Solidarity Movements:

An ethnography of anti-deportation struggles in Switzerland

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Carolina Miranda Futuro is a Brazilian national, who has a master's degree in international relations and political science from the Geneva Graduate Institute, obtained following the completion of her bachelor studies in international relations at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. She has been continuously dedicated to studying migration and has researched its diverse implications since the beginning of her studies. Her previous work has revolved around refugee local integration, human trafficking, and the phenomenon of deportation. With complementary professional experience in international humanitarian organizations, she will now research how humanitarian actors address internally displaced populations in her doctoral studies.

ABSTRACT

Deportation in contemporary times only seems to rise. More and more, foreign nationals are judged to be threats legitimate enough to be expelled by force from a host country to the extent that some argue this action has become a normalized migration governance tool, and authors struggle to see how this scenario can change anytime soon. Still, in many countries, the phenomenon of solidarity movements promoted through political altruism of host country nationals towards irregular migrants against their deportation can be noticed. Despite these occurrences becoming more common, it is rare to see an analysis that argues for their potential to disrupt the embeddedness of the mechanism of deportation. In fact, scholars have argued that these movements lack impetus for change. However, having identified a problematic methodological gap in such studies, this thesis will argue that studying solidarity movements against deportation through ethnography leads to a different conclusion. Focusing on Switzerland because of the high occurrence of such movements in the country, and its configuration as a direct democracy, this inquiry ultimately aims to answer the following question: *In what ways can the ethnographic study of Swiss solidarity movements against the detention and expulsion of foreigners disrupt the political practice of deportation?.* Employing participant observation of anti-deportation protests, material analysis, and interviews, this thesis will investigate empirical examples of two Swiss solidarity movements that, contrary to usual conclusions, have a radical scope that aims to reform the deportation system and count upon active deportee participation, who demonstrate a political and resistant subjectivity. All in all, this thesis will then argue that it is in the in-depth personal investigation of such episodes that an alternative emerging political imaginary can be observed, which aims to contest the legitimacy of employing deportation as a migration governance tool.

Keywords: Deportation, Solidarity movements, Ethnography, Critical Migration Studies, Radical political claims, Subjectivity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSS   Critical Security Studies

EU   European Union

UN   United Nations

1. INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Secretary-General has classified a crisis in solidarity when referring to contemporary migration issues (UN, 2022). Indeed, problems such as State reluctance to receiving migrants, or ensuring their access to basic services, or the popularization of a securitization discourse that frames migrants as national threats, hindering their ability to integrate outside their home countries, are all very well documented phenomenons. In parallel, decisions to deport have also significantly increased in contemporary times (De Genova and Peutz, 2011).

Still, while State solidarity towards migrants is hard to observe, there have conversely been increased demonstrations of solidarity towards them by civil society (Della Porta and Steinhilper, 2022). In this sense, researchers like Leif Johnson (2011) have observed that groups specifically targeted to endorse the securitization of migrants (ie. middle and upper-class national citizens) have instead started to self-organize in solidarity to migrants, and demonstrate against the increase of border control. Politically, this evidences that a State-led security framing has been challenged. This is a significant event since it helps delineate to what extent the normative framing of migrants as threats is in fact adopted by the general public.

Specifically, there has been a rise in solidarity protests against deportations. According to Rosenberger et al (2018), we can increasingly observe movements organized by civil society that challenge the practice of the expulsion of foreign nationals. They state, furthermore, that these movements typically consist of individuals driven by moral principles, exercising political altruism. That is, participants are not fighting for self-interest, but publicly defending the rights of others, and fighting for their inclusion. In this case, fighting for individuals who have received or are in great probability to receive a deportation order. These events, therefore, also demonstrate the expression of a significant criticism towards the current migration regime - to the extent that they question the legitimacy of expelling, rather than including, migrants.

