young Misak in his speech the notion of "us" is powerful, so that it becomes a symbolic element to reconcile two worlds: the city and the ancestral territory, that are originally in opposition.

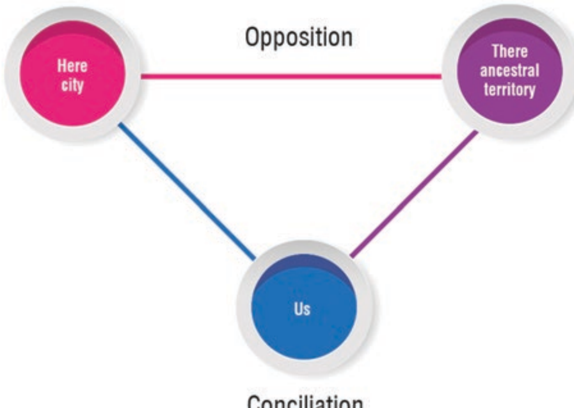

Fig. 4 Spatial triad

***I** = When you first arrived in the city, how was that experience?*

***YM** = It is complicated to interact in a space that one is not used to, at least it was difficult for me because I was used to a wider space where I had more freedom to do my things, where I lived more with nature. Then arriving in the city you feel the change of the space and that somehow the body and the spirit reject it because they are not in their space and they do not feel harmonized. The first semester I did not do very well at the college because I did not feel in harmony, then it became easier.*

To adapt to this space I took time. The university helped me a lot and the neighborhood where I live too because there are several members of indigenous communities, so the relationship with them, the conversations and all that is very helpful because it means to interact with other cultures and that is very enriching for the formation of oneself.

The indigenous community that is located in the city allows the participant to achieve a better adaptation to the urban setting. In the speech of the participant a dichotomy in the grammatical use of pronoun is observed, between the *I* and the *We*. Thus, one may wonder, "Who is speaking"? In the participant's narrative appears the "We" that may be conceptualized as the sign under which both characteristics of the "There" and the "Here" the traditional community and the city respectively, are organized and maintained. Another very important element involved in the relationship between the city and the traditional community are new technologies or ICT. Initially ICTs are seen as highly harmful to the continuity of traditional spaces called "Nachas" defined as communitarian spaces around the wood fire where the indigenous language "Nam" and Misak values are practiced,

***I** = In what aspects has technology changed certain customs?*

***YM** = The Technologies like TV, Mobile phones, Internet provoked the loss of important and traditional spaces like "Nachas": an important ritual to fortify the Misak being.*

Another important element that opposes the city and the traditional Misak community is the massive exodus from the countryside to the city as a result of the limited work and educational opportunities that the municipality where the indigenous reserve is located offers. It was at this point when the "peace process" appears in the speech of the young Misak that seems a possibility to generate a symbolic process of reparation of the conflict between the State and the indigenous communities:

***I** = What is the position of the community in relation of the Stat? Do they feel recognized with respect to their rights?*

***YM** = They have recognized us from the 1991 constitution, they recognize us as indigenous peoples, but I think it is an acknowledgment that is only on the paper and not in the facts and in the way of acting. Sometimes some of our rights are violated and they do not take us into account. Sometimes they do not listen to our proposals, that's why we fight so that our proposals are recognized.*

The I-positions are clearly identifiable. The participants pointed out to the contradict between the claims of indigenous peoples and the Nation that cannot accept their needs. However, the political constitution in 1991 became a framework in which many collectives and parties of different political are participated. It helps to recognize certain economic, social and political rights to historically invisible actors such as indigenous communities.

According to Fig. 5 the peace process signed in Colombia in 2016 does not only mean the end of the armed conflict but it is a national project that would come to solve many of the problems that have been afflicting the country since its foundation, for example, the violation of the rights of indigenous people.

I *= Why do you think there is no such recognition in terms of the strategies they propose?*

YM *= This recognition does not occur because the interests of some people don't suit the proposals we make to preserve the moors and all that because we as a people are settled in spaces where there is mineral sources and environment are in danger. If we do not do good management, the State will to take it. Now with the peace process dialogical spaces is built that allow us to put on the table historically postponed issues.*

As is possible to see in the previous pages, identity is a kind of patchwork that manage to be enunciated through alterity or different subjective positions. This allows us to identify those more stable dimensions of our self that—in a certain way—correspond to acquired identifications, as Paul Ricoeur affirms, "for which the other enters into the composition of the same" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 116).

Figure 6 represents a chronotope that shows the development of the young Misak's subjective positions through time and space. We see that politic aspects as the "We" (indigenous people) and the peace process are semiotic borders that set a synthesis of contradictory subjective positions. The contradiction lies in the fact

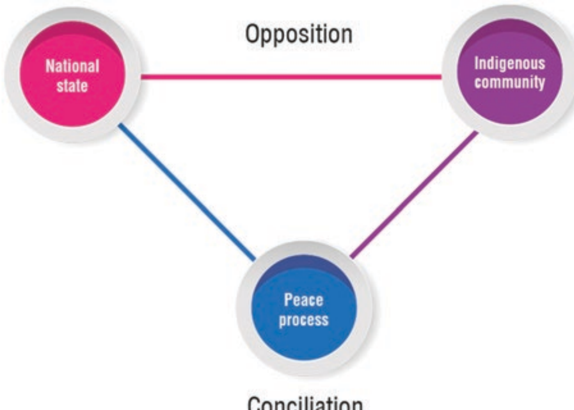

Fig. 5 Event triad

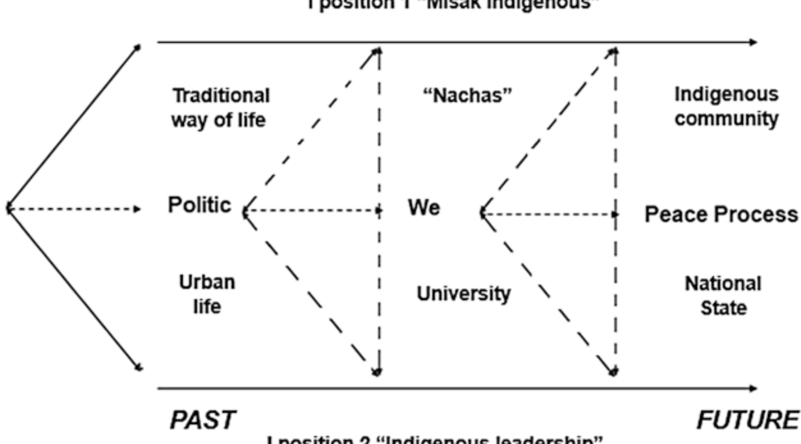

Fig. 6 Chronotope of young Misak

that, in the new subjective configuration acquired since moving to the city, the permanence and persistence of traditional aspects deeply rooted in the Misak community can be glimpsed. Here we can see the potentiality of semiotic borders and their conjunction analyses in light of the dialogical self approach.

We see in Fig. 6. that there are two distinguishable I-positions in young Misak's discourse, "Misak indigenous" and "indigenous leadership", the first one refers to certain positions more likely to be conservative of the indigenous traditions. As a result, the participant has shown to be reluctant to some values of the city. The second I-position refers to his political leadership role in which the Misak being is more open and conciliatory with the culture of the city.

Discussion

From Bakhtin to Jaan Valsiner and cultural psychology, the theories of the self pays attention to a variety of ways in which the self as an author incorporates the world and the voices of others. In the case of young Misak, semiotic mediators not only show the different subjective positions that are developed on a specific topic, they also show that the world is formed by discontinuities that allow protecting the most characteristic aspect of the cultures (in this case, its Misak culture) (Canclini, 1997).

Semiotic borders reveal that there is no greater border than what operates within the subjects themselves. The narrative identity of which Paul Ricoeur speaks about is split between selfhood and uniqueness or, in the words of Peter Raggatt, is divided into a dialogical triad arranged in the form of "I-Me-Other" (Ricoeur, 2006; Raggatt, 2014). The subjects identity is fractured in a polyphony of voices that are made evident when the subjects start up narrations about themselves or position themselves around certain topics.

The I-position becomes a tool of cultural psychology to understand the semiotic border as a resource that allows knotting multiple and contradictory elements of what is outside the subject's immediate surroundings. That is why the chronotope resource was used, which allowed us to show how identity is constructed in a temporal dimension (succession of events in the form of history) and in a spatial dimension (simultaneity of positions, oppositions and ambiguous tertiary elements).

Conclusions: Dialogical Triads and Borders, a Qualitative Method for Future Research

The notion of borders allows us to rethink the notion of the narrative identity in dialectical terms, or, better to say, in terms of contradiction and opposition, of continuity and discontinuity. The method of the dialogic triad allows us to discursively investigate the continuity and discontinuity of identity in situations of migration, displacement or cultural hybridization (Castro, 2015).

The borders notion and the theory of narrative identity are very useful to understand the processes of identity construction in times of globalization, which according to the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk (2018), has condemned us to live as nomads in territories "without themselves". Living on the borders is the possibility of conciliate and establish two or more different types of values and ways of life. The subjects can only construct one or more versions of "themselves" if they maintain the "essential of oneself" (ipse). So trying to understand the new meanings and versions created by the subjects in a new culture implies understanding, on the other hand, what is a border with its permeable <> impermeable characteristic.

We must insist on a dialectical approach to identity, so that it is approached as something that is not identical to itself but something in permanent dynamic tensional conflict. The borders and the dialogic theory of the self are based on the thesis that identity is constructed in a continuous, dynamic and contextual tension of oscillatory processes and semiotic borders.

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Border Selves: Experiences, Positions, and Inner-Others from the Spanish-Moroccan Border

Alicia Español and Marcela Cornejo

Abstract The present chapter describes experiences and voices linked to the self-construction of people living near the Spain-Morocco border between Ceuta and Tétouan. From a dialogical perspective of the self, we analyze the self-making narratives that describe the border experiences of a group of Moroccan women who cross to work as domestic workers and a group of Spanish women who cross for leisure purposes. The analyses, conducted with an analytical intent, were grouped around three analytical cores: border experiences, which refers to the meanings of the border; border positions, which reflects the main internal voices or I-positions associated with these meanings; and border inner-Others, which describes the voices of the significant others present in the narratives. Results show that the main meanings of the border for Moroccan women are subsistence, given their job as domestic workers, and the conflicts experienced at the border checkpoint; in contrast, for Ceutan women, the border does not have a major impact on their lives, which causes them to distance themselves from the conflicts occurring there. Both groups display border positions related to gender, nationality, and *mestizaje*. We conclude that the multiple bordering process experienced by the interviewees in their social relationships eventually influence their individual sphere, coloring the various voices that innervate the self of border residents.

Keywords Border studies · Self-making narratives · Dialogical self · Voices · Spanish-Moroccan border · Border experiences · Border positions · Border inner-Others

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The present chapter[1] reports findings focused on the study of identity and its connection with the experience of living near a physical and geopolitical border that has recently been reinforced as part of worldwide re-bordering processes. By trying to understand how people experience and perceive this situation through the concrete event of crossing the border, we expect to obtain information that will help us understand identity construction not only in these circumstances, but also in other situations of power asymmetry, differentiation, and *mestizaje*. Therefore, we expect this study to contribute to debate and research on identity construction in psychology and the social and cultural differentiation factors embedded in it.

This chapter covers three guiding questions: (1) How is the border is represented in the self-making narratives of people who cross it frequently? (2) What voices appear in their identity construction, from the perspective of a dialogical self? and (3) How do these border experiences relate to the voices that make up the participants' identity?

Theoretical Framework

The following theoretical concepts form the basis of this study: first, we present a definition of identity, the main focus of our inquiry; then, we present the notion of border and border practices associated with the establishment of national borders; finally, we outline the theoretical concepts advanced by cultural psychology to establish connections between the socio-political sphere—the establishment of national borders—and the individual sphere, that is, identity construction.

Identity

The concept of identity is used to refer to the personal story or narrative that individuals create to give meaning to their existence. Identity is therefore understood as a construction that undergoes permanent revision and change, that is purely narrative (Bruner, 1997; Ricœur, 2009), and that is constructed upon the basis of individual experiences and cultural patterns (Bruner, 2003). At an individual level, it is nourished by the experiences remembered by the person. At a cultural level, by identifying what is worth remembering and when, identity marks certain patterns that shape how one's personal history is remembered and narrated.

Thus, the stories told reflect a specific moment and a concrete need which are framed by a question posed by another and conditioned by the moment, setting, topic,

[1] This study is part of the thesis dissertation *Self-making narratives at the Ceuta-Tétouan border: A cultural psychology analysis* (Español, 2018) in which we explore the identity construction processes of people who frequently cross the border between Ceuta and Tétouan according to their reasons for doing so.

and person being addressed, among other aspects. In consequence, these stories, rather than give coherence and establish a clear thread connecting multiple disjointed situations experienced by a person (McAdams & McLean, 2013) seek to create brief, concrete, and limited stories that give meaning to the self (understood as agent and as narrated I) in specific moments, that is, they are *self-making narratives* (Bruner, 2003). In this regard, we expect to encounter self-making narratives that are contradictory or unconnected because they are generated in response to the need to create meaning in concrete aspects of a person's experience. This notion makes it possible to understand the link between the speaker's actions and motives and the narrative that he/she constructs for certain spheres of his/her life, like the personal narratives that give meaning to the experience of border crossing included in the present study.

This view is connected to the concept of dialogical self (Hermans, 2001), understood as a multiplicity of I-positions and voices that appear in personal stories and engage in dialogical interaction. I-positions (Hermans, 2001) are all the places where the person positions him/herself and others in his/her story. Broadly speaking, these are acts of self-identification, since the person uses various positions throughout the story, dynamically shifting from one to another. The term *voice* (Hermans, 2001; Wertsch, 1993), taken from Bakhtin's studies on the works of Dostoevsky (Bakhtin, 2005), represents the multiple speaking personalities (Wertsch, 1993) involved in the personal sphere. In other words, these are discourses of significant "others" that the person adopts and inserts into his/her narratives as part of the lifelong task of giving meaning to his/her experience. These concepts provide the basis for the study of identity in this article.

New developments have been advanced upon the basis of these concepts, among which we can highlight the analysis system published by Aveling, Gillespie, and Cornish (2014). This model differentiates internal voices, which correspond to the I-positions identified by Hermans (2001), from those coming from *others* or inner-others. It also establishes guidelines for the identification of the various voices that comprise the self. This system provides the basis for the analysis proposed in this study.

Bhatia (2002) has applied the notion of dialogical self to the study of identities in situations of international migration and diaspora, which has proven useful as a resource for understanding the hybrid identities that can emerge in these contexts. This author has also included colonial and post-colonial aspects in his research. His approach to the study of the links between voices according to power relationships embedded in historical processes allows us to understand the processes that underlie the creation of *mestizas* identities in our study.

Likewise, the approach proposed by Marsico and Tateo (2017) highlights the inclusion of the concept of the border as a constitutive element of the self. A border is regarded as a mediating artifact which creates differences but which simultaneously constitutes a gathering place where new meanings are generated. The dialogical nature of borders allows for the emergence of new (opposite or hybrid) I-positions that compose the self. This view makes it possible to transfer the functions of the border to the sphere of the self as an organizing element.

Border Studies

The issue of identity is also part of the line of research on border narratives, which emerged from the broad field of border studies. This area of research brings together geographers, political scientists, anthropologists, and sociologists, among other academics, who examine the functions and repercussions of the establishment of borders as well as the human interactions and the exercise of power around them.

The works of Anzaldúa (2012), Vila (2000), or Velasco Ortiz and Contreras (2014), among others, reveal a strong interest in learning about the impact of borders on the everyday lives of people who reside near them, especially regarding their self-making narratives. Borders thus become places debated not only from a geopolitical point of view, but also with respect to their daily impact on the identity of those around them.

As part of this growing interest in identifying which elements of the border are involved in everyday practices, researchers have recently advanced the notion of *bordering processes* (Newman, 2003), which allude to the practices that reproduce power relationships and the construction of social borders in everyday worlds. Borders are thus regarded not only as material delimitations between different territories, but also as part of concrete practices, which causes their performative traits to be reproduced in people's everyday existence. Some of the aspects inherent to borders that, we believe, are reproduced in these *bordering practices* include simultaneous actions of separation and contact between populations (Marsico, 2013); the reproduction of asymmetrical power relationships linked to differences between nations and communities (Newman, 2003; Velasco Ortiz & Contreras, 2014) or to gender (Solís, 2016), whose impact differs depending on a person's affiliations or characteristics; or the preservation of privileges associated with post-colonial historical processes (Espiñeira, 2016).