In fact, in countries like Switzerland, solidarity movements are multiple, with the presence of collectives that argue against the State's deportation practices distributed across the territory. Especially in the Swiss context, these movements' potential for disruption is high given the political configuration of the country and access of its citizens to direct democracy instruments. In this scenario, the phenomenon of these solidarity movements takes very interesting shapes - with migration being a highly contested and emotional topic, direct democracy instruments (petitions or referendums) have been used by civil society in solidarity

with migrants and often accomplished positive results in reversing some deportation orders (Bader, 2018; Bader and Probst, 2018).

These episodes represent a stark opposition to the political understanding that is put forth by States when they attempt to classify migrants as big enough threats to justify a national expulsion. That is, what is being questioned by these movements is the attempt to legitimize deportation as a response to somebody's migratory attempt. In this sense, they challenge the acceptability of widespread deportation. These events, then, stand in stark contrast to a scholarly idea that deportation as a governance practice is uncontested.

Meanwhile, scholars such as Nancy Hiemstra (2016) have stated that academic literature concentrated on deportation only shows how increasingly entrenched in migration governance deportation measures have become, concluding that she is concerned about any potential for political change in such circumstances. In this sense, an engaged investigation of these solidarity movements may help address Hiemstra's concern about a lack of potential to change the embeddedness of deportation practices. After all, if nationals of host countries, who are the main targets of the securitization discourse, have been revolting in the name of migrants' well-being out of their moral principles - there is a strong indication that deportation is not uncontested and so widely accepted as a practice. Moreover, in the same rational, these episodes are very important because they may potentially represent a political entry point to change the deportation regime. That is, if securitization is a discursive narrative that must be constantly, socially maintained (Huysmans, 20140), then these episodes, organized in revolt against the idea and current practices of deportation, are a phenomenon that helps us understand expressions of contestation of discursive practices and a push for change.

Despite this potential, not a lot of scholarly focus has gone into studying these expressions of solidarity. In fact, the little literature available on such events actually tends to conclude that they lack impetus for systemic change (Kalir and Wissink, 2016). However, I argue that that is because they all lack a methodological approach focused on micro-level, physical and ethnographic interaction with these movements. This approach can be a powerful tool to unpack these episodes, what they entail and their significance, given its ability to examine emerging political imaginaries that can be observed by interactive and empathetic investigations made possible through ethnographic methods (Juris and Khasnabish, 2013).

In this sense, there is a problematic gap in the literature on deportation where the ethnographic study of solidarity movements is unexplored. I argue that this is a relevant gap to be filled because it is in the methodology that incites in-depth investigation of solidarity

movements that emerging political imaginaries, which have the potential to disrupt the normality of deportation, can be observed - a factor that more distanced methods are not able to fully grasp. Therefore, the specific contribution of the present thesis is to offer a counterposing method to published literature and to explore emerging and disrupting political imaginations of deportation through micro-level interactions.

More specifically, this thesis aims to answer the following question: *In what ways can the ethnographic study of Swiss solidarity movements against the detention and expulsion of foreigners disrupt the political practice of deportation?* The focus on Swiss movements is justified firstly because of the impetus of conducting a micro-level study, and hence focusing on one specific context. Switzerland, furthermore, is a relevant case because of the political configuration of the country which allows for the implementation of direct democracy instruments and enhances the potential for normative change promoted by civil society. In this sense, investigating Switzerland is fruitful because of the particular position of civil society in the country and its possibility to act out against the imaginary around deportation. More specifically, to execute this investigation, the following thesis concentrated on studying two solidarity collectives organized against deportation in Switzerland. They are the collective Droit de Rester, operational in the canton of Lausanne, and Solidaritté Tattes, operational in the canton of Geneva, which I interacted with through participant observation in protests organized by them, as well as through interviews and analysis of documents they produced.

This contribution, I argue, is relevant because it allowed me to observe an empirical example that challenged assumptions made by other theoretical framings of deportation. More specifically, the conceptual goal of this thesis concentrates on the formulation of two arguments. The first one revolves around the purposes and overarching goals of solidarity movements: while articles on deportation tend to conclude that solidarity movements' purposes are conformist, overt or moderate (Abdou and Rosenberger, 2018; Bader, 2018), asserting that they do not aim to challenge the legitimacy of the practice of expelling foreign nationals from a territory, my personal observations provided me with different conclusions. Rather, I argue that the Swiss collectives represent an empirical example of radical movements, whose purpose includes a fundamental criticism of the principle of deportation, which could be observed in practice by how they behaved on the streets, through what they sang while protesting, the formulations on the documents they distributed and how they articulated claims on their social media profiles.

The second argument rather investigates the behaviors and subjectivities of deportees, providing insight into deportee participation in solidarity movements, another event that is not

explored in literature at all. Observing these individuals in this setting, actually, provided another empirical challenge to some theoretical formulations around deportee subjectivity. While scholars tend to conclude that the experience of deportation produced a crippling and immobilizing anxious subjectivity which hindered resistance by deportees, I rather observed that the legal and political barriers to deportee resistance and the stressful emotions of the experience of irregular migration did not stop deportees from actively participating in protests. I could rather observe such individuals adopting strategies to mitigate barriers and articulating their emotional experiences as forms of political resistance, adopting, not an immobilizing subjectivity, but a taking-subjectivity and active exercise of their agency through occupying space and making their voices heard.

All in all, then, what the empirical example of the Swiss collectives provided were observations that indicated that the purpose of solidarity movements can be radical and, counting with the active participation and expression of deportee voice, contribute to a fundamental critique of the employment of the deportation measure. The observed, then, contradicts the assumption that deportation is uncontested, but rather demonstrates the existence of groups of individuals building an emerging political imaginary that advocates for a disruption and normative change in the practice of deportation. Collectively, then, these observations support the overarching argument of the present thesis that, in response to Hiemstra's disturbance, shows how solidarity movements can be a phenomenon that incite change to the current embeddedness and acceptability of the practice of deportation.

To operationalize the contribution and arguments outlined above, the thesis that follows will be divided into 7 chapters. The following two chapters will concentrate on delineating the theoretical assumptions made in literature on deportation that this inquiry challenges. In this sense, a literature review will outline how authors have approached and concluded about the phenomenon of deportation, specifically focused on contributions that I aim to problematize. Following that, a theoretical framework will delineate the key concepts I will use to analyze the case of the two observed Swiss solidarity movements. These two chapters, then, will be followed by a methodology section which extends upon the meaning and contributions of ethnographic exploration as a justification for its deployment here. It also expands upon the specific data collection mechanisms I performed and how they will be analyzed.

After, following this thesis' focus of conducting a micro-level and engaged investigation of Swiss solidarity movements, chapter 5 contributes to contextualizing this research. This is an important step to understanding the social and political underpinnings of deportation matters in Switzerland, which is relevant for this thesis under ethnographic principles of thick

description and situating research. In other words, understanding the general context of migration and social movements in Switzerland and my own interaction with them is essential because it depicts the narratives and behaviors observed locally, helping specify the configuration of the field. This effort, then, aids to understand the motivations behind the solidarity movements observed and situate the specific policies they attack, contributing to a better understanding of the analysis which follows.

Additionally, chapters 6 and 7 are the analytical chapters which will each demonstrate the contribution of this ethnographic exploration of the Swiss collectives - Chapter 6, then, will argue that solidarity movements can be systematically disruptive and significantly challenge the idea of deportation, and chapter 7 will be a commentary on the participation of migrants I observed in my study and how viewing migrant resistant in solidarity movements can challenge the theoretical assumption that their subjectivity is deeply marked by an immobilizing anxiety. Finally, a conclusion will summarize the arguments made and speculate on how this different methodological endeavor in the study of deportation can be transformative and bring new insights into the knowledge of the practice of the expulsion of foreign nationals.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Lindberg and Khosravi (2021), a focus on the process of deportation in migration studies is a relatively new phenomenon. It was only in the early 2000s that scholarship, mostly rooted in critical approaches to security or border studies, started to focus on deportation as a practice of migration governance and wonder about its role. Still, since then, a broad field of study, that analyzes migration through the governance of deportation, practices of surveillance and the experience of detention has risen.