Viewing borders as elements that dynamize concrete social practices will enable us to understand the social relationships established by people interacting in border spaces. Borders provide a framework for people's actions and for the various *bordering processes* to which they are exposed. These social practices provide the basis for the construction of personal narratives, the object examined in this study.

Cultural Psychology

We consider that the border frames and reproduces itself in social dynamics and interactions. Cultural psychology provides concepts that enable us to understand how these social practices are transferred to and reproduced in the individual sphere. Concretely, this occurs as part of the process whereby individuals give meaning to their experiences, which transforms this space into another context where borders can be made and reproduced.

By participating in the border area, residents internalize (Wertsch, 1985) not only the specific practices and activities, but also the discourses and values that establish the border area as a particular context. What is meaningful about this context is the material existence of a division that organizes, manages, and conditions space and the exchange from one side to another, and which is connected with discourses produced by various voices (Wertsch, 1993). The internalization of these voices and their incorporation into people's own identity narratives results in the inclusion of aspects of the border into their view and understanding of the phenomenon and their everyday life.

The border transcends the material plane and extends into the symbolic plane, becoming part of people's minds and giving structure to their psychological experience (Marsico, 2013). The delimitation of a border generates a differentiation based on a specific criterion, including and excluding units depending on whether they meet it. The border reinforces this distinction, reducing internal differences and making it possible to perceive or construct a homogeneous unit (Marsico & Tateo, 2017).

However, while establishing limits between space and time, it also generates spaces and moments of uncertainty (Marsico, 2013). The ambivalence generated in border areas makes it possible emerge several socio-cultural and psychological processes (Marsico & Tateo, 2017) that facilitate giving meaning to the ambivalence experience.

People, through their involvement in border areas, internalize practices, values, and discourses that take place in the social plane and transfer them to the individual plane, concretely, to their self-making narratives. The practices that characterize border areas are believed to be reproduced in border-making processes taking place at a social level, eventually being internalized by those who interact in these areas. Borders are therefore transformed from material facts into practices that modulate and structure people's psychological experience (Español, Marsico, & Tateo, 2018), ultimately influencing their narratives about their identity. In consequence, we consider that taking into account *border-making* processes that occur in the social plane can be useful for analyzing and understanding people's border experiences and self-construction.

Data Production Context

Border Area

Data were produced in the border area between the cities of Ceuta (Spain) and Tétouan (Morocco). This area presents particular characteristics given its historical importance and the daily practices that occur in it, linked to a large extent to the existence of the international border. For more information on some socio-demographic, historical and political keys that help to understand the relations between both States in the last century and the dynamics of the border, we invite the reader to consult the thesis dissertation *Self-making narratives at the Ceuta-Tétouan border: A cultural psychology analysis* (Español, 2018).

Participants

Participants were selected based on a previous study (Español, Cubero, & de La Mata, 2017), where the groups of people crossing the border between Ceuta and Tétouan were described and sorted according to their activities or reasons for crossing, supplemented with data on crossing frequency and direction. This criterion reveals a variety of border crossing experiences. Following Velasco Ortiz and Contreras (2014) or Vila (2000), among others, we expect multiple experiences and meanings to exist in connection with the same border, given that the positions held by those who cross it generate diverse identities. Among the variables that influence people's border experiences, in this study we focus on activities or reasons for crossing (Español et al., 2017). These variables can bring together other socioeconomic variables, such as gender or education level, and can make visible the functions of the border in the everyday lives of those who cross it.

Two groups were selected according to their reasons for using the border and the direction of their crossing: Moroccan women who are domestic workers and travel to Ceuta three times per week and Ceutan Spanish women who go to Morocco occasionally to visit their relatives or for leisure. These different reasons for crossing will enable us to identify the groups throughout the chapter.

We understand that these inter-group differences will reflect the bordering processes that the participants experience. However, as the participants are all Muslim women, it is possible to generate a dialog between both perspectives considering their similarities. Table 1 presents the main characteristics of the participants:

Data Production Strategies

Data were produced through fieldwork in the border cities of Ceuta and Tétouan between July 2015 and March 2016.

Individual interviews were held with each participant. These interviews were autobiographical and semi-structured. They began with a brief introduction by the participants and then moved on to describe the following topics: their crossing of the border; how they are and their relationships with the people living on the other

Table 1 Sociodemographic characteristics of the participants

Activity	Name	Age	Gender	Place of birth	Residence	Interview length
Domestic workers	Zhora	51	Woman	Tétouan	Tétouan	28:46
	Leila	45	Woman	Tétouan	Tétouan	35:17
Leisure or visiting relatives	Mouna	27	Woman	Ceuta	Ceuta	35:59
	Manar	23	Woman	Ceuta	Ceuta	36:16
	Fatima	52	Woman	Ceuta	Ceuta	37:05

side; what it means to be a border resident and how the border is experienced; and an assessment of the border and of life in its vicinity. The question script was translated into Moroccan Arabic using back-translation (Chapman & Carter, 1979) and each participant conducted the interview in their native language. The interviews were recorded with the participants' authorization. They were held in a place selected by each participant, either alone or with a companion.

For more details on the data production, we invite the reader to consult the thesis dissertation *Self-making narratives at the Ceuta-Tétouan border: A cultural psychology analysis* (Español, 2018).

Data Analysis Strategy

We employed a combination of singular and cross-sectional analysis (Cornejo, Mendoza, & Rojas, 2008). First, the interviews were analyzed individually; afterward, the interviews were examined cross-sectionally within the groups studied to identify the most relevant traits of each group.

We employed two data analysis methods. First, thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008) to identify the main meanings ascribed to the border by participants, thus covering our first research aim. Second, the multivoicedness analysis method introduced by Aveling et al. (2014) to identify the voices that comprise the self in connection with each meaning of the border, which covers our second aim.

We analyzed the data with an analytic intent (Cornejo, Faúndez, & Besoain, 2017), with the support of a set of guiding questions and several listening devices (researcher's notebook and inter-analysis meetings). These devices make it possible to visualize researcher reflectivity and listen to other voices, thus ensuring the reflectiveness of the research process and the dialogical construction of knowledge (Cornejo et al., 2017).

We established three analytical axes that will organize the analysis and presentation of the data:

- *Border experience*. This area focuses on the various meanings that participants ascribe to the border and their crossing of it. It includes the main reasons for crossing, the multiple functions of the border and border cities in the participants' everyday lives, and the values ascribed to the border. It is mainly based on thematic analysis.
- *Border positions*. In this analytical area, we describe the main I-positions associated with each border experience reported by the participants. It mainly involves the identification of I-positions as proposed by Aveling et al. (2014).
- *Border inner-Others*. In this analytical area, we describe the main voices of significant others present in the border experiences narrated by the participants. This entails the identification of inner-Others as proposed by Aveling et al. (2014).

Results

This section presents the main results of our analyses of *border experiences*, *border positions*, and *border inner-Others* grouped upon the basis of the participants' reasons for crossing. The border, according to the meanings constructed by the interviewees in their narratives, comprises both a physical passage or demarcation and the space and territory around the border itself, thereby including neighboring cities. As previously noted, these meanings make it possible to understand *border experiences*, that is, how people experience and perceive the border and its main functions and values in their lives, thus covering our first research aim.

These *border experiences* are then used to understand *border positions* and *border inner-Others*. The former represent the I-positions that constitute the dialogical self and reveal the multiple places that a person adopts depending on the meaning ascribed to the border. The latter refer to representations of significant others through their voices or descriptions, which gain relevance in the participants' border experiences depending on the border position adopted. *Border positions* and *border inner-Others* will enable us to show the multiple voices that constitute the self, which covers our second research aim.

Border positions and *border inner-Others* interact with one another much in the way that I-positions are challenged or supported through confrontation with significant others who set limits to the positions from which the self speaks, which are linked to border experiences. Thus, border identities in the interviewees' narratives will be interpreted as the meanings that the border adopts from which these women place themselves (positions) that are in turn supported, challenged, or confronted by a variety of others who help them establish social limits and anchors, thereby allowing them to deal with the uncertainty of border life. This interconnection among the three analytical areas enables us to address our third aim.

We examine the most recurrent meanings in order to understand the differential impact of several bordering processes on identity construction depending on these women's reasons for crossing. We present the *border experiences* included in each group (using letters for identification purposes) and describe within them the *border positions* and *border inner-Others* linked to said experiences.

Domestic Workers

The border is mainly referred by domestic workers as: (a) a place linked to work; (b) a "ruined" place; (c) a place marked by mistreatment and attacks; (d) a point of contact with Spain; and (e) a place for leisure. These border experiences are presented from most to least frequent in the interviewees' narratives.

The Border as a Place Linked to Work

For domestic workers, the border and the city of Ceuta represent the chance to find jobs that pay better than those in Morocco. They see it as a form of sustaining themselves and the people who depend on them and improving their economic conditions. In line with the reason for crossing that characterizes this group, the main border position that appears in their narratives is *I-domestic worker*. They see themselves as domestic workers or cleaners, an occupation that they have practiced for years. For one participant, this border position is supported by individual border positions such as *I-Mother* or *I-Without help or money*, which allow her to justify continuing to work across the border.

> *I went to work in Ceuta. […] the first time I worked for some Indians, taking care of a girl and then I worked in a restaurant. I had lots of occasional jobs, cleaning jobs. The Ceuta area was still empty. Actually, they wanted Moroccans to… I used to go out looking for people who wanted to work and I never found enough, but now it's full [Zhora]*[2]

"The Border is Full, It's Ruined"

The participants mention their current difficulties finding better jobs due to the large numbers of people from the south who have secured those. Therefore, the border is no longer regarded as a place full of work opportunities or chances to improve one's economic situation, because demand for domestic workers has been met by these Moroccans considered to be competitors. This is compounded by everyday problems when crossing the border, such as crowding and fights. Here, they again single out these Moroccans from the south as the main culprits of such conflicts.

In this context, the border position *I-Domestic worker* reemerges when referring to the lack of job opportunities due to the mass arrival of southern Moroccans. The border position *I-Marked by the border* also appears, in connection with physical problems (such as small wounds or bruises) and psychological issues (such as anxiety or depression) resulting from attacks and fights at the checkpoint and the stress of being unable to find other job opportunities. The border experience has major repercussions on the participants' lives and therefore leaves a "mark" on them, putting their survival at stake by failing to offer other choices. This position is linked to the border inner-Other represented by other *Moroccan workers* who live in the same precarious conditions; thus, interviewees speak not only in their name but also represent all those in the same situation.

> *Ceuta was beautiful, I mean, not anymore, now the whole area is full of people, really full. A lot of people. […] Now the southerners have ruined everything; they've ruined everything for us. They work selling merchandise, in people's homes, and with old people. I don't need to tell you, they cause all sorts of problems, you don't need me to tell you, you already know that. And well, they've ruined everything [Leila]*

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[2] Quotations from participants' narratives have been included in order to illustrate the main results. The participants' pseudonyms have been used.

Other border inner-Others that appear are the *people selling merchandise*: Moroccans who work as informal traders, either northerners or southerners, who make it harder for them to cross to Ceuta due to the crowding that they cause during peak hours; or the *people from the south*, regarded as unfair competitors who prevent them from getting better jobs and salaries.

The Border as a Place of Mistreatment and Attacks

The participants narrate rights violations, attacks, and abuses suffered personally or observed as occurring to others, at the hands of the police forces of both countries or other Moroccans. Although it is also possible to identify the border position of *I-worker* in connection with the main reason for crossing the border, others—which are only alluded to—emerge in association with these border experiences.

In this context, the border position *I-Marked by the border* reappears, referring to physical and psychological harm linked to the problems and tensions that occur at the border. Therefore, the border experience has a major influence on their lives, leaving a "mark" by directly affecting their physical and psychological health. In this case, it is supported by other border positions such as *I-Attacked* or *I-Sick* who narrate the damage suffered or the diseases caused by stressful experiences at the checkpoint.

The main border inner-Others that appear are the *Spanish and the Moroccan Police*. They are regarded as the authors of said abuses and attacks and as forces that prevent them from crossing and doing their job. Their voices are rendered as insults, humiliation, and contempt, expressed from a position of power.

> *A Moroccan policeman came and grabbed me and started pushing me. I said to him 'Don't push me, I'm sick, don't push me'. He said to me 'If you're sick, sit down at home, don't come here'. I said to him 'And who will work for my children? Will you work for my children? […]'. He lifted his elbow and pushed me hard […] He was pushing me so hard I thought he was going to kill me. I was screaming my lungs out, saying 'Let go of my neck, you're gonna kill me!' He said to me 'If you die, the cemeteries are over there' [Leila]*

The Border as a Point of Contact with Spain

Another meaning concerns the ability to contact Spain and Spaniards. The border enables the domestic workers to access another reality: that of a past shared by Moroccans and Spaniards during the colonial period. To them, it represents tradition and an ancient world that is part of themselves, either distinguishing them from or bringing them closer to other human groups.

In this context, border positions such as *I-Mestiza* emerge based on the positions *I-Spanish* and *I-Moroccan*, as the participants identify with the practices and activities of either tradition or social imaginary. On several occasions, the border position *I-Spanish* is linked to practices associated with Spanish culture such as drinking alcohol or smoking or with various border inner-Others: their *parents*, who worked with the Spanish army during colonial times, the *people from Tétouan*, or *northerners*.

Don't forget that the people from Tétouan… there was a Spanish colony. I mean, the people from Tétouan speak Spanish a lot [Zhora]

This collective voice stands in opposition to the voice of s*outhern Moroccans*, especially regarding its behavior toward the third border inner-Other: *Spaniards*. According to the interviewees, who appeal to the *voice of history*, the *people from Tétouan* know "how to behave" with Spaniards, with whom they have interacted for decades; in contrast, the new arrivals from the south ignore these customs and engage in morally suspect acts, such as marrying Spaniards to obtain Spanish citizenship.

Exactly, now let's say they see some woman with some old man, and she's not from the north, I told you where they're from. And they say: 'all those women come here to catch old men, because of their houses, their salaries, their money…'. And this situation does exist; it's not as if it didn't. But no, it's not something everyone does. Actually, northerners do not marry Christians from Ceuta, no way! No, they work, […] Those who go searching for that are well-known, I know who they are… everyone does [Leila]

We cannot ignore the symbolic power that the border position *I-Spanish* represents for the interviewees. Identifying oneself with Spanish heritage is an invocation to a collective that, given Spain's international standing, used to hold more economic and symbolic power than Morocco during colonial times—and still does.

This contact with Spain brings to the fore another conflict with Ceutans of Moroccan descent or the community of Muslim Ceutans, identified as *people from Ceuta*. They are regarded as equals because they profess the same religion or have relatives in Morocco. However, interviewees think that, because they have a Spanish passport, they feel superior, behaving haughtily when interacting with Moroccans. This establishes a difference that interviewees do not fully accept; therefore, they introduce other diffuse border inner-Others associated with *Spanish* and *Moroccan heritage*.

Ceutans are all common people, common people. Now they're trying to boast because they think they're better than Moroccans, but they're also originally from Morocco, […] They all say 'We're Spanish, we're Spanish, we're Spanish…'. That can't be true… if you're Spanish, why are you wearing a djellaba[3]*? Why are you wearing a veil? Why are your customs Moroccan? Why do you speak our language? Why do you go to our land? Why do you bring things from Morocco for your weddings, baptisms, and all that? Why? They live off us and still curse us [Leila]*

The Border as a Place of Leisure

The interviewees also narrate some experiences of shopping and walking around Ceuta, a widespread practice among northern Moroccans. They mention crossing the border to take advantage of sales, which introduces the idea of accessing certain goods, and to visit the city. The border becomes a place for enjoying their free time and the border position *I-consumer* appears in connection with the feeling of fun that such activities provide.

[3] A long, loose robe with wide sleeves and hood, typically worn in Morocco.

> *What can I say! It was all beautiful back then, to tell you the truth, it was all beautiful, it was insane! There was a lot of merchandise, lots of goods. I mean, let's count, with only twenty euros, you could bring, God be praised, a lot of goods. You can't get anything now, nothing. I used to go crazy during the sales [Leila]*

Ceutans Who Cross for Leisure or to Visit Their Relatives

The border is mainly signified by Ceutans as (a) a place for shopping and leisure; (b) contact with relatives and friends; (c) contact with a different reality, set of customs, and culture; (d) a place where time is wasted; and (e) a place where other people work. These border experiences are presented from most to least frequent in the interviewees' narratives.