This new field of study is diverse in its approaches and mainly aims to uncover the complexity of this practice, both about what it may represent to migration governance, as well as to the lived experience of detention, and the possibility of expulsion. In this sense, usual points of entry are multiple and can concentrate on how deportation interacts with notions of time for deportees (Khosravi, 2018), the spaces in which it takes place, how it relates to other phenomena, like capitalism (De Genova and Peutz, 2010), and what it means to the multiple actors involved in it, which ranges from the State, migrants and their home communities, NGOs, bureaucrats, border guards, transport companies, amongst others (Lindberg and Khosravi, 2021).

Overall, however, in exploring the possible meanings behind the principle of deportation itself and what it represents to States, some scholars see deportation as a sovereign instrument to separate populations, and maintain the exclusionary logic of citizenship (Walters, 2010; De Genova and Peutz, 2010). In fact, one of the most seminal pieces written on the concept of deportation, "The deportation regime", by Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz (2010), argues that deportation is inherently related to the current neoliberal capitalist order. That is, for the authors, it is beneficial for the global capitalist order to enforce a deportation logic that classifies certain individuals as outsiders to be legally, justifiably, expelled. In this sense, the practice of deportation in the 20th century has become a global response to movement, and one of the main State instruments to restrict migration. Their main point in saying that is evidencing that deportation is no longer an exceptional measure employed under a few cases. Rather, it has become a routinely employed instrument (a regime), used as a normal governance tool of migration, while discursively propagating the idea of the migrant as a threat that must be legally expelled, and maintaining a mobile migrant labor force in a precarious situation.

In this sense, De Genova specifically argues that deportation here represents to the State a way of control and a legal instrument that determines individuals' relationships to the State - that is, he states that "illegality" (like citizenship), is a juridical status that entails a social

relation to the state; as such, migrant "illegality" is a preeminently political identity" (De Genova, 2002, p. 422). Deportation, then, is seen as a legal instrument of exclusion from citizenship. Therefore, scholars link how deportation and the possibility of expulsion reinforces the notion between insider and outsider and acts as an additional reinforcement of the idea of citizenship. Similarly, William Walter's (2010) seminal article on a genealogy of deportation also refers to how States articulate the expulsion of foreigners to reinsure their sovereignty over citizenship. With a historical analysis of expulsion, Walters concludes that deportation is *constitutive* of citizenship, and a form of allocation of populations to States, for it is an instrument used to uphold the principle that population is divided into territories that are responsible for the provision of rights. It is therefore an active mechanism to make the contemporary international State order.

This policing association with deportation, furthermore, is reinforced by authors such as Mary Bosworth (2018), who rather look at how the State utilizes its enforcement power to criminalize certain migration streams. Here, she vehemently underlines the role that race and ethnicity play in determining which streams of migration are deemed by the State as criminal or not. In this sense, she highlights that the exclusion of migrants from citizenship by the criminalization of migration flows is also heavily influenced by race, and reinforces a racial hierarchy between exclusion and inclusion, and maintains racial imaginaries.

Scholars have therefore seen deportation as an instrument deployed to reinforce the idea of citizenship and reproduce a racial and ethnic division and hierarchization of individuals. This is a common assumption in literature that shapes how this governance tool is understood in its basic meaning to States. Apart from this basic understanding of what deportation represents, other more targeted assumptions have become somewhat usual in this field of study. However, I argue that utilizing an uncommon approach to deportation (the micro-level ethnography of solidarity movements) can help us challenge these specific assumptions, leading us to a more complex notion of what deportation entails, and uncovering its potential for disruption.

These two targeted assumptions are:

(1) Solidarity movements do not aim at challenging the migration regime and the

practice of deportation.

(2) Deportees are anxious subjects who are heavily constrained in their protests.

This literature review, then, aims to give the broad contours and main sources that put forth these two arguments. It is thus divided into two subsections which will tackle the assumptions of the purpose of solidarity movements and migrant subjectivity and resistance, respectively. Reviewing what has been learned through these approaches will also provide a broad overview of strands and perspectives of deportation studies, and help delineate what exactly an ethnographic focus on social movements will contribute.

2.1   The purpose of solidarity movements

While focusing on the phenomenon of solidarity movements against deportation is not one of the most usual approaches to this topic (Rosenberger et al, 2018), some articles have focused on how civil society and non-governmental organizations have gathered together to oppose the contemporary practice of deportation. Often, they choose to conduct case studies to investigate these movements and their dynamics, concentrating on either an episode/organization in a country, conducting interviews with NGO workers (Kalir and Wissink, 2016; Freedman, 2009; Bader and Probst, 2018), or gathering quantitative data on multiple protests in a country through media scraping (Rosenberger et al, 2018). All in all, multiple sources tend to conclude that solidarity movements against deportation do not challenge the principles of the migratory regime and the validity of deportation as a whole. Some examples of how this argument is made follow.

In this impetus, an interesting source to investigate is Kalir and Wissink's 2016 article on contestations by NGOs to deportation in the Netherlands. They find that although NGOs fight to oppose the state implementation of deportation, actually there are multiple convergences between the discourse and practices of these two actors, making them conclude that in the Dutch case, deportation is a continuum, understood under a shared logic and politics between the State and NGOs. There is a limit, then, in the Dutch case, to the acceptability of the protest of individuals who challenge such shared logic and propose systemic changes to the practice of deportation. In this scenario, activists who advocate for no borders at all, for example, are considered too radical. Therefore, the major impact of this continuum is the non-acceptability of alternative political imaginaries. Instead, the institutionalization and active engagement of the observed NGOs contribute to the creation of a middle ground between civil society and the State in the Netherlands that only allows for minor changes in practice, and no change in terms of the overarching rationale behind deportation.

Here, then, the right of the State to deport, and the status of migrants as non-nationals is unchallenged, and so "a deportation continuum highlights societal configurations where the figure of the deportable subjects serves more to reinforce internal cohesion among citizens than instigate conflict around competing imaginaries of citizenship and non-citizenship" (Kalir and Wissink, 2016, p. 36). As way of substantiating examples, the authors cite workers from an NGO that refers to deportees as "clients" and provides services to assist migrants in their deportation procedure, either helping them be conscious of what will take place when there is no chance of reversal or helping them resist the prediction through foreseeable instruments. What Kalir and Wissink find, talking to these workers is that the decision to help deportees in the former or the latter way is mostly determined by the individual case worker, and often influenced by what they feel towards the person they are helping. Here, the notion of their deservingness was evident - through the way, migrants behaved with the case officers, they determined what sort of help the "clients" deserved, a decision that was often also influenced by the migrant's nationality, race, and demographic characteristics. In this sense, they find that stereotypical biases of the discourse on migrants, ie. migrants must do specific things and behave in a way in order to deserve to stay in a country, were perpetuated in civil society's work in the Netherlands. Thus, Kalir and Wissink find a very weak normative resistance towards deportation in their study, and the maintenance of exclusionary notions of citizenship and belonging.

Similarly, Leila Abdou and Siedlinde Rosenberger's 2018 article on solidarity movements in Austria, also finds that they tend to conform to overarching norms. While observing movements that challenge deportation orders, they state that they don't often question the principle of deportation per se, nor determine the right to stay as absolute. In Austria, they continue, there is a weak protest culture, and for the protests that did occur in the matter of deportation, most were classified by the authors as conformist, that is, directed at changing very specific instances, and reverting personal cases of deportation. That is, they usually targeted individuals and their personal merit to stay, rather than questioning the validity of deportation per se. Categorizing other possible protests movements under reformist, when they aim at changing national legislative regulations and policies, and under radical when they communicate a challenge to a political or social order more broadly, the author's main conclusion is that in Austria, the aspirations of solidarity movements for deportations tend to be very modest.