The Border as a Place of Shopping and Leisure

The Ceutan participants state that their main reason for crossing the border is to purchase basic foodstuffs such as bread, vegetables, or fish, because they are cheaper and fresher than those found in Ceuta. They also mention buying fabrics and other materials to make caftans (women's party dresses). Their interviews allude to regular crossings made to enjoy their second homes in Morocco, especially during weekends or holiday periods.

Other border positions appear, such as *I-consumer*, linked to shopping or leisure activities across the border. Along with these positions, the voices of the *relatives* with whom they tend to cross emerge as the main border inner-Others.

> *Well, just to go out. Since I'm here all week […] So… you cross the border. You have more places to visit. […] on Saturday, for example, you go to Tétouan, eat there, take a walk round the souq,*[4] *shop, and then grab some food. We go back home. On Sunday, Tangier. It's like, 'Let's go! Come on, let's take a walk over there'. Eat, shop, and then return. On Sunday evening, Ceuta [Fatima]*

The Border as a Point of Contact with Relatives and Friends

The border also enables them to contact family and friends. Weekly or biweekly visits and religious events and festivals are among the main reasons supporting this perception. Border experiences, in this case, represent union and ties with loved ones, generating the border position *I-connected with my family*.

The main border inner-Others are represented by *relatives living in Morocco* or the *Muslim community* to which they belong and which motivates their crossing.

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[4] Market.

The *I-Muslim* border position also emerges in association with the religious practices in which they engage.

> *Yes, also for the religious feasts. So, usually, I try to cross once per week to see my grandmother. Um… well, when my parents in law are in Castillejos*[5] *[…] I visit them once a week. And, apart from that, the feasts. Especially when they are ours… like the end of Ramadan*[6]*… or Sacrifice Feast.*[7] *Well, we tend to be in Morocco for those feasts [Mouna]*

The Border as a Point of Contact with Another Reality, Other Customs, a Different Culture

The border enables them to connect with a reality that differs from their everyday lives. Sometimes it is described as a disadvantaged context where Moroccans can be affected by their poor economic situation and precariousness. On other occasions, they experience Morocco not only as a different country, but as another continent. In addition, contact is described in reference to common customs and religious practices that bind them to those across the border, with whom they have a warm relationship.

These passages introduce border positions such as *I-Between two countries* or *I-Mestiza*. Some interviewees report these feeling, given that they share customs and ideas with people from both sides. Sometimes they mention their doubts about fitting in, but on other occasions they regard themselves as a combination of traditions. In these cases, they resort to border inner-Others like their own *family*, the *Muslim community*, or their *friends* as the significant groups that support these border positions on both sides.

> *I'm part of Moroccan culture, with my family and friends, and then I shift to Spanish culture, because I also interact with colleagues and friends. So, I'm on both sides… that's the good part, because I've managed to adopt good things from both. The disadvantage? That you often feel… Well, I feel a bit, a little bit different when… I mean, when I am in one place I feel different, and when I'm in the other I also feel different [Mouna]*

This contact causes other conflicts, such as the relationship that they establish with Moroccans: although they mention their mutual ties, because Morocco is part of themselves, of their families, they also point out that, when dealing with other Moroccans, they are considered to be different, because they are regarded as *Ceutans* and people keep their distance from them. Interviews reveal a gap between the border inner-Others identified: *Ceutans* and *northern Moroccans*.

> *Maybe the people from Morocco… Um, well, it's like they feel Ceutans are… I don't know, it's like they think we're weird… I don't know, maybe they think that we feel, that we believe*

[5] Moroccan town closest to the border (3 km from the checkpoint). Recently, the government established the name F'Nideq. However, the Spanish name introduced during the Protectorate is still used in colloquial language.

[6] Ninth month of the Muslim calendar, during which the faithful practice daily fasting.

[7] Main Muslim feast in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son as an act of obedience to God.

we're better or something because we live in Ceuta, because we have a Spanish passport… I don't know, for some reason [Manar]

The Border as a Place to Stand in Line and Waste Time

The border is also regarded as a barrier preventing one from enjoying shared moments. Waiting times and endless lines of cars are described as frustrating elements. Thus, despite stating that they like to live and be in contact with this border, they cannot help saying that crossing it can be tiresome and annoying.

In connection with this experience, the predominant border position is *I-Not marked by the border*, which is used to express that they do not think that the border marks or impacts them emotionally in their everyday lives; instead, they see these issues as mere limitations, which prompts the emergence of the border position *I-Limited by the border*. They mention the discomfort associated with crossing the border, such as not being able to do so as often as they would like due to these problems, but they refrain from roundly saying that the border "marks" them.

However, they do notice that the border can affect others, identified as *people marked by the border*. This border inner-Other describes how this situation is disadvantageous for others, such as *Moroccan workers* and people without a Spanish passport. Interviewees state that, although they are not personally affected, some individuals can experience problems and be subjected to humiliations at the checkpoint.

I don't think if marks me. But I don't know, maybe […] I don't know, maybe it makes me feel more… more limited. More limited in Ceuta. There are lots of things… things I'd like to do in Morocco, but sometimes I choose not to do them because of the bother of crossing the border. So, […], maybe I feel limited by the border [Mouna]

The Border as a Place Linked to Work for Other People

In connection with the previous meaning, participants mention the border's function as a means of sustenance for *Moroccan workers*. This is not a meaning linked to their own experiences, but to what they believe the border can represent for others.

Well, it's clear [that we're near a border], for instance, in the morning when people go to work, women who are domestic workers and a lot of men seem to come here to work. It is clear, especially in the early morning. You can see them coming into town. It's clear, it's really clear [Manar]

Discussion: Bordering the Self

The analysis of identity through its component voices is based on a notion of identity that regards the self as a group of alternating positions that change in a dynamic and dialogical manner (Hermans, 2001). The self, viewed as an agent and as a

narrated I, is composed of a set of narratives that manifest and give meaning to a person's motivations and actions (Bruner, 2003). Examining these narratives that emerge in the vicinity of the border should enable us to understand how the bordering processes (Newman, 2003) that take place in the social sphere color the individual sphere, thereby becoming a constituent part of the self (Marsico & Tateo, 2017).

The present study focused on the border experiences of two groups of people who frequently travel between Ceuta (Spain) and Tétouan (Morocco). The groups were selected on theoretical grounds and also based on a prior study (Español et al., 2017), with their main reason for crossing the border being the selection criterion. One group was composed of Moroccan women who are domestic workers in Ceuta, while the other comprised Spanish women who cross for leisure purposes. Because they had different reasons for crossing and traveled in different directions, but had the same gender and religion, we were able to identify similarities and differences in their bordering processes.

The main border experiences mentioned by domestic workers involve the border as a place associated with work. They also mention feeling that they had missed the job opportunities available in the past and describe the attacks and arguments that they experience daily when crossing. Other border positions emerge in connection with their job (*I-Domestic worker*) and the impact of the border (*I-Marked by the border*). In this context, other border inner-Others appear: *family members* who depend on them and justify their decision not to change jobs, other *southern Moroccans*, regarded as competitors, or the *Moroccan and Spanish police forces* that prevent them from crossing or attack them. Likewise, the border is regarded as a way of establishing contact with Spanish life, which causes experiences of admixture to emerge (*I-Mestiza*) in connection with border inner-Others such as *history* or *the community of Tétouan*. At the same time, they complain that *Ceutans*, despite having the same origins, keep their distance because they consider them to be inferior. Lastly, experiences of leisure and fun appear in association with the crossing.

For Ceutans, the main meanings of the border are the fun it provides and the ability to contact loved ones living on the other side. Here, the border positions *I-Consumer*, *I-Connected with my family*, and *I-Muslim* emerge, supported by the border inner-Others of their *family* and the *Muslim community*. Likewise, they mention the ability to access a different reality, highlighting that the border allows them to engage with a culture that they regard as their own. Here, the border positions *I-Between two countries* or *I-Mestiza* appear, also sustained by their *family*, *friends*, and the *Muslim community*. However, by self-identifying as *Ceutan*, they encounter other border inner-Others which they feel challenged by, such as *northern Moroccans*. The border is also identified as a place where they waste time that could be spent on other activities, which prompts the emergence of the border position *I-Limited by the border*. Finally, the border is regarded as a place allowing *Moroccans* to work; interviewees express no personal border positions and identify Moroccan nationals as *people marked by the border*.

The *border experiences* analytic area enabled us to detect several of the meanings that the groups ascribe to the border according to their reasons for crossing.

Although some shared meanings were found, they do not have the same relevance for the groups. Reasons for crossing cause these meanings to have a differential impact on participants' life and identity (Velasco Ortiz & Contreras, 2014; Vila, 2000). The border plays a central role for domestic workers, allowing multiple essential border positions to emerge (*I-Domestic worker*, *I-Mother*, *I-Marked by the border*) which reflect their economic dependence on the border and its emotional impact on their everyday lives. Nevertheless, for the Ceutan participants, the border plays a more peripheral role and elicits secondary border positions (*I-Consumer*) or border positions with a milder emotional impact (*I-Limited by the border*), despite being closely linked to their loved ones (*relatives and friends*). This difference in terms of personal impact may be a reflection of asymmetrical power relationships (Velasco Ortiz & Contreras, 2014) derived from European policies that have improved the economy on the Spanish side, thus increasing the disparity between both territories (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008; Fuentes Lara, 2016). This causes the border to be used in two different ways: to bring cheap Moroccan workers willing to accept jobs that Spaniards no longer want and to offer leisure activities to attract Spaniards and increase income in Morocco. Said disparity elicits the participants' main border positions related to the border.

These differences produced by the border, in our opinion, are also related to the fact that the interviewees are women. As previously noted, domestic workers justify their choice not to change jobs by pointing out that they need to support their children, despite the uncertainty of domestic work and its negative impact on them. However, certain border inner-Others from the other side justify the crossing of Ceutan women, who are thus once again tasked with preserving family ties. These border inner-Others allow us to regard our interviewees' selves as oriented toward others (Gilligan, 1982), an outlook that supports some of their main border positions. Gender, therefore, appears to be linked not only to the precariousness of the jobs generated by the border, which are eventually taken by women (Fuentes Lara, 2016; Solís, 2016), but also to the bordering practices used to contact the other side and preserve ties with it. This observation encourages us to continue studying not only how the border treats people differently depending on their gender, but also how gender influences people's bordering practices (Solís, 2016).

We also explored how historical voices and post-colonial issues permeate the self, generating experiences of admixture in our interviewees. Both groups display the border position *I-Mestiza*, a new meaning derived from *I-Spanish* and *I-Moroccan* that exemplifies the new constructs that the border facilitates (Marsico & Tateo, 2017). However, the border inner-Others that support it differ between groups, which suggests that their ethnic admixture experience is qualitatively different.

In the case of domestic workers, the main border inner-Others are the *voice of history* and *people from Tétouan*, both of which refer to a shared colonial past; however, they do not seem to be backed by nearby voices, nor do they appear to express a synthesis of Spanish and Moroccan customs or reveal tension between the border positions *I-Spanish* and *I-Moroccan*. This type of admixture may be connected with the symbolic power of self-identifying with the I-Spanish position, given the higher relative standing of Spanishness within the past and present world order. It reflects

the asymmetrical practices and relationships observed in the border area, linked to post-colonial privileges that still exist in that context (Espiñeira, 2016). However, we doubt that this situation represents a true negotiation or dialog between positions; instead, we presume that it is only a juxtaposition. This may well be a case of *hyphenated identities* (Bhatia, 2002) rather than an actual hybridization process. This can function as a protective strategy against discrimination, especially considering that asymmetrical power relationships between people manifest themselves very palpably within the context of the border.

Or is it that they wished to ingratiate themselves with the researchers who conducted the interviews, who were of Spanish descent? Identity, as previously noted, is composed of narratives constructed in specific moments and circumstances and before specific audiences (Bruner, 1997); therefore, the voice of the addressee is always present (Bakhtin, 2005) and must be taken into account in our analysis and conclusions (Cornejo, Besoaín, & Mendoza, 2011). We cannot ignore the role of the interviewers' voice in data production: we must acknowledge that the interviewees' answers are also addressed to them, which means that they may be responding in accordance to what they think is expected from them as interviewees. To what extent are these ethnic admixture experiences being introduced by the interviewers? What symbolic power do the interviewers hold with respect to the interviewees? Taking into account the role of interlocutors in these situations of power asymmetry and differentiation can not only shed light on identity generation processes but also contribute to cultural integration and exchange processes. If these questions cannot be answered on this occasion, they can be explored in future research.

Nevertheless, in the case of the Ceutan interviewees, the border inner-Others that support their *mestizaje* are their *relatives* who were born or live on the other side and with whom they share practices and experiences alluded to in various border positions (*I-Muslim*, *I-Connected with my family*). This suggests that the voices of the latter group represent much stronger, more authentic ties; they are "talking personalities" (Wertsch, 1993) closer to the person and therefore offer a more vivid experience of this admixture. Although they cannot identify with Moroccan nationality regarding political and social matters, the bond is constructed upon the basis of family ties, which means that they cannot reject that part of themselves. At the same time, they never stop self-identifying as *I-Spanish*, which also causes other groups to criticize them. They are overcome by the feeling that they belong to both sides of the border while simultaneously perceiving that they do not truly belong in any of them (Anzaldúa, 2012), which sometimes makes them feel out of place (Bhatia, 2002) because they cannot fully self-identify as *Spanish* or *Moroccan*. *Mestizaje* in this case results from the contact that the border facilitates; however, due to its ambivalence, this interaction forces them to adopt fixed positions that cause feelings of tension among the positions that comprise the self (Marsico & Tateo, 2017).

Thus, given the problems linked to being *halfway between two countries*, it is not surprising to observe that the Ceutan interviewees choose to identify with the Ceutan border inner-Other. This strategy allows them to find a third space (Bhabha, 1994) and escape the trap of nationalism (Anderson, 1983), thereby defeating the ambivalence that affiliating themselves to either Spain or Morocco would create,

given their historical construction as opposite (Driessen, 1998). Once again, the need for solid foundations for dealing with the ambivalence produced by the border causes new meanings to emerge (Marsico, 2013; Marsico & Tateo, 2017), in this case, in connection with the border city itself. The peculiarities of Ceuta, where one half of the population professes the Muslim faith, represent an exceptional case within Spain as a whole. Spain is a predominantly Catholic country where this religion has been historically linked with *Spanishness*. Self-identifying with *Ceutans* is a strategy that overcomes the ambivalence generated by the border and enables the interviewees to anchor their identity to a territory with which they do identify (Meinhof & Galasinski, 2002).

However, this does not dispel their issues with their Moroccan neighbors. Domestic workers see *Ceutans* as equals in terms of customs, religion, and language—they are not what *Spaniards* are expected to be—and therefore cannot see why they should uphold their Spanish nationality. The bordering process associated with the international border, resulting from the re-bordering implemented over the last years and the increased differences between both sides (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008), has become a source of conflict between the groups, separating a community with shared origins and practices. The voices of *Ceutans* and those of *Moroccan women* stand in opposition in the construction of the participants' selves, reproducing social dynamics and practices at an individual level. The separation generated by the border has become part of their self-making narratives and divides these human groups despite their shared aspects. Thus, the border has turned into an artifact that innervates meaning-making processes (Español et al., 2018), and thereby the construction of self (Marsico & Tateo, 2017). We observed how the border and its dynamics generate differences and affinities that influence identity construction, which allowed us to examine the influence of *border-making* practices (Newman, 2003) at a psychological level through participants' *self-making narratives* (Bruner, 2003).

These conclusions help answer the research question that orients this thesis project, as learning how specific border experiences relate to the constituent voices of the self enables us to study the identity constructed by people who cross it regularly and must deal with a variety of bordering processes. People's reasons for crossing—and the meanings of the border that they elicit—sustain several voices that manifest the multiple border-making processes that people experience while constructing their border selves.