Rosenberger has further published a book on protest movements in deportation (Rosenberger et al, 2018), which covers a collection of cases reported from Austria, Germany

and Switzerland. All in all, it also concludes that the majority of movements observed are framed by case-specific mobilizations at local level, and don't necessarily relate back to changing the bigger political scenery. They also argue that these anti-deportation episodes can be better classified as political protests, over the terminology of social movement, because they lack the formality and organization that would classify them as the latter. At the end of the book, furthermore, the authors concluded that in the events that they have observed, they could not see evidence that there is a transnational protest movement against deportation and that most often they are organized with respect to one personal case (D'Amato and Schwenken, 2018).

When discussing Switzerland, particularly, Bader and Probst (2018) reach similar conclusions. Through observation of the media coverage of past protests, they create a typology of personifying protests and exemplifying protests - the first, again, articulates the merit and outstanding characteristics of a particular migrant who should not be deported but does not critique the further overarching system, while the latter concerns a protest that takes a personal case as an example for a need for greater change. They further explain that such protests are mobilized at cantonal level, for it is cantonal authorities who can leverage a reversed decision on a deportation order with the national authorities. However, they do not reach a conclusion about which type of movement is most common in Switzerland (Bader and Probst, 2018).

Furthermore, focusing on France, Freedman (2009) rather observes how, in some cases, migrant resistance to deportations in the country, has been met with ambivalence by the NGO sector, which often enough chooses not to support irregular migrants in their protest attempts. Similar to Kalir and Wissink, Freedman finds that NGOs also collaborate with the State and often uphold the dichotomy between a deserving and undeserving migrant, with little effort to fight against a deportation notice.

However, she also evidences the existence of the Réseau Education Sans Frontiers in France, a collective formed by immigrant children in education whose parents are irregular migrants (Freedman, 2011). These children's fear of deportation, then, led French nationals who were very close to them, such as their teachers, to mobilize and argue for their rights in France. Freedman classifies the movement as a contrasting form of protest in the migration sphere in France, one that does confront the existence of the contemporary migratory and deportation regime. Still, she also highlights that often their tactics involved individual cases and had very limited success.

One article found that contrasts the ones cited above was written in 2003 by Pam Alldred. Conversely, she talks of the European no-border movement as a whole as an attempt to challenge an ideological world order, one that joins an anti-racist and anti-capitalist agenda and refuses to recognize the legal differences between refugees, economic migrants, and all other foreign nationals. She explains that since the 1990s, multiple countries in Europe have joined a group organizing synchronized oppositions to the migratory order. Their slogans show how widespread and systematic their fight is, with some examples including saying like "no one is illegal", "freedom of movement for all", or "no border, no nations, no deportations". Alldred further demonstrates the group's meaning by stating that they have drafted Europe-wide documents which ask for multiple changes in the migratory order. In this short, 5-page article, however, she does not go further into exploring the transformative impact of such movement and how their purpose contrast with other examples.

All in all, however, most authors explored had cautious conclusions on movements' transformative impact. On the contrary, these authors stated that their purpose was not challenging systematically, and by concentrating on personal cases, their role did not include an overarching challenge to the practices of deportation. Often enough, actually, it was found that they collaborated and upheld State discourses on migration and expulsion. A major conclusion to be derived from these sources then, is that the organization of solidarity movements against deportation lacks a holistic challenge to the basic, moral meaning of this practice.