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The Role of Estonian National Museum in the Process of Redefining the Boundaries of National Identity

Emilia Pawłusz

Abstract Museums are powerful actors in the making of national identity. Through selection of objects, their spatial arrangements and storyline they open a possibility of a personal engagement with the national past. This ethnographic study analyses the new permanent exhibitions at the Estonian National Museum (reopened in October 2016) as a site where the notion of the Estonian nation, its heritage, heroes and historical memory is constructed. The main argument is that the National Museum has initiated a shift towards inclusiveness in the way Estonian national identity is constructed. The initial post-Soviet nation-building was largely based on a firm rejection of the Soviet era as a valid part of national history and employed ethnocentrism which emphasised the privileged status of ethnic Estonian nation and culture while excluding Russian speakers from the core nation. The new exhibitions rely on the language of human experience rather than placing the nation as the main actor of history. Effectively, the paper demonstrates that in this new discourse the boundaries of Estonian identity have become more permeable and adaptable in comparison with the early post-independence time.

Keywords Museum · Exhibition · Nation-building · National identity · Identity shift · Identity boundaries · Estonia · Estonian National Museum

Introduction

If you were to explain someone a history, culture and heritage of a nation, where would you take him or her? One of the most obvious answers would be a national museum. National museums act as inventories of objects and stories related to the narrative about a nation, its past, heroes and myths. In most cases museums hold the status of public institutions of central importance to a country's cultural life. With this position comes the authority with which museum curators create meanings, selecting,

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interpreting and building hierarchies of objects, facts, events and judgements on them. For this reason, national museum is central to the process of nation-building.

This chapter analyses museum as a place where national identity is defined and constructed through material objects, narratives, and management of space. It investigates the new National Museum in Estonia (opened in November 2016) and the identity narratives it presents. The main argument is that there is a shift in the way Estonian national identity (defined as an inventory of ideas about what makes "Estonianness" constantly (re)created both by political elites and the state, as well as ordinary people) is constructed. In the years the followed regaining independence, the Museum was in line with the official discourse of the post-Soviet Estonian identity which was largely built on othering communism and highlighting ethnocentrism excluding Russian speakers (who had come in various waves of migration to Soviet Estonia) from the national demos unless they were naturalized (Vetik, 2012). Nowadays, the Museum relies on a more critical discourse of national identity aimed at inclusion and complex understanding of Estonia's history which downplays ethnicity and focuses on individual stories of belonging. Simultaneously, the exhibitions do not challenge the notion of national or ethnic group as objectively existing collectives which give frame to our identity. The paper demonstrates that in this new discourse the boundaries of Estonian identity have become more permeable and adaptable in comparison with the early post-independence time.

In terms of methodology, the study is informed by two ethnographic observations at the Estonian National Museum (2016–17) with one involving participation in an event dedicated to the presentation of the new permanent collection to foreign scientists residing in Estonia. Additionally, informal conversations with the Museum staff supported the analysis. Finally, a qualitative analysis of the exhibition objects and their descriptions, as well as the spatial arrangement informs this study.

The chapter is structured as follows. First we look into national identity as a concept. Then the role museum plays in nation-building on the formal and everyday levels is discussed. Next, we move to the case study of the Estonian National Museum (*Eesti Rahva Muuseum*, ERM) which builds on an analysis of the Museum's history and its entanglements with Estonian nationalism. Finally, ethnographic data and an analysis of the contemporary exhibitions is presented. The chapter ends with a discussion and conclusions.

Nation and I

What does it mean to identify with a nation? How do we relate to and perform national belonging in the everyday life, our worldviews and ethics? These are the most recurring and topical questions asked in contemporary nationalism studies. Amongst a myriad of ways to answer them, two main approaches can be detected. The first one focuses on the perspective of an individual—to belong means to regard oneself as a national subject, to experience nationhood as one of many parts of self. The second one involves the social—to belong to a nation is to be perceived as such by others. These two aspects—self-location and being located point to the

fundamental process in identification, namely categorisation. Ascribing ourselves and others to groups ('race', 'nation', 'class' etc.) is a cognitive mechanism human beings use to process the massive amount of information we receive from the world. As argued by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), categorising helps us perceive the world as predictable, understandable and thus subjectively more meaningful. While identifying and categorising are rather instinctive, the way in-groups and out-groups are demarcated is socially constructed and culturally specific. In other words, the content of 'us' and 'them' reflects the perception, aspirations and power of those who have the power to create categories and promote them as self-evident in a particular time and space (Mole, 2012, p. 2).

Since the nineteenth century when the wave of nationalisms formed strong national consciousnesses across European societies and beyond, national belonging is one of the basic components of modern human identity. How does one become a national subject? Scholars of nationalism explain the process using the notion of nation-building (Deutsch & Foltz, 1966; Kolstø, 2014; Pye, 1962). Nation-building is simply a process of forging a sense of national belonging to a nation—an imagined community which shares certain past experiences, values and goals (Anderson, 1991). In that sense, national identity is a constructed political identity into which citizens are socialised through variety of means—from education to cultural institutions, the media, public rituals and political discourse in which the nation, the 'us' exists vis-a-vis other nations. The idea that the world is composed of different nations is enacted through national borders and institutions such as the state, army or national health care. It is also created and reproduced using symbols (think of national flags, anthems or even street naming, see e.g. Kolstø, 1999; Billig, 1995) and in more mundane setting such as popular culture (Edensor, 2002), arts, or consumer culture where products are designed to evoke a sense of national belonging in a buyer on an everyday basis (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Seliverstova, 2017a, 2017b).

To claim that all members of the society share the same interpretation of the national project mainly enacted by the elites would not be credible (Isaacs, 2014; Polese et al., 2017; Skey, 2009). Different social, ethnic, gender groups often have different ideas about national identity (Seliverstova, 2017b; Skey, 2009, 2011). Ultimately, one's national identity is experienced only through the reflexive self, embedded in a socio-cultural context, filtered by personal experiences and interwoven with other social identities. As argued by Benedict Anderson (1991), nations are primarily mental concepts—although members of a nation will never meet each other, the nation lives in the mind of each of them. This (inter)subjective consciousness and perception of the nation provides a continual background for mobilising individuals on the basis of nationhood.

Museum and the National Self

One of the places where the nationhood is at the centre of attention, where it is talked about, displayed through artifacts and stories is the national museum. National museums serve as shortcuts to familiarizing oneself with what has made

the nation what it is today, tell its story of the past, present contemporary development, be it political movements or contemporary artists. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when national museums were born, however, their development is strongly connected to the emergence of nationalist ideologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Across Europe the demand for national museums followed the creation of national states. Typically, national exhibitions were initiated by groups of elites, aristocrats, academics, public officials or successful capitalists. Scorrano (2012, p. 345) states, 'Indeed, from its inception the modern public museum has acted as a cultural arm of the nation-state'. From their growth in the nineteenth century onwards national museums serve as an idiom of national identity, representing 'processes of institutionalized negotiations where material collections and displays make claims and are recognized as articulating and representing national values and realities' (Aronsson & Elgenius, 2011, p. 1). Together with flags, national anthems, and national days museums form a larger nexus of national symbolism necessary for mobilising loyalty of citizens to the nation and state.

Inevitably, museum is an institution of power and the process of exhibiting is embedded in and reflecting power relations (Bennett, 1998; Knell et al., 2014). What one sees in a museum is always fragmented and selected, revealing contemporary political discourses, aesthetic preferences, economic and technological dispositions. When talking about art museums but what can be applied to any museum, Carol Duncan strongly argues for the critical role museums play in establishing worldviews:

> To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths. It is also the power to define the relative standing of individuals within that community. Those who are best prepared to perform its ritual—those who are most able to respond to its various cues—are also those whose identities (social, sexual, racial, etc.) the museum ritual most fully confirms. It is precisely for this reason that museums and museum practices can become objects of fierce struggle and impassioned debate. What we see and do not see in art museums—and on what terms and by whose authority we do or do not see it—is closely linked to larger questions about who constitutes the community and who defines its identity (Duncan, 2005, pp. 8–9).

Translating this to the context of a national museum, presenting the nation within a political system of other nations, proves the nation is alive and provides meaningful narratives within which the objects on display can be situated (Datunashvili, 2017). The significance of a national museum can vary over time but the longevity of this institution through different regimes and times of political change proves its tacit power to shape identities and worldviews upon which blatant political mobilisation can rely (Jones & Merriman, 2009).

National museum is thus a peculiar act where a group of cultural experts conceptualise the nation—its heroes, experience, cultural specifics all expressed through stories and physical objects for display for the wider domestic and international audiences who interact, interpret their experience at the exhibition and confront it with their expectations, personal experiences and current socio-political context. National museums cannot be read only in the context of nationalism, they provide a variety of services from education to entertainment, from history to arts and

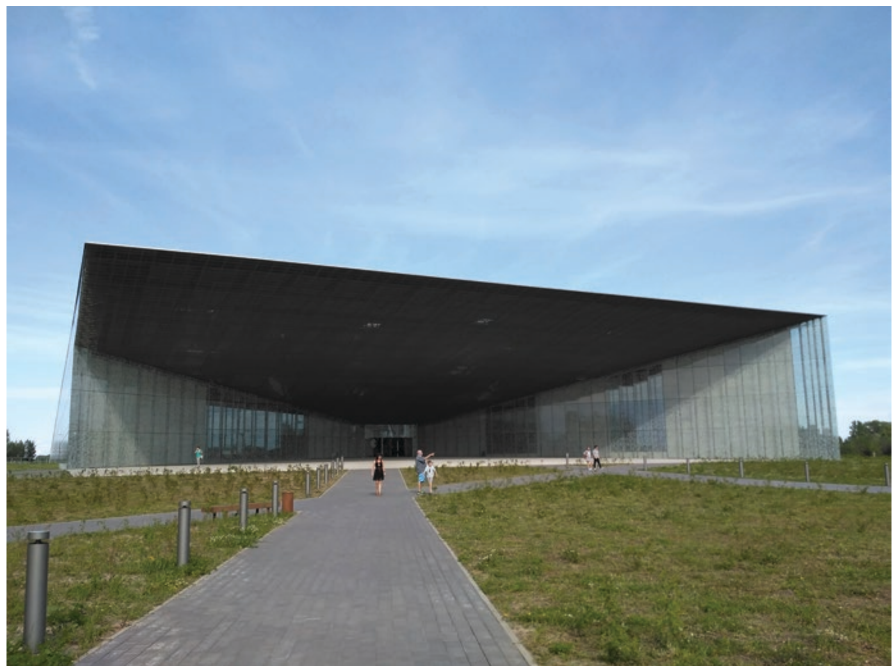
technology. Yet, for the purpose of this paper, I will focus mainly on the role the museum plays in shaping one's experience of national identity as well as hegemonic discourses of symbolic boundaries, defined as 'conceptual distinctions that we make to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space' (Lamont, 1992, p. 9).

Estonian National Museum. Space, History, Identity

The reopening of the Estonian National Museum in late 2016 was an event of a nation-wide importance. As a resident of Tallinn at that time, I could observe the intensity with which the national media as well as local Internet portals created the message that a long-awaited national project is finally finished and available to the wider public—the nation—to visit. The new museum house completed the post-independence architectural project of the Estonian state, which was to grant new buildings to the three major educational and artistic institutions of the country, the Estonian Academy of Music and Theater in Tallinn (1999), KUMU Art Museum (2006), and the National Museum (est. *Eesti Rahva Muuseum*, abbreviated to ERM). A month after the National Museum opened its doors (1 October 2016), together with other foreign researchers I was invited on a dedicated tour and presentation of the new Museum. Undoubtedly, the reopening was not only about the new building—an impressive modern, spacious and glass structure designed by a team of international architects (Picture 1) but more importantly, about presenting the novel idea for the Museum and a range of educational and commercial services it could now provide.

ERM is located like no other European national museum I have been to. It is not in the city centre, surrounded by other public institutions but on the outskirts of town on an empty area with no other building and little pedestrian traffic. My first impression was that the Museum is in the middle of a field. After a closer look it turned out there is a grain of truth in this as the Museum stands on a former airfield with an easily identifiable runway. Upon arrival my fellow travellers and I were welcomed by two Museum staff and a guide who quickly satisfied our curiosity by giving us a presentation about the location and history of the Museum and its meaning to Estonians.

The unexpected and somewhat desolate location of ERM suggests that the reason behind situating the Museum was identity politics rather than convenience and proximity to other major historical sites and tourist attractions frequented by locals and tourists. First of all, the Museum is not placed in the capital but in Tartu, the second largest city and traditionally, the centre of academic and cultural activity of the country. Tartu is considered the cradle of the nineteenth century Estonian national movement and the place where the initiative to collect artifacts which would serve as the basis for a national collection was taken up by local intelligentsia associations. Interestingly, the Estonian National Museum had been established in 1909 that is before the country achieved its first independent statehood (1918). Its



Picture 1 The Estonian National Museum. (Picture taken by me in June 2017)

main activity was to collect and exhibit material objects of Estonian culture mainly relating to the peasant life as historically Estonians were governed by German or Russian speaking elites. In the interwar time the Museum was a cultural repository for a growing national consciousness, an idiom of nation and state-building (Kuutma, 2011, p. 242). Simultaneously, in the spirit of romanticism its task was to preserve traditional culture which was rapidly changing under the conditions of intensifying urbanisation and industrialisation.

In their presentation, the Museum staff explained that ERM was first housed in a manor that once had a Baltic German owner in a part of Tartu called *Raadi*. Back then such a location would mean a symbolic victory of Estonians over a long domination of foreign elites. The first exhibitions, much like traditional ethnographic museums still do today, displayed objects associated with rural life, agricultural work, rituals, religion, folk costumes, and folklore typical of Estonia. What is interesting, the owner of the Raadi manor had been an avid aviation enthusiast and had built a small airfield around the house. This structure was later used by the Soviets who dismantled the Museum and established an air force base there which was closed to visitors. The manor itself was destroyed during the war but the collections were secured in various parts of town until the perestroika time when the public demanded the removal of the military from Raadi and reopening of the National Museum (Runnel et al., 2014). When the Soviets left, the area was unfit for museum use. As a result, the Museum in independent Estonia reopened in a different house

in 1994 in the centre of Tartu. Soon after a competition for a new building was initiated. It was won by a team of international architects Dan Dorell, Lina Ghotmeh and Tsuyoshi Tane. On the Museum website the project is described in the following way,

> The authors of the project "Memory Field" based their idea upon Estonia's dramatic past—by denying signs from this era the Soviet occupation cannot, nor must not be erased from the nation's memory: they should instead be given a new and hopeful meaning. The former runway included in the project area—the sign of occupation—takes the role of a dramatic space. It is not only a runway, but a historic space scarred by military use. In order to give the space a more powerful 'voice', the empty space is extended by the new open building which expands along the runway. Its slightly inclined roof symbolizes rising to the sky, moving towards the future (ENM, www.erm.ee).

The new Museum, according to its staff, is meant to be a return to the classic idea of a museum as a place of debate and critical thinking. The Museum staff highlighted the contrast between the new permanent exhibition and the previous one. The first ERM permanent exhibition entitled 'Estonia. Land, People, Cultures' was open to the public from 1994 to 2015. Its curators concentrated predominantly on Estonian ethnography collection, inviting the visitor to a world of pre-modern community life on the Baltic coast (Karm & Leete, 2015). One of the workers explained to me that the exhibition created in 1994 should be understood primarily in the spirit of its times. *It was nationalist in a romantic way. We couldn't have done it otherwise. Back then everybody had to support the nation. There was a lot of enthusiasm*, she added. Ethnologist Kristin Kuutma also explains this ethno-romantic logic of the exhibition as a response to the public expectations of the time when it was compiled in the early 1990s. In the 1990s the Estonian state employed a range of policies and projects leading to strengthening ethnic Estonian identity as the basis for the nation-state. These included the recreation of pre-war cultural institutions, language policies favouring the use of the Estonian language as the main language of communication in the country (Seljamaa, 2012). In this landscape of intensive "Estonisation" of culture, the mission of the National Museum was rather straightforward. It was meant to foster national pride and confidence which suffered in the years of the Soviet occupation as well as provide the nostalgic experience of 'authentic' Estonianness connected to rural community life. It was clear in how the Museum curators talked about the new Museum, many of them researchers themselves, that their intention behind the new permanent exhibition was to depart from this romantic traditional narrative focused on the nation across time and space and introduce a new storyline that is embedded in personal experience and inviting dialogue and pluralisms of interpretations of the objects and stories around them.