2.2   The deportee as a resisting subject

Another body of literature chooses to concentrate "on the ground" and study deportation through the deportees themselves. Mostly anchored in an anthropology background, these studies rather aim to follow the migratory pathway through migrant's stories and there also concentrate at times on the experiences of vulnerability, detainment and expulsion. However, they usually also make a comment on these migrants' subjectivity, reflecting on the emotions that result from the experience of deportation, as well as on the possibilities of expression of political agency and resistance towards the decision of deportation.

Most commonly, these works concentrate on performing ethnographic work with migrants themselves, accompanying their migratory journeys and experiences. Usually, it also concentrates on these individuals' lived experience in deportation centers, and how their routine and possibilities of action occur there. Overall, the commentary on deportee's

subjectivities and ways of being that shines through is that deportation policies and discourses turn individuals into anxious, afraid, disciplined subjects, who feel constrained to act out and resist.

In this sense, one of the most notable concepts laid out in literature so far was also formulated by De Genova and Peutz (2010). As mentioned, for them, the instrument of deportation is applied by States because it acts as a disciplinary tool; because irregular migrants, eligible for deportation, become constantly aware that they might be deported at any time. In consequence, they develop the notion of deportability, a constant feeling of anxiety and dread over the possibility of expulsion and inferiority inside that nation state, that turns deportable migrants into more "docile labor". That is, the authors argue that deportability is a disciplining force that shapes the behavior of irregular migrants, who usually perform low-skilled labor, into submission to precarious labor conditions because of their awareness of their susceptibility to the, harsher, consequence of deportation. In this sense, deportability and the deportation regime creates a necessary, yet disposable, labor force composed of anxious low-skilled irregular migrants; or "the indispensable disposability of deportable labor" (De Genova and Peutz, 2010, p. 46).

De Genova, elsewhere, also talks of the uneven distribution of deportability, given that, while all migrants can be subject to deportation, while there is a pattern to whom the State chooses to enforce this measure upon or not, the wait of feeling deportable also changes accordingly (De Genova, 2019). Here, the intricate relation between this enforcement and race, given that tracing a genealogy of deportation law shows it was initially targeted to specific ethnicities (De Genova, 2002), also assumes the relationship between the feeling of deportability and the character of the low-skilled migrant laborer as a racialized body.

Another scholar that is worth mentioning is Shahram Khosravi, an anthropologist originally from Iran who became a citizen of Sweden after seeking refuge there in the 1990s. In his auto- ethnography, while telling his own stories of border passings and then studying the phenomenon, he also reflects multiple times on the theme of deportation, referring to it as a bodily sanction of the migratory regime, and retelling the case of undocumented Afghan immigrants living in Iran, for example, and how they felt the status of deportability, feeling that every little action they did was illegal since they did not have a regular status where they lived. For Khosravi, it was an "invisible detention" (Khosravi, 2010, p. 90), because the risk of deportation made it so that the people he interacted with became immobile in their own homes for fear of what could happen if they stepped outside.

The condition of deportability, and the latent awareness/fear of expulsion, then, also shines through in Khosravi's anthropological work. Elsewhere, he further concentrates on what deportation means for Afghan migrants specifically, explaining that for most of the young Afghan man he had interacted with, deportation was a way of being, and marked cycles of their migratory journey. That is, for young Afghan men, who have a specific relation to migration and its practice, Khosravi observed that most often for migrants in deportation centers, being expelled from a given country back to their origin countries did not often mean the end of mobility, but only the start of another cycle of movement, underscoring the point that most often for these individuals expulsion does not hinder "an incessant mobility in the shadows and through the cracks of the global order of borders" (Khosravi, 2016, p. 170), but rather constructs a cycle of deportation that keeps afghan diaspora moving, "between redeparture and redeportation" (Khosravi, 2016, p. 178).