'Encounters'. Boundaries Revisited

To analyse an exhibition, even if seen several times, is a challenging and inevitably subjective task. Exhibitions are experienced on many levels, from an intellectual interpretation to emotional and corporeal responses to the content. A lot about how

we engage with the object can be learnt from studies which investigated the interaction between an art object and a viewer (Best, 2002). Such studies have recognised the affective and personal aspect of this interaction pointing out that an art piece induces interest and sensory engagement leading to a variety of affective responses. Literary scholars remind how narratives displayed at the museum are always a confrontation of memory, social knowledge, personal experiences. All these combined, spatial arrangement of objects, lights, atmosphere and physical look of the space, sensory experiences enhanced with the current advanced multimedia technologies, finally the objects themselves and the narrative they are all linked within (or its absence) build a museum experience and open a possibility of a critical engagement with the past.

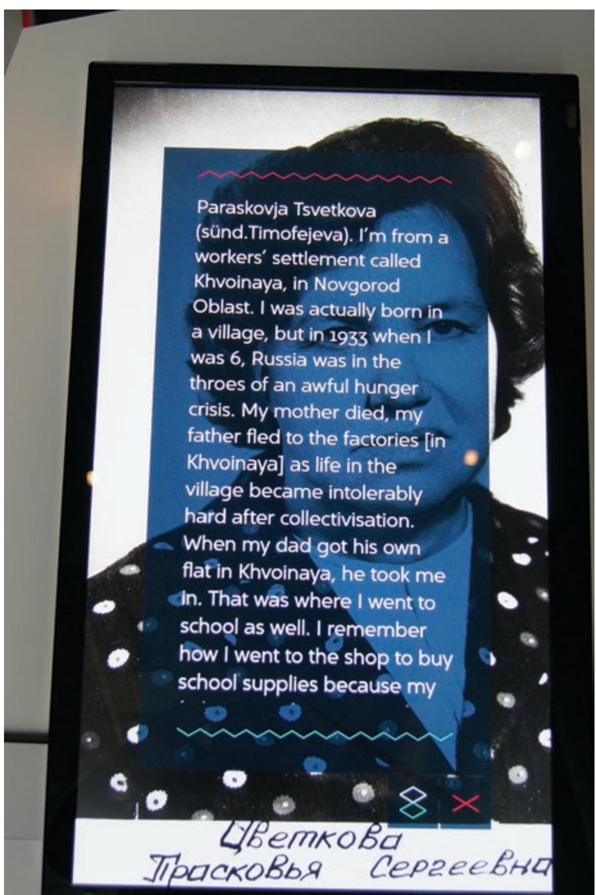
ERM permanent exhibitions are based on collections. The main permanent exhibition entitled 'Encounters' guides us through the cultural, political and social history of what today is Estonia, focusing on the lives of people who inhabited the Estonian territory or shaped the country through ages. The guide who led my group started her talk with a statement that this Museum wants to present not a nation but nations, cultures and peoples who happened to have lived in and left a mark on Estonia. The point of the exhibition is to relate to history and culture through human experiences, not necessarily national, she added, making it clear that plurality of voices and the perspective of an individual are the angles the creators of the exhibition wanted to achieve. Such an approach has important consequences to how the exhibition is organised.

First, the exhibition plays with chronology disrupting the familiar historical narrative (the nation from prehistory till now). Contrary to my expectations and experience from other historical exhibitions in Estonia, it starts with contemporary objects such as a chair of the Skype programmer who is an Estonian, or a 1990s ATM machine and other technological innovations typical of the 1990s but no longer in use now. Then it continues 'back in time' to the late 1980s, the independence movement and life under the Soviet regime shown through a gallery of objects considered luxurious in that time. An eye-catching example is a pair of jeans, which serves as a departure point to explain the influence of Western culture on Estonian youth in the Soviet times and the subsequent role growing consumerism and desire for Western goods played in anti-Soviet resistance. This part of the exhibition provides a good illustration of how the grand historical narrative is reworked: it becomes interwoven with ordinary people's life stories, resulting in a non-linear, yet complete picture of the past which is easy to relate to. The visitor gets familiar with the political history through personal items, stories of individuals, descriptions of objects based on someone's memory or a family story. Contrary to how the Soviet times are understood in popular perception, that is as a dark moment of Estonian history which should be forgotten (Pawłusz, 2016; Pfoser, 2015). The ERM exhibition brings to attention the everyday life during the Soviet times, showing that it was not just a backdrop to political events but a major site where subjectivities are constructed (Martinez, 2016). The language of an individual memory rather than a national one

points to an important shift. While the official restorationist narrative alienated and othered the Soviet times, ERM exhibition makes a point that people still had their lives, created families, had dreams and desires. As argued in many in-depth ethnographic studies on the subject of memory politics in Estonia (Martinez, 2016; Pfoser, 2015), for many, the Soviet times, are still present through individual and family memories, objects at their apartments, as well as se in the landscape of the city they live and its surroundings. For this reason they cannot be simply abruptly removed and alienated as it has been done in the hegemonic narrative (Pettai, 2007). In that sense the exhibition problematizes Estonian memory politics and allows for a wider spectrum of interpretations of the Soviet past.

Second, the exhibition redefines the notion of ownership of the state. 'Foreigners', namely those who would not be considered Estonian are given voice and authority to talk and their place is the national history is made legitimate. This is achieved not through introducing Estonia's minorities or any other group-based concept but by bringing to our attention micro universes of individuals who had lived or still live in Estonia. In Picture 2 we get to know the story of a Russian woman who settled in Estonia during the Soviet times.[1] It is told in first person and the photograph of the woman's face encourages empathy and understanding from the viewer. We feel as if she was talking herself. The ERM exhibition makes a significant move to open up the topic of Russian speakers as legitimate members of the society and their story as part of the national story. Thanks to the one-to-one meeting with a personal story, an emotional response arises which in turn opens up possibilities of reinterpretation with regards to the politics of representation and national identity formation (Gregory & Witcomb, 2007). The exhibition invites also a reflection to rethink the relationship between the Russian speaking people and the Soviet state, allowing them to claim victimhood of the regime, instead of equaling them with perpetrators. As a result, the exhibition reads more inclusive, reflexive and independent from the national didactics. The exhibition 'Encounters' certainly aims at de-centralising the nation and putting forth people, their cultural practices and complex relationship with local and international politics. The Estonian ethnic nation disappears from the main stage, leaving space for experiences and histories of different communities into the one historical experience of the nation as a single community.

[1] As a result of its geographical proximity to Russia, Estonia has always had a significant presence of the Russian speaking population. During the Soviet times, a considerable number of Russian-speakers settled in Estonia. By the end of the occupation, Russian-speakers made up about 40% of the population and most of them did not speak Estonian (Ehala & Niglas, 2006, p. 210). The rapid change of the demographic situation as well as the restorationist discourse resulted in a situation where the Soviet immigrants were deemed illegal and Estonia did not want to bear any legal responsibility for the newcomers. The Russian speakers were not seen so much in terms of ethnicity but rather as a potential political and demographic threat to the continuance of the state (cf. Pettai, 2007).



Picture 2 Personal stories at ERM. (Picture taken by me in June 2017)

The Finno-Ugric Mindset. Boundaries Maintained

The second and smaller permanent exhibition entitled 'Echo of the Urals' is an ethnographic display of artifacts related to traditional living of Finno-Ugric peoples. It is object based—exhibiting only a small part of ERM exceptional collection of items such as work tools, handicraft, folk art and ritual objects, parts of home interiors and countless folk costumes and accessories, gathered during research and amateur expeditions to Finno-Ugric communities in Russia.

Finno-Ugrism has been an influential theme in Estonian nationalism from its beginning leading to extensive ethnographic research into the daily lives, work and religion of Finno-Ugric tribes as kindred ethnic groups to the Estonians (Karm & Leete, 2015; Kuutma, 2011). The National Museum has collected objects and accounts from these expeditions since the early twentieth century. Interest in the Finno-Ugric peoples was initiated in the 1920s but in the 1960s to 1980 it grew exponentially (although within a Soviet ideological frame) leading to Estonian

folklorists and ethnographers as well as students making regular expeditions to various Finno-Ugric people dispersed around Russia. Tallinn became the centre of Finno-Ugric research and exhibitions for the whole of the Soviet Union (Karm & Leete, 2015, pp. 105–107). As Kuutma (2011, p. 245) describes it 'For Estonians, research in the field of Finno-Ugric affinities provided certain cultural agency outside the official Soviet framework as well as versatile ethnographic material.' It is notable that Lennart Meri, the first Estonian president after 1991 and a film director made several documentaries about the Finno-Ugric peoples and their customs, including shamanistic rituals and heritage.

The current exhibition "Echo of the Urals" continues the theme of an ethnographic display of a 'times gone by'. As it says on the Museum website, 'The central points of the display are Finno-Ugric settlements on one hand—a Komi hut, an Udmurtian shed, a Karelian sauna, a Sámi house, a Khanty forest camp—and several rituals on the other: the coming of age, weddings, honouring the forbears.' The exhibition features audio recordings, film footage, photographs and an impressive amount of physical objects related to agriculture, craftsmanship, rituals and belief, textile, footwear and jewellery (Picture 3).

At the entrance the exhibition informs that it covers Finno-Ugric peoples without the Estonians, Finns and Hungarians because their cultures do not need preservation as they have their independent states. The ideological construct behind the exhibition is what Kuutma (2011) calls 'salvage ethnography', a notion of preservation of valuable representations of the past before they are destroyed, lost or forgotten. It dates back to the nineteenth century romantic initiatives to "collect" artefacts of a

Picture 3 The Finno-Ugric exhibition. (Photo: author)

culture as repository of a true spirit of a nation. A few ontological assumptions about culture can also be read from the exhibition. First, that nations and ethnic groups exist as communities of certain distinct cultural qualities, they are ordered into hierarchies and taxonomies of similarity and difference. Next, national or ethnic cultures should be preserved centrally, by the state. It suggests the nation-state as a *natural* entity to safeguard culture and heritage of the titular nation, as well as points out to the responsibility bigger nations play in supporting ethnic groups ('not yet nations'). This is not only a romantic postulate but also a continuation of the Soviet view on culture as a collective attribute of an ethnic group supervised by the state (Adams, 1999; Slezkine, 1994).

The exhibition does not have an easy to follow storyline. It builds on isolated objects and an extensive use of multimedia technology which turns it into a fully fledged sensory experience. Imagine the roaring sound of a bear whose lightened outline suddenly appears in the dark corner of a room. I can still see it when I close my eyes. 'Echo of the Urals' is a full-in experience of a timeless pre-industrial, simple and close to nature life. It is a world long gone which we get to visit, literally stepping through the threshold of a reconstructed wooden hut with a straw roof. It is constructed as an opposition to visitors' everyday urban living. The exhibition world is like a Herder's paradise, available through multiple sensory experiences delivered by contemporary technology.

Contrary to 'Encounters', the Finno-Ugric exhibition does not challenge the nineteenth century approaches to ethnicity, nor does it seek to contextualise the vast collection of Finno-Ugric artefacts in the political and social context of the twenty-first century. While the Estonian peasant culture is somewhat put into perspective on the bigger exhibition, 'Echo of the Urals' echoes primordialism and nationalism. As visitors we do not meet individual but 'cultures', 'ethnic groups' presented as real existing groups of certain characteristics which make them clearly different from others. The guide followed this narrative to a point when she hesitated. While showing us yet another Finno-Ugric ethnic group's set of work tools, clothes and jewellery (supposedly different from the previous one), she remarked "oh well, these ornaments you see are similar to those found in other countries, these work tools too, like in any culture using primitive agricultural techniques." This sudden reflection of the guide is a perfect illustration to Barth and his collaborators' famous thesis on group boundaries (Barth, 1969) which they see as socially constructed and permeable. They observed that the boundaries between two ethnic groups are all but stable. They are maintained, even though their cultures might be indistinguishable and even though individuals and groups might switch from one side of the boundary to the other. The guide's remark illustrates also that museum staff has agency in governing political and cultural identities, selecting their content, and authorising it as legitimate with its power as a public institution and the guide as an expert on the exhibition content.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter analysed national museum as an identity making place where national boundaries and conceptualisations of a nation's past, heritage and culture are created and transformed. This is where visitors engage with the concept of a nation on several levels, from discourse to sensory and affective experiences. Because of that museum is a powerful actor with an authority to create discourses and alter them (McLean, 2005). The study of the Estonian National Museum new permanent exhibitions, described by their curators as debate-oriented and aiming at diminishing the prevalent ethnic representations shows an interesting paradox. The bigger exhibition entitled 'Encounters' attempts at dismantling the ethnic-based definition of Estonian nation and Estonia as a rightful property of ethnic Estonians. It operates with a language of human experiences, rather than placing the ethnic Estonian nation at the centre of its narrative. The exhibition highlights similarity of life experiences (such as war hardships or everyday life) as more significant than any cultural diversity within a nation. In contrast, the second exhibition devoted to the extensive collection of Finno-Ugric artefacts adopts a language of collectives and group classifications. It presents a synchronic view of the world as composed of national, ethnic and linguistic groups and sets strong cultural boundaries between them. Unlike the first one which engages the spectator through assuming a commonality of experiences between us—museum visitors in 2018 and the people who lived in Estonia across times, the Finno-Ugric exhibition is decontextualised from the current political situation and appeals to the visitor mostly through sensory experiences. While both exhibitions are object-based, 'Echo of the Urals' places more emphasis on artifacts and their arrangement than the storyline and interpretation. From 'Encounters' clear efforts to construct a reflexive, decentralised narrative where the viewer is seen as an active meaning maker can be read.

It can be concluded that to a certain extent ERM reiterates the key components of national identity is Estonia (such as nation's continuity through time, national symbolism and myths) but introduces also a few novel dimensions, offering a more complex and sophisticated understanding of Estonia's history and contemporary diversity. It can be said that the two exhibitions create and deconstruct cultural boundaries in different ways, reflecting an ongoing negotiation of the notions of nation, national heritage, 'us' and 'others'. Museums traditionally narrated the one big collective that is the nation. Multiculturalism makes the task of the museum more challenging, they are still to represent the nation but now with a focus on its diversity (McLean, 2005). The ERM curatorial team seem to be aware and vocal of this new critical paradigm museology has taken. As they are strongly oriented towards debate and dialogue rather than unification of values and moral didactics, the National Museum can become a vehicle of civic education and change.

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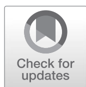
An Intra-psychological Perspective on Borders: On the Example of Becoming Estonian



Katrin Kullasepp

Abstract Borders are a part of an external socio-cultural structure guiding the dynamics of dialogues between persons and institutions. However, additionally to the interpersonal and societal level of analysis of borders, borders can be conceptualized in terms of intra-psychological dynamics. In this paper I provide an account of the process of bordering based on the example of Estonian identity that unfolds under the guidance of social-institutional and personal representations. Drawing on a semiotic approach in cultural psychology, national identity is conceived in this chapter as a sign—a semiotic entity—that is involved in the meaning making of experiences and regulates one's relations with the world, including relations with 'other'. Dialogical Self Theory was applied to explore the dynamics of the negotiation of borders in the intra-psychological level.

The findings suggest that the re-considering of the relations with 'other' can turn into an emotionally challenging task which involves the regulation of tensions elicited by the contradictory perspectives in the self where the past (historical-collective) and present voices interact, communicating different motivations.

Keywords National identity · (Re)construction of borders · Dialogical self · Cultural psychology · Estonia

In the globalizing world characterized by an awareness of 'other' the question of how we construct 'others' is increasingly topical in pluralistic and multicultural societies. Cross-border contacts with 'others' and transnational interactions offer a wide range of benefits at the level of society as a whole as well as that of specific individuals. Yet otherness and cultural differences can also be perceived as a threat to local identities. It is hardly surprising then that scholars from various research fields take an interest in ongoing question of the regulation of the non-local <> local tension at the different levels of functioning—societal, interpersonal and

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intra-psychological. In accordance with Laine (2016, p. 14) who proposed that, “Today, borders are widely recognized as complex multileveled and -layered social phenomena related to the fundamental organisation of society as well as human psychology”, I argue for the need for different levels of analysis being required to comprehend the complexity of borders. However, I will bring the intra-psychological dynamics of border-making more to the forefront to emphasize that for the comprehension of the complexity of borders it is necessary to understand *how* they are constructed in the involvement of psychological processes. For this I will use the example of Estonian national identity.

To contribute to this discussion, I intend to address the semiotic construction of ‘other’ (personal representation of ‘other’)—the negotiation and re-negotiation of borders (i.e. re-considering relations with ‘other’ along the dimension of I (‘us’) <> ‘other’ (‘non-us’) relations)—in relation to national identity (intra-psychological) processes.

The question will be addressed from the general perspective of cultural psychology and will implement the concept of hyper-generalized affective fields (Valsiner, 2007), and the Dialogical Self Theory (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1992).

Theoretical Framework

National Identity as the Process of the Construction of Borders

Although the interdisciplinary topic of borders has been extensively studied (Kolossov, 2005), the phenomenon of borders continuously captures scientific interest in various areas of research. Borders are a social construction with a variety functions (Haselberge, 2014). Borders have been described as physical barriers, as imaginary and symbolic lines (Tateo et al., 2018; Vrban, 2018) that separate (Newman, 2003) and unite at the same time, resulting from the identification of differences and the creation of a distinction (Marsico & Tateo, 2017). In terms of the perspective of cultural psychology, borders can be regarded as outcomes of the processes that are based on an organization of the I-Other-World relationship (Simão & Valsiner, 2012), acting through the sign-making process and enabling different psychological processes like differentiation, opposition, categorization, sense-making and organizing conduct, feeling and thinking (De Luca Picione & Valsiner, 2017; Valsiner, 2017). However, the construction of borders can also be conceptualized in terms of the processes of identity. As De Luca Picione and Valsiner (2017) postulate:

> A border enables us to define our own identity while distancing ourselves from the others in a correlative way at the same time. A semiotic border triggers a dynamic process in which the counterpart, the alterity, the otherness, the strangeness, are involved. It is impossible to define a Me without a non-Me (p. 534).

Regarding national identity, identification with a national group occurs along with the emergence of we-ness (Snow & Corrigall-Brown, 2015) accompanied by the defining of ‘other’ (van der Zwet, 2015): “A process of identity formation includes a

process of 'othering' by which is meant the establishment of mental boundaries between in- and out-group" (p. 62). Generally, national identity is conceived as a group-based identity that involves "a sense of attachment, bond, belonging to, feeling a part of, and solidarity with a collectivity, an imagined or real social grouping or category" (Pakulski & Tranter, 2000, p. 208); characterized as processual, relational, dynamic, ambivalent and variable (Brubaker, 2002; Wodak & Kovįcs, 2004).

In line with the constructivist perspective (e.g., Gergen, 1999) and with a notion that national identity is an emotional bond which often cannot be determined through objective characteristics (Verschik, 2017), I conceive national identity as an affective in its nature where the objective criteria (e.g., mother tongue, place of birth) are not always decisive in self-definition.

Yet, while the construction of national identity as a collective identity needs recognition by community, national identities are negotiated in interactions and in social encounters (Ehala, 2017), allowing one to anticipate tensions evoked by discrepancies in understandings. It concerns not only the question of who am I, but extends also to defining 'other'.

Estonian as a Sign in the Regulation of Feelings

To start out, I will first introduce the mechanism enabling the semiotic formation of national identity, with a particular focus on the intra-psychological level processes by applying the concepts of higher affective fields. The axiomatic starting point, based on the semiotic approach, is that making sense is an inherent human condition that is performed by the construction and use of semiotic devices to regulate societal, inter- and intrapersonal processes (Valsiner, 2017). Thus, meaning making that "is an active and constructive process by which the person cultivates their self and environment" (Cabell, 2010, p. 26) is fundamental in establishing and organizing one's relations with a national group and the 'other'. According to this line of thought, national identity can be viewed as a sign that becomes the semiotic regulator through which the individuals regulate themselves. Once the sign Estonian appears in the system of higher psychological functions, it begins to coordinate affective relating that is considered central in psychological experiences. Namely, drawing on the concept of higher affective fields:

> human psychological life in its sign-mediated forms is affective in its nature. We make sense of our relations with the world, and of the world itself, through our feelings that are themselves culturally organized through the creation and use of signs. The realm of feelings is central for construction of personal cultures (Valsiner, 2007, p. 301).

There is a consensus among scholars in regard to the ubiquity of emotions in experiences suggesting also the significance of an affective component in the processes of national identity and in the organization of relations with 'other'. Further, scholars point to the emotions as the key factors in the creation of nations through different collective practices (Guibernau, 2007; Tamm, 2018). The creation of nations is a complex multidimensional mechanism that embraces processes at

different levels of functioning—societal, inter- and intra-personal, the outcome being the internalisation of the national identity that "results in individuals sharing it emotionally" (p. 12), and that manifests in "sentiments of love of the nation, hatred of those threatening it are intensively felt by fellow nationals", as Guibernau (2007, p. 12) has stated.

As to the affective component in the formation of national identity, affective linkage with the national group, and events associating with nationality, is achieved through internalization/externalization of social representations (Marková, 2012; Moscovici, 1988; Wagner et al., 1999), and formation of the higher affective fields. As noted by Valsiner (2017), the hyper-generalized feeling fields—values—regulate humans' affective relations with the world. These higher-level affective fields that are "oriented by one's previous experiences" (p. 313) shape the responses and are expressed in one's conduct.

With respect to affective linkage and events relevant to one's national belongingness or national group, then it may appear in varying emotional relatedness to the group in terms of intensity and valence depending on various factors. To illustrate, individuals may feel pride related to national symbols or they may feel uncomfortable when these symbols are damaged or attacked, perceiving the situation as an attack against themselves. Or, a person may call him- or herself Estonian, but there is no strong affective linkage with Estonians. It can be the case of migration which involves emotional distancing from the national group x. In such case, considering oneself Estonian may be a rather "intellectual exercise" without strong emotional tie with a national group (e.g., I am Estonian because I was born in Estonia). Thus, affective relations with a national group are not fixed within time and are affected by cultural-social-psychological factors. For instance, Verdugo and Milne (2016) highlight the impact of events/trends in society on national identity, pointing, along with other factors, to the condition of negative economic factors that may lead to lowering one's identity because "citizens expect their leaders to protect their basic rights and needs. Failing to do so leads a citizenry to question their government, their leaders, and the meaning of membership in their society" (p. 6).

Dialogues in the Self

To explore the involvement of identity processes and the affective component in the negotiation of borders, the Dialogical Self Theory (DST; Hermans et al., 1992) is a useful theoretical tool to apply. The dialogical self-concept (Hermans, 2001) is a rich resource, allowing one to understand how national identity formation and the construction of 'other' relates to the dynamics in the surrounding environment through the use of signs. The model describes the person-surroundings relations as dialogical and depicts the human mind as a reflection of society holding that the heterogeneity of understandings or approaches in society appear also in one's mind in the multiplicity of perspectives. The DST is rooted in James's distinction between the self-as-subject (I), also viewed as self-as-knower, and the self-as-object (Me),

also viewed as self-as-known, and also rooted in Bakhtin's dialogical perspective (Hermans, 2001). Based on Hermans (2003), feeling oneself as distinct from others, and having the sense of sameness is guaranteed by I. The dialogical self is depicted as a dynamic whole that consists of different I-positions that are supplied with the voices making the dialogical relations between positions possible. I-positions represent the person's different experiences bringing their own point of view into the dialogues in the self. In terms of dialogical self, national identity appears in various I-positions that introduce the perspectives related to one's assumed belongingness to an *imagined community* (Anderson, 1997, p. 44). Drawing on the dialogical self, the negotiation of borders involves interactions between different I-positions. For example, the I-position I-as-Estonian introduces an approach towards 'other' as dangerous to the community and culture that is in contradiction with the I-position I-as-a-practical-person that disagrees with this statement, arguing that relations with 'other' are beneficial. To eliminate the tension that the confrontation of perspectives elicits in the self, a variety of solutions is available. According to Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010), I-positions can dominate over each other; the domination of one position is achieved by suppressing or silencing the other voices in the inner discussion. Establishing coalitions and forming a third position are also options. A coalition of positions is described as cooperation of positions, that is, positions that support each other. The third position can help to reconcile the conflicting I-positions in the self by unifying them without removing their differences. Within the current context, the coordination of I-positions is viewed as part of construction of borders.

Methodology

The discussion in this chapter is informed by the findings from a series of four underlying qualitative studies conducted by the author in Estonia over the period from December 2015 to November 2019, which together make up a larger project. Particularly, four separate data collections with groups (indicated in this chapter with the acronyms INT, KAUG, MAG, and ESTFIN) were conducted. The project began with data collection from the group INT (N = 12) and was followed by studies KAUG (N = 70), ESTFIN (N = 3), MAG (N = 14), as additional questions arose from the findings of the preceding studies.

The overall aim of these four individual studies was to pursue better understanding of the construction of borders by exploring the participants' experiences of national identity. In this chapter I only introduce the part of the larger data body that provides an insight into the participants' understanding of re-negotiability of borders, i.e. the possibility of nationality change being related to national identity processes.

All four studies had a specific focus. Participants in the study KAUG were instructed to reflect on whether nationality can change and justify their opinion (e.g., "Do you think a person's nationality could change?"). The participants from

group MAG were asked on what their understanding of being Estonian was based, and why they think so, and to reflect on whether it is possible that their nationality will change (e.g., "Why do you think you are Estonian?"). The study ESTFIN aimed to additionally explore the transition experiences of identity and of border construction in a multicultural host country.

Methods

Data collection was carried out by semi-structured in-depth interviews in the studies INT and ESTFIN, and by written anonymous reports in the studies KAUG and MAG.

Sampling

MAG and KAUG participants were students from a university in Estonia who volunteered to provide anonymous responses. When recruiting participants from the groups INT and ESTFIN, invitations were distributed through social media, potential participants were accessed directly and by relying on snowball technique. The recruited participants had to meet the qualifying predetermined criterion—perceiving themselves as Estonians, resting on the notion that the decisive factor in the self-determination of one's national affiliation is one's own subjective assessment (e.g., Verschik, 2017), and being willing to reflect on and communicate their experiences. It was also assumed that the socialization of the participants consists of their experiences related to the construction of 'other'. However, an exception was made for the participants from the group ESTFIN who had migrated abroad. Their self-understanding concerning their national identity was expected to be rather ambiguous, reflecting multicultural experiences in the host culture (e.g., Märtsin, 2010; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). The criterion for selection for this study was having been born in Estonia and having migrated abroad. The participants in the study MAG and KAUG who defined themselves as non-Estonians but decided to participate in the collection of data anyway were excluded from data analysis.

Procedures

The interviews and written responses were conducted in Estonian. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. The selected excerpts from the interviews and written responses presented in this chapter were translated into English. To confirm the accuracy of the translation, the back-translation method was applied and was carried out by a professional English language expert and by the author of this article.

Data analysis began with reading of the data corpus to become familiar with the interview transcripts and written responses. Thematic analysis was then applied: passages containing information about (a) the description of the qualities of Estonians and non-Estonians (e.g., industrious), or, all that described Estonianness and Estonians, (b) the I-position I-as-Estonian (or I-as-Finn, as was the case in the ESTFIN group), which indicated self-identification with the group of Estonians, and (c) affectivity associated with 'other' (e.g., dangerous, beneficial) were identified. Finally, in coding, the following categories were applied: Estonianness, I-position, affectivity, 'other', relations with 'other'.

Characteristics (e.g., industrious), distinctive features (e.g., Estonians' mother tongue is Estonian) considered typical of Estonians, traditions and values (e.g., valuing forest, celebrating Christmas), referred to how Estonianness was represented for the participants.

The I-position I-as-Estonian and its variations (e.g., I-as-a-descendant-of--previous-generations-of-Estonians), and I-as-an-X (e.g., I-as-a-friend, I-as-a-pragmatic person) which signifies experiences that are less likely to be explicitly associated with the 'us-group', were identified when the participants' self-reflection contained direct or indirect reference to group belonging, and the use of category 'us' where 'us' referred to a national group (e.g., Estonians). For example, "They are coming to our country".

In regard to 'other' and the re-negotiability of 'us' <> 'non-us' relations, the descriptions that explicitly or indirectly highlighted differences from Estonians (e.g., "They are not like us"), becoming Estonian or similar to Estonians (e.g., "They learn the language and value our traditions", "An Estonian is someone who was born here and whose mother tongue is Estonian"), that revealed certain intentions towards Estonians (culture) (e.g., "They pose a danger to our culture", "Cooperation with them is beneficial") were identified.

As for affectivity in relation to the national group of Estonians and 'other', positively or negatively oriented affectivity was identified. For instance, the text "I am proud about our tradition of song festivals" indicates positively oriented affectivity and "They destroy our culture" refers to negatively oriented affectivity in relation to 'other'.

Results

The Construction of Estonian and 'Other'

Features That Make a Difference

First, I will briefly introduce the main ways the participants depicted Estonians, each in their own unique way. The analysis revealed a number of features around which semiotic construction of Estonian was built. For example, the findings disclosed that features like industriousness, calmness, quietness, closed or

privacy-valuing mindset, appreciating forest and nature, were common in the participants' reports, indicating a stereotypical perspective on Estonians. Interestingly, when participants from the study MAG were asked why they considered themselves Estonian they indicated that the features like the mother tongue (implication: I speak Estonian, therefore I am Estonian), their parents are Estonians, their place of birth was Estonia, they had grown up in Estonia, working and studying in Estonia, were considered decisive in shaping the participants' becoming Estonian. Particularly, it was found that MAG participants' reflections did not contain stereotypical views that were frequently mentioned in other groups when the question was not so personal (e.g., 'Why do you consider yourself Estonian?') and was more general (e.g., 'What is characteristic of Estonians?'). However, drawing on the findings, it can be presumed that some characteristics are more central in constructing Estonian identity. Thereby, one of the criteria most frequently indicated by the participants, and the element of demarcation, was the Estonian language (Kullasepp, 2019).

Re-negotiability of Borders

Participants' reflections provide an insight into their personal meaning complexes of Estonian. Further, globally, based on findings, in some cases, a sign of Estonian inhibits the re-negotiation of borders, and in other cases, it allows re-considering the relations with 'other'. Specifically, regarding the re-negotiation of borders, two main types of opinions were identified in the participants' reports: nationality was constructed either as fixed or as fluid (i.e. transition from one national group to another was considered relatively likely). The criteria for becoming Estonian can be divided on the basis of the extent to which it is possible to meet them. Namely, in the case of a less fixed approach, becoming Estonian was constructed, for example, through being a citizen and through knowledge of the language. This type of approach did not centre explicitly around the specific mentality or values that was also one of the defining features distinguishing Estonian from non-Estonian. For instance, one of the participants from the study INT reported:

> You can get Estonian citizenship, but you won't quite be able to develop Estonian mentality. The language makes the difference. As to the language level, it's very difficult to achieve the level of a native Estonian speaker who has learned Estonian since birth and only speaks the Estonian language. And, in general, attaching value to the history of Estonia, if you are able to honour the song festivals, night song festivals, dance festivals.[1] Meaning, whether they are important for you, for Estonians, for me they are important although I haven't managed to make it to any of them, but I know that they exist, an important event, when it's about to take place. I've been to the night song festivals,[2] though.

[1] The tradition of the Estonian song and dance festival started in 1869 and is an emotionally important process for Estonians, which is related to national identity and in which they participate in order to express and recreate their national identity (Lauristin, 2015).

[2] Night song festivals were part of the Singing Revolution, which is a poetic common name for the national mass demonstrations that took place in Estonia in 1988–1991, where the singing of patriotic songs played an important role. Retrieved from http://www.estonica.org/en/The_Singing_Revolution/.

Some respondents highlighted that the acquisition of certain skills and the worldview that is particularly characteristic of Estonians is not "fully achievable" by non-Estonians, suggesting that the "complete" transition to the group of Estonians and the construction of Estonian identity is ruled out in their case. It was also believed that the already fully developed traits or characteristics of one's nationality do not completely disappear in a psychological sense—the earlier cultural experience has shaped certain characteristics that are preserved. Thus, the non-Estonians' psychological functioning remains different from the Estonians' mentality (whatever it is). One explanation was that a non-Estonian becomes Estonian only when he or she develops certain affective linkage with the group of Estonians. In some cases, it was assumed to be rather impossible—'other' remains 'other'. Specifically, the most exclusive interpretation was linked to becoming Estonian through family ties (e.g., parents and grandparents are Estonians), place of birth, or mother tongue. This group of criteria also included the opinion that the historical-collective events experienced by previous generations shaped the mentality of offspring that cannot be acquired in any other way. A participant from the group INT when asked about becoming Estonian, responded:

> If someone of a different nationality comes? No, it doesn't happen by magic, for that they have to live here for years and decades, to begin with. To be accepted here, they need to learn to speak the language and become familiar with the culture and the people. Estonians have their roots here—parents, grandparents, all born and bred in Estonia. That's what makes the difference. Another one simply comes here and is immediately granted the same rights or things, well that's a bit too simple. Actually, they are not Estonian, they are immigrants, that those who were born here in Estonia are somewhat more Estonian.

In the extract above we can observe that the mental border between Estonian and non-Estonian is quite fixed and the re-negotiation of this border is likely to be ruled out. It becomes explicit when a distinction is made between immigrants and Estonians, supported by the argument that those who are born in Estonia are more Estonian. The example also contains references to elements involved in the construction of borders, like language, knowledge, family of origin and their place of birth and residence that define their position in the social structure. The latter allows us to assume that we may be able to find an indication of a relation between national identity and territory.

Negotiation on Borders in Dialogues Within the Self

An investigation of intra-psychological dynamics in the self and of the affective component in involvement in negotiating borders was carried out by applying a dialogical self model in the analysis of two cases that shed light on how negotiation and re-negotiation of borders are lived through or experienced by two persons. However, they provide different perspectives of bordering. One of the cases M (male, aged 36 from the group INT) illustrates the dynamics in the self when positioning oneself as an in-group member (i.e. Estonian) and discussing someone

else's transition into the our-group (i.e. Estonians). Another case N (female, aged 48 from the group ESTFIN) is about transition to the 'other's-group'—the person is engaged in the negotiation of the new national identity (i.e. becoming Finnish) that is the process of re-construction of borders. The experiences of both individuals enable a glimpse into uniqueness, subjectivity and dynamics of border construction.

Affectivity in the Construction of 'Other'

The following extract from the interview with the respondent M (a negotiation on borders involving different I-positions with the conflicting perspectives on non-Estonians and affectivity they bring into the dialogue:

> If immigrants came here, they would be different, different customs and they would impose their culture on us, the Estonian culture would disappear. There are very few of us, just a million. If I think of the benefits of them coming, I understand that it's good. Thinking like this, I would say that they can come. Those foreigners who have lived here for a long time, some have married an Estonian, their children and friends are Estonians, they are more like us, they won't impose their culture on us. But these are just a few isolated examples, I'm speaking about. If there are many of them coming here, then it's like they're going to impose themselves on us anyway when there are many of them.

Two I-positions can be distinguished in this example: I-as-Estonian that addresses the issue of the survival of Estonian culture, and I-as-a-pragmatic-person articulating the usefulness of contacts with non-Estonians. Depending on the I-position, 'other' represents either a threat to the culture or, if benefits are concerned, 'other' is constructed as a useful partner. In the latter case, negative affectivity is missing in the inner dialogue, which, however, comes up with the existential question concerning cultural survival. Across the text the 'us' <> 'non-us' confrontation is explicit and refers to a tension at the intra-psychological level. In this example we can observe the inherently ambivalent conditions: 'other' is dangerous <but> 'other' can also be useful. In regard to borders, the I-position I-as-Estonian "sets the line" meaning that 'other' as dangerous should be avoided. The I-position I-as-a-pragmatic-person tends to be more likely to re-consider the view of keeping 'other' away from Estonia when indicating the beneficial cooperation. There is also some ambiguity in regard to 'other' adding more complexity into the border construction. M's assessment of 'other' as someone imposing their culture is not absolute, there are 'others' who are not likely to impose their culture on Estonians.

The construction of borders embeds also in how the Estonian—'other' relationship is represented. In this particular case of M, Estonians are represented as a population small in size[3] that can disappear when 'others' are coming to Estonia.

[3] Total population in Estonia is around 1.3 million, which consists of different groups of ethnic nationalities, including Russians (around 327,000) and others (around 78,000). Retrieved from http://andmebaas.stat.ee/Index.aspx?lang=en&SubSessionId=7fb8a20d-8c39-45d8-9599-034b7f4aef57&themetreeid=5.

Estonians have been constructed as a nation in danger of extinction and ‘other’ as a danger to the survival of the Estonian culture. Additionally, though the participant M does not refer explicitly to feelings, such depiction of the ‘us’ <> ‘them’ relationship tends to be framed by negatively oriented affectivity. However, the meaning of ‘other’ can also be more positive (i.e. beneficial) and in that case the Estonian—non-Estonian relationship acquires a positive connotation.

The opposing perspectives in the self reveal the complexity of the negotiation of borders and bring different experiences from various contexts (e.g., economic settings, demographic trends in society, previous migration experience in Estonian society) together to dialogical space causing inner dilemmas. Based on this specific case of M, the negotiation of borders is embedded in breaking through ambiguity.

Thus, the sign Estonian and the sign ‘other’ shape the meaning of the situation through their relationship. The identification of a person with Estonians—the use of category “us”—simultaneously shapes the individual’s emotional identification with ‘other’.

Fluctuation of Borders: I am More Like a Chameleon

For an insight into the intra-psychological dynamics of national identity and mental bordering, a case of transition through a host culture when a person intends to belong to the group of ‘other’ will be introduced below, using an example of the case of the respondent N. The case highlights the dimension of subjectivity, the context dependence of border construction, including an involvement of social encounters. Compared to other cases introduced in this chapter, this case illustrates how re-negotiation of borders is experienced by someone who intends to become ‘other’ (i.e. Finnish).

N is engaged in the re-construction of borders between herself and Finns that is accompanied by the implementation of various strategies. More specifically, she has lived in Finland for the last 20 years after leaving Estonia where she was born. Her responses provide an insight into the unique multicultural experiences of borders as they are lived through—emotionally loaded and guided by subjective criteria.

Multiplicity in the Self: I as Estonian <> I as Finnish

After living abroad for years, N’s I-position’s structure has differentiated whereas the position I-as-Estonian is continuously present in the self and has an impact on the meaning making of multicultural experiences. However, the I-position I-as-Finnish is also in the state of ongoing formation. When N was instructed to reflect on her experiences that make her feel Estonian in Finland she said:

> I’m Estonian all the time, it’s always there, may be forgotten just for a moment. But I speak fluent Finnish, I blend in, but there is still this feeling that I’m not them. This situation has been going on for years, all the time, that you are not them in the end, you don’t understand

> them. The world of thought is different and, of course, this has had an effect on my world of thought. I have a different view on things now. When I speak, they realize from the moment I say Hello, then they judge where I'm from, they think I'm Swedish. I can tell it from their faces that they think I'm something else. It makes me nervous that it's not the same way when I speak to Estonians, that we bring our children up as materialists, it gets on my nerves, we didn't have anything when we were young. Then I get angry, it's none of their business. Finnish attach importance to other things. Then it's not the same as among my own people, but sometimes there are moments when they treat us as their own.

N's transition through host culture unfolds in a non-linear fashion: the feeling of being Finnish is a rather episodic experience, replaced by the feeling of being non-Finnish. The I-position I-as-Finnish in N's self enables (occasionally) the feeling of not being different from Finns. Internalization and externalization of the position I-as-Finnish and the construction of 'other' is also illustrated by an example of travelling to Estonia. Namely, N calls herself a Finn when she describes her encounters with Estonians. The feeling of being 'other' is now evoked in relation to Estonians, "When I come to Estonia, I now feel that I'm not one of them anymore either. When I visit Estonia, I feel as if I were Finnish and I now view Estonians through the Finnish perspective." N's experiences in a host society are guided by the personal representations of Estonians and Finns. Both nations—Estonian and Finnish—are distinctive in regard of values, mentality, norms, as reported by N. Likewise, the linguistic skills matter from N's point of view in defining borders between herself and Finns. In terms of the semiotic approach, the created meaning complexes of Estonians and Finns are controlling N's transition, constraining and enabling certain directions in N's identity construction and defining 'other'.

The case of N represents the type of transition in which the tendency to recreate one's self-understanding I-as-Estonian is maintained over decades of migration. In parallel, the formation of the I-position I-as-Finnish is in progress. These co-occurring processes of the construction of both I-positions and the fluctuation of I-positions within time and across social encounters evoke ambiguity in regard to identity, "Sometimes I'm split and tired, I don't understand anymore who I am, you know, I'm more like a chameleon now. I don't know if it's good, but it makes life easier for me." The re-negotiation of borders is also accompanied by N's attempts to foster the formation of the I-position I-as-Finnish, the strategies she develops aim at improving her cultural skills, "I cook Finnish dishes, watch TV to keep abreast of their way of thinking."

Additionally, the given example allows us to observe coping with the tension in the self by creating the I-position 'I-as-chameleon', in terms of a dialogical self model, the third position that conceals both the I-positions I-as-Estonian and I-as Finn. According to Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010), the third position is an option to cope with contradictions in the self that, in case of N, were elicited by the co-existence of I-positions I-as-Estonian and I-as-Finn. Feeling sometimes Estonian and sometimes Finnish seems a challenging experience for N that she tries to cope with. For that, she tries to accept the ongoing fluctuation that, as she pointed out, makes her life easier.

Resting on the case of N which also introduces the dimension of long-term transition, the re-negotiation of borders can be an emotionally challenging task with no "fixed end". The transition is an ongoing multilinear process with its routes shifting over time and being guided by higher affective fields.

In sum, N's transition into the host culture is characterized by the differentiation of self, coping with the tension rising from the multiplicity of I-positions, non-linear trajectory of the construction of borders, and the fluctuation of the domination of I-positions across time and space. Together with the case of M, they illustrate how personal meaning complexes frame bordering experiences. In regard to different aspects of self, bordering is embedded in interactions between different perspectives in the self that can turn into a tension-filled experience of fluctuation between the various perspectives.

Discussion

National identity is cultivated institutionally and negotiated inter- and intrapersonally. It is a complex process that is regulated at societal level, while being a subjective affective experience. This chapter is focused on the psychological experience, and its exploration provides an insight into how 'us' <> 'other' relations are built in fields of tension. Institutions apply a variety of strategies to construct national identities (Berg, 2002; Tamm, 2018) through an impact on the formation of hyper-generalized affective fields that "are constantly a major target for social canalization efforts" (Valsiner, p. 331). Among these strategies are the dissemination of an image of the nation, the creation of symbols, values, and of common enemies, to name a few (Guibernau, 2007; Pawłusz & Seliverstova, 2016), that deliver representations of a national group shaping relations with 'other'. As a result, shared understanding of 'us' and 'other' is constructed in inter- and intrapersonal dialogues. An example of shared images of Estonians and Estonianness (whatever it is) in my study was the participants referring to song festivals as an important tradition for Estonians. Similarly, the role of the song and dance festivals in maintaining Estonian identity is also mentioned by many scholars (e.g., Ehala, 2017; Jonuks & Remmel, 2020; Lauristin, 2015). As Ehala (2017) describes, the song festivals influence native Estonians' self-definition by forging an emotional link with their Estonian identity. The representations that are "thought complexes that exist both in the social communication system in a society, and in individual minds" (Valsiner, 2001, p. 141) are considered significant factors that form an environment in daily life that offers opportunities for and constrains negotiation of 'us' <> 'other' relations. In this regard, one of the objectives of this chapter was to explore the negotiation of borders by studying personal representations. As to semiotic construction of Estonians, the participants' understandings differed, though there were some common elements that occurred in numerous descriptions like a singing nation, forest-loving, hardworking, conforming, introvert. Similarly, Valk (2017), who studied Estonian identity and highlighted the criteria that relate to

Estonian identity (e.g., language, country, culture and traditions), pointed out that her study did not reveal any permeating elements referred to by all participants. In my study, the descriptions of Estonians frequently included references to Estonian mentality as something that distinguishes Estonians from other national groups, resonating with Guibernau's notion (2007) that national identity is based on the belief that people belonging to the same nation are distinct from other nations as they share specific features. Another typical demarcation element found by the study was the role of the Estonian language in being Estonian. This finding aligns with the observations of other researchers—the centrality of the language in Estonian identity has been pointed out by various scholars (e.g., Ehala, 2017; Valk, 2017), similarly to studies that have found the crucial role of linguistic aspects in national identity (Tartaglia & Rossi, 2015). There was also a tendency to refer to the close ties (e.g., family ties, being part of the extended family and community) depicting being Estonian as a "tribal" phenomenon.

However, it cannot be said that the elements found in the descriptions are equally important to everyone while defining an Estonian or oneself as an Estonian. The song festival does not constitute a pillar of everybody's own Estonianness or defining themselves as Estonians. Building on cultural material, every person constructs a unique version of meaning complexes of Estonian and why they view themselves as Estonian. In other terms, each individual's experience of being Estonian remains different.

Distinctiveness also appears in the construction of 'us' <> 'other' relations. In this respect, in general, re-considering the relations between 'us' and 'non-us', Estonians were more likely represented as an exclusive group, though with the potential to re-negotiate one's position along the dimension of 'us' (Estonian) and 'non-us' (non-Estonian). Considering that**,** this study distinguished between three groups of criteria for becoming Estonian. In some cases, the discussion about Estonians was centred around features that are retrospectively unchangeable (e.g., place of birth, mother tongue), i.e. these criteria are unachievable, in contrast with features that can emerge during socialization and can be changed later in life. In the latter case the characteristics were distinguished that require modifications of values (e.g., learning to appreciate Estonian culture), and those that do not require a "deeper" relationship with the Estonian culture, for example the acquisition of knowledge of the Estonian culture and improvement of linguistic skills. Thus, the achievability of criteria made a difference: one can improve one's linguistic skills but one cannot change the relations established in the past, or change the objective facts (e.g., grandparents cannot be changed) allowing one to anticipate a rather fixed perspective of 'other'.

The internalization of national identity forms individuals' emotional-psychological existence. This chapter discussed affectivity as a form of manifestation of subjectivity, which has been shaped by dialogical relations with the socio-cultural-collective surroundings. Therefore, the emergence of national identity also creates preconditions for the issues related to national identity to turn into personal questions and dilemmas, including those concerning 'us' <> 'other' relations.

In regard to the regulation of affective responses involved in the negotiation of borders, in some cases negatively oriented affectivity was associated with uncertainty concerning the future of the culture and the nation. For instance, the findings revealed the existential dimension (e.g., the belief in the destruction of the Estonian culture) in the descriptions of Estonians, which may have many sources. For example, we can assume an involvement of an internalized Estonian national myth that focuses on the fight of Estonians for their freedom and culture through the ages (e.g., Jonuks & Remmel, 2020; Tamm, 2018) in guiding the semiotic construction of the ‘us’ <> ‘other’ relationship and supporting the construction of fixed borders. It can be also speculated that one of the motivations to depict ‘other’ as a danger to the survival of culture stems from discourses about the collective past, from collective memory (e.g., the deportation episodes in Estonians’ collective history, the migration waves in the Soviet era) and rests on the current situation in the present (e.g., the size of the population) serving as a protection against a possible threat to the cultural community. It is in line with Verdugo’s and Milne’s (2016) position, according to which events taking place in society have an influence on national identity, pointing out that demographic changes, like an increase in immigration or change in the composition of population, cause “concerns about the sustainability of native culture and its way of life” (p. 6).

The findings from the cases of M and N show that the re-negotiation of relations with ‘other’ can presume modifications in the higher affective fields. Yet, as noted by Valsiner (2017), these fields tend to be ontologically persistent within time, which could explain the enduring interpretation style of the ‘us’ <> ‘other’ relations. Changes can also occur in the structure of I-positions in the self (e.g., the formation of a third I-position) to regulate contradictory feelings.An additional view on bordering as a subjective experience was provided by the analysis of the cases of M and N. Both of these cases illustrate the involvement of identity processes in the negotiation of borders, wherein inner tension, multivoicedness in the self, and ambiguity in relation to ‘other’ accompanied making sense of the complex world. The interactions between different I-positions create inner psychological conditions of oppositions and contradictions that are shaped by external cultural-historical factors as well as the inner heterogeneity of perspectives, also raising possibilities for a variety of solutions or standpoints in the question: who is ‘other’. In the analysis of both cases I have highlighted the emotional component. Roughly, these cases indicate that the construction of a border happens in the psychological conditions of a state of “in-between” taking different approaches to ‘other’ (e.g., depicting ‘dangerous other’ flavoured by negative affectivity, or ‘beneficial other’ that associates with a positive orientation).

The case of N provides an example of a possible solution in such an “in-between condition”, which is the creation of a new I-position that regulates the inner dialogue on ‘other’. Particularly, in line with the concept of dialogical self (Hermans, 2001), there is an implication of the third position to solve the dilemma concerning the positioning of oneself in the socio-cultural settings. By not identifying oneself exclusively as Estonian or Finnish, the domination of the I-position I-as-Estonian over I-as-Finnish, and vice versa, depends on the context. To adapt, N’s structure of

self differentiates and the position I-as-chameleon emerges (i.e. the third position). According to Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010), third positions enable transform conflicts rising from different cultural values into productive coalitions. Organizing the selves is considered an adaptive way "to find a balance in complex and changing environments" (Hermans, Konopka, Oosterwegel, & Zomer, 2017, p. 506).

To sum up, globalization processes and contacts of different socio-cultural environments are inherently the conditions of contradictions rising from the awareness of otherness, and adapting to them requires the negotiation of these contradictions in interpersonal relations, as well as in the self. O'Sullivan-Lago and de Abreu (2010) propose that cultural contact zones increase instability, whereas migrants are challenged to construct new national identity and the host society members can experience a threat to their culture and community. Similarly, the cases M and N offer views from different positions. M introduces potential dilemmas that individuals from the receiving society face (e.g., benefits *v.* threat), whereas N represents the immigrants' perspective. Whichever approach is looked at, acculturation can appear equally challenging for both sides. Based on Murdock (2016), acculturation is a complex situation, and in addition to the features of both the host and the home society, the characteristics of the immigrants are also important. The latter can also be classified as personal meaning systems and as the emergent ontologically persistent higher affective fields that regulate the way the individuals make sense of their experiences.

Defining 'other' means operating in between different viewpoints reflecting heterogeneity in the self and in society, and representing restrictions and possibilities in negotiating relations in the social structure. The psychological challenge for an individual in this case is the regulation of these ambivalent and ambiguous conditions.

Conclusions

National identity as a type of social border is a continuous topic of discussion, associated with contradictions and with tense local <> non-local relations, while also providing possibilities and advancement. The construction of borders is a complex multilayered process that has been studied extensively, however, contemporary globalization processes feed into ongoing topicality of the issue. The general aim of this chapter was to shed light on the psychological component of multidimensional bordering, and on the involvement of national identity and affective aspect with it. Bordering was conceived in this chapter as inherent to the formation of national identity co-occurring with the construction of 'other' and was approached in terms of intra-psychological processes. I put forward that the persons' subjective perspectives, as well as intra-psychological dynamics, need to be taken into account if we

aim at comprehension of interrelations between the micro- and macro-level dynamics in society. That is, borders are a deeply intra-psychological phenomenon, though embedded in person-culture dialogues that frame interpersonal and person-society interactions. Generally, personal meaning system and regulation of affective responses matter in the construction and re-construction of borders, making the psychological component high in importance. In the heterogeneous environment of representations of national groups where the national identities unfold, coping with inter- and intra-psychological tension is crucial and the questions concerning who is 'other' and how to position oneself in relation to 'other' are relevant. Balancing differences between the local and non-local, 'us' and 'non-us', or navigating in the world characterized by differences, is a challenging issue which we have to face on a daily basis.

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Conclusion: The Bordering Process in Mind and Society

Katrin Kullasepp and Giuseppina Marsico

Abstract This concluding chapter highlights the main ideas about the border in Self-Other relations introduced in this book. Drawing on the preceding chapters, we argue that the complexity of the bordering process requires multilevel analysis, specifically underlining micro-level processes. With a focus on the psychological dimension of the construction of borders, this chapter also explores the larger social processes (e.g., migration, mobility, segregation, and integration) addressed in several chapters of this book, as well as their links with the issue of space, identity processes, and affectivity.

Keywords Space · Affectivity · Social processes · Bordering · Identity

Borders are unavoidable social constructs in human lives that impact socialization and organize both interpersonal interactions and the relations between individuals and society. How borders affect experiences, how they influence daily routines, and what their consequences are at the societal and psychological levels are only a few of the many questions related to borders that have captured the attention of the scientific community over the decades. These

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issues are still debated in the context of intense, multilevel globalization processes. Although it has always been inherent to human lives to unfold in an everchanging world where the status quo is a rather deceptive state of affairs, emerging trends and the overall transformation of the contemporary political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of life are especially demanding due to their speed and pervasiveness in societies. These rapidly developing, extensive, large-scale changes are also reflected in the negotiation and construction of new borders.

In order to contribute to the discussion about the "border-identity-'other'" nexus (Marsico, 2016; Marsico, Cabell, Valsiner, & Kharlamov, 2013), this book looks at this interconnectedness through different theoretical lenses, focusing particularly on micro-scale processes and individuals' perspectives to explore how borders are lived with as a psychological experience. Specifically, borders, regardless of their form—(in)visible, artificial or natural physical barriers in the landscape or social or mental constructs—are (re)built in one's psychological realm and embedded in interactions between a person and their socio-cultural environment. Exploration of the psychological aspect is, thus, necessary to comprehend how borders function. Drawing on the general framework of cultural psychology, this book points to how complex relations with one's surroundings are constructed through the use of signs, which renders border-making an inherently semiotic process (Valsiner, 2017; Valsiner & Rosa, 2007). Sensing borders (e.g., seeing, smelling, tasting) and attributing meaning to this sensory input constitutes a part of a cycle consisting of exchanges of cultural material between a person and their surroundings, absorbing semiotic material that shapes the individual's psychological make-up, interpersonal dynamics, and person-society relations.

In this concluding chapter, some of the ideas from the inquiries introduced throughout this book are elaborated. The main themes discussed in the chapters are the interconnections between borders and psychological functioning: specifically, processes of identity construction (collective, national), the involvement of borders in social processes, and the socio-cultural construction and re-construction of borders. The chapters also explore subjects like migration and mobility as cross-border phenomena, the affective component in the construction of borders, institutional directions in the formation of cultural identity, and the Self–other relationship (i.e., us–non-us).

Considering the broad scope of the topic of borders, the collection of essays in this book obviously covers only some of the issues. However, these essays provide a foundational body of knowledge that may be used to build a model of the socio-cultural mechanism at work in the construction of borders. Leaning on the perspective of cultural psychology (Valsiner & Rosa, 2007), the keywords that orient this theoretical contribution are: the "outer" socio-culturally structured surroundings, the semiotic mediation of cultural material, internalization and externalization of institutional and personal representations, and the affective component.

The Creation and Negotiation of Borders

There is a general consensus among scholars that borders are not fixed and that this dynamic characteristic is inherently embedded in border-making and border-negotiating processes (Marsico & Tateo, 2017). This is a prominent theoretical aspect of this book. For example, the chapters by Pawłusz (Chap. 6) and Kullasepp (Chap. 7) explore the construction and re-construction of borders as they pertain to national identity. The ethnographic study by Pawłusz and Kullasepp's analysis of the processes on the intrapsychological level elucidate how the process of reconsidering relations between 'us' and 'non-us' is institutionally guided, yet the institutional-collective messages appear in the intrapsychological domain. More specifically, while Chap. 6 introduces the role of memory places in promoting discourses on the nation, representing institutional coordination of the negotiation of national identity, Chap. 7 elaborates the topic further in terms of intrapsychological dynamics.

From the cultural psychological perspective (Marsico, 2016), the construction of borders and its link with psychological functioning are shaped by collective representations (institutional) and intrapsychological processes. These two levels of functioning (i.e., institutional and intrapsychological) are bridged by the exchange of cultural material (Tateo, Español, Kullasepp, Marsico, & Palang, 2018). In regard to borders' interactions with national identity or any other type of identity, this process receives input from social-institutional representations, the internalization of which leads to the emergence of personal meaning complexes (Valsiner, 2017). However, not every social-institutional message is integrated into the personal meaning system (Español, Marsico, & Tateo, 2018; Tateo & Marsico, 2019). An institutionally offered way of ordering the world needs to be negotiated at the intrapsychological level. In Chap. 7, Kullasepp argues for the high importance of the intrapsychological dimension of the experience. She suggests that internal factors have to be considered in the processes of border-making and border-negotiating.

Another feature of the conditions in which the bordering process operates is the heterogeneity of the representations that circulate in a specific socio-cultural setting. On one hand, they increase ambiguity, while on the other hand, the various knowledge schemes and frames of reference we are exposed to help us to cope with uncertainty. We do have numerous possibilities regarding how to give order to the world and how to understand others and that which is different from us. As we learned from Pawłusz's essay in Chap. 6, different institutional suggestions as to how to construct relations with the 'other' circulate in society. Yet, who is 'other', what is characteristic to 'us', what are our differences, and what makes us similar? This ambiguity can be translated into the psychological ambivalence (e.g., Kullasepp, Chap. 7) that appears in differently oriented affective responses to the 'other' (i.e., dangerous or beneficial, good or bad). Coping with this "outer" and "inner" dialogue (Bahtin, 1987) and regulating the multiplicity of positions in the self (Hermans, 2001) resonates with challenges in the globalizing world where we encounter cultural and social 'otherness'.

The Spatial Dimension of Border Processes and Its Symbolic Aspect

This special characteristic of the border is discussed in several chapters in this book, underlining the significance of socio-culturally organized physical areas both in larger societal processes and in shaping micro-processes on a daily basis. One related topic investigated in different chapters (e.g., by Fontal et al., Español and Cornejo, Kullasepp) is the phenomenon of crossing-borders, in which the complex human conduct of moving across spaces has to do not only with physical locomotion but also (and most importantly) with the intrapsychological dynamics triggered by encountering the borders in one's surroundings.

Space matters, as it contains the cultural and social elements involved in orienting human conduct. In this book, space has been conceived of as a set of borders that separate, unite, and define who is included or excluded from that space. Such spaces constitute the arenas where we organize our hierarchical relations with others and where our identities are negotiated. Thus, spaces are not simple portions of land or pieces of the environment; they are semiotically charged, becoming, then, the loci of our definition of identity. This issue is well documented in Pawłusz's work on museums (Chap. 6). Museums, indeed, are public spaces where expositions, with their political, historical, and cultural components (Hall, 2018), trigger individuals to construct a personal set of meanings.

The empirical findings discussed in some of the chapters confirm the link between the use of spaces where visible and invisible borders operate and the psychological, as well as social, processes at stake. Chapter 2, for example, provides an account of urban public spaces as consisting of invisible borders and of how these public spaces are involved in larger-scale social processes like segregation and integration of different communities. The questions that the authors pose regarding the creation and articulation of the urban space (e.g., who creates discourses about spaces and how social media and other digital practices are involved) lead us to a theme of high importance in multicultural societies in which some social groups are in more vulnerable positions than others: how is it possible to regulate Self-Other or 'us' <> 'non-us' relations via the socio-cultural design of spaces? What is the role of borders in this?

The Reflection of Crossing Borders in Identity

Examples of migration and mobility, introduced in this book, illustrate how space (re)organizes micro-scale psychological processes. In terms of spatial relations, migration and mobility deal with geographic relocation. However, from a psychological point of view, this movement is characterized by a massive semiotic process in order to attribute meaning to the new settings, addressing and negotiating the borders that the "travellers in motion" are exposed to and also redefining their own

identity. Due to changes in the ecological, geopolitical, and sociocultural frames of the spaces, mobility and migration have an enormous impact on the cognitive and affective dimensions of human conduct. Building on this, to comprehend the complexity of border-crossing, border-making and border-negotiation processes, the intrapsychological aspect and micro-processes have to be reckoned with, as the essays in this book suggest. In line with this, they present the influence of these processes on identity as one of the psychological consequences of encountering borders. For instance, Chaps. 4, 5, and 7 illustrate how crossing borders between states and between different regions of a state is linked to the construction or redefinition of identity. In all cases introduced in the aforementioned chapters—the women in the border zone between Spain and Morocco (Chap. 5), the Misaki person from the indigenous community in Colombia adjusting to the new urban culture (Chap. 4), and the Estonian migrant in Finland (Chap. 7)—we can observe how mobility and crossing borders intertwine with identity processes. In other words: crossing borders triggers the definition and the renegotiation of personal, social, or national identity.

The interconnection between the construction of identity and borders is also one of the main themes taken up by the authors. It is not the aim of this concluding chapter to introduce the significance of identity in psychological and social functioning, only to briefly mention that it is impossible to underestimate its role. Identity can be conceived of as a navigation device in the complex social environment in everyday settings and in larger-scale social processes. Who I am, where I am, what kinds of restrictions apply to me in this place, and how people perceive me are questions that relate to identities and that can arise in any situation in which we are involved. Those questions are directly connected with Self-Other-World relationships and the role of the bordering process in the mind and society.

The Affective Component

Another theme that emerges in this book concerns the affective component of experiences in making sense of the complex world. In line with cultural psychology, the act of relating with the world is affective in its nature (Cornejo, Marsico, & Valsiner, 2018; Marsico & Tateo, 2017). This implies the centrality of affective responses and their semiotic regulation in the bordering process.

The contributions in this book provide at least two different perspectives on the role of affectivity in border making. One is about how we as humans associate feelings with spaces and how this leads to a different form of local and global action. The other focuses on the affective component of the renegotiation of relations with the 'other' (i.e. 'non-us'). Drawing on the perspective of cultural psychology (Tateo et al., 2018), the authors show that movement across socio-culturally defined areas is guided by making meaning from the places and by one's affective relations with them. Are the places friendly, interesting, dangerous? These impressions are crucial, as they guide further action, and broadly, they can invite one to participate or sup-

plant, functioning as the centripetal or centrifugal forces in public or private spaces. Some areas are more inviting and alluring, providing comfort and fostering feelings of security, while other sites' elements have a "centrifugal" effect on the subjects. Places can be meaningful and worthwhile or irrelevant, perceived as physical conglomerates without "deeper" meaning from the individual's perspective. Affective relations with places matter.

Place attachment as a mental border-building process, as Heidmets and Liik (Chap. 3) propose, is a promising concept for exploring behavioural intensions. An emotional bond between a person and an environment can explain, for example, adjustment to a new environment and transition in a host culture, the desire to return to one's country of origin, or the motivation to deal with global challenges, like climate change, that require international joint efforts to combat them. If a person is attached to their home and neighbourhood, can we expect that they will consider global problems to be important and "personal enough" to get involved?

In addition, border construction and border negotiation are inherently emotionally ambiguous phenomena that can elicit various feelings that delve into the certainty/uncertainty issue. Additionally, the bordering process embraces higher-level abstracted affective fields that, as shown by Valsiner and Rosa (2007), are ontologically persistent.

What Can Be Learned from This Intellectual Interdisciplinary Endeavour?

The interconnection between border-making and intrapsychological processes is semiotically mediated. The processes of internalization and externalization of semiotic material (Lawrence & Valsiner, 2003) are central in bridging socio-cultural material with intrapsychological processes (e.g., reflecting on crossing geopolitical borders in the process of construction of identity).

External and personal psychological factors are both involved in forming responses to events. For instance, making meaning from the different forms of invisible borders (e.g., social conventions and norms) in public spaces embraces psychological responses to elements in the "outer" world that are expected to be interpreted in a certain way (e.g., in an institutionally defined way). Further, heterogeneous social-institutional representations (e.g., the different kind of discourses around 'others'—nations or various social groups) provide the framework for the construction of a personal meaning system that organizes the way in which the world is experienced by the individual. The intrapsychological factor that guides the individual's relation with events is the affective component, which can be explained by the concept of generalized affective fields that coordinate the meaning-making process (Valsiner & Rosa, 2007). In general, border-making and border negotiation processes are the results of the interactions between the elements within the system and their interconnection with psychological functioning.

To conclude, the construction and re-construction of borders organizes the conditions in the mind and in societies. Borders work as social regulators that guide both psychological processes (micro-processes) and social processes with consequences for a large part of the population. Borders can trigger tension between social groups or among individuals in a group, but a border can also eliminate that tension. Thus, the border has a central role in organizing both intra-group and inter-group social relations. Border construction, maintenance, and regulation and the act of crossing borders are complex, multi-layered phenomena that have been explored in this book from the perspective of cultural psychology. Still, much more needs to be done in order to more fully comprehend the intricate connections between the bordering process and identity construction.

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