Meanwhile, still concerned with the temporal consequences of deportation for migrants, Khosravi also states that the experience of detainment per se is strongly demarcated by waiting. In detention centers, deportees can do nothing but wait for their future to arrive, according to him, and experience time in a particular way - for deportees in detainment, time is uncertain and arbitrary mostly because of their ignorance of when they will leave detainment for expulsion. This uncertainty of how long they must wait, then, makes it more difficult to have a hold on their future, and plan. In another article, Khosravi (2018) refers to similar experiences as stolen time, specifically referring to deportees who refer to the experience as being sent back to square one, and unable to harvest any of the things they might have cultivated in a migratory journey. That is, to be deported is to have the time invested for the movement towards that destination stolen, a mechanism to help people in circulation and never arriving anywhere (Khosravi, 2018).

Drotbohm and Hasselberg (2015), refer to a deportation corridor, because of the phenomenon's in-between-ness, configuration of an impersonal and temporary experience, and capability of making the people involved in it feel anxious. However, adaptable to diverse possible experiences of deportation, the corridor, as advertised by Drotbohm and Hasselberg can contain many complex emotions and norms also for people other than the deportees that are actively involved, such as border guards, or the migrant's family back home. They too, the authors argue, are encapsulated in the corridor and suffer from the emotions it produces, oftentimes feelings of stress and instability as well, questioning whether to support or control deportees in terms of the guards studied, for example.

Later in the same journal, it is interesting to understand Nicolas Fischer's (2015) contribution to this framework. Looking at episodes of self-mutilation in French detention centers, Fischer observes how common this action is taken by deportees, and that usually they are assisted as soon as possible by the authorities present, but also tend to suffer from disciplinary practices because of it. For the author, this is a sign of the humanitarian and security paradox present in migration control, and representative of the tension between the State's duty to control movement and protect those suffering. Most importantly, however, for Fischer, this also highlights that it is this tension between repression and protection that produces the generalized anxiety he observed in these detention centers. Arguing that feelings are a result of the stabilized social order, the deportation corridor here described then, is configured by the anxiety produced by the diverse mentalities behind migration control.

At the same time, it is not unappreciated by other scholars that being in detention and in the condition of deportability also ignites possibilities of resistance, and highlights complementary feelings to the above described anxiety. For example, Campesi (2015), researching deportation in Italy, observes that in detention centers, deportees have an ability to resist and undermine the deportation machine. Describing his participant observation in a detention center there, he relates the stark hostility he felt in the relationship between the guards and the deportees, and that the latter acted together to demonstrate their displeasure with the staff, kicking doors, and protesting verbally in groups, causing the staff to feel uncomfortable. Still, again one of the feelings uncovered by Campesi in his study is also the deportee's inertia, for their feeling of being arbitrarily detained for an unknown amount of time, which causes affliction in them. Relatedly, however, this sentiment, on top of the hierarchical tension with the guards, also causes deportees to act out, and resist, with vandalism or acts of self-harm, according to Campesi's observations.

Looking at the UK, JoAnn Mc Gregor (2011) also finds that in detainment centers, recurrently, episodes are characterized by contestation. Specifically, McGregor talks of an organized mass hunger strike performed by Zimbabwean deportees in 2005, where around 112 detainees were refusing to eat, and allies made their actions public and shared by major media, until the British government announced they would suspend deportation for Zimbabue nationals for the risk of return to the country was reassessed. She assesses, then, that despite and because of the limited amount of scope of action that these individuals possess, hunger strikes were chosen as a mode of action. It was one of the few ways the Zimbabweans in question could strive to achieve an affective link with the population outside of the center. McGregor also makes the point that this is an episode that exemplifies how deportees can

exert their political agency as non-citizens and that it should be highlighted now the limitedness of such actions underscore how they are performed with an underlying desperation and distress, and should not be romanticized.

Conversely, a last source observed migrant actions in a rather different way than all of the above. Rather than concentrating on deportees' actions inside detention centers, Peter Nyers (2010) has written on deportation about acts of protests organized by refused refuge seekers in Canada where they organized protests on the streets. He highlights that such actions are evidence against ideas of "anxious subjectivities" (Nyers, 2010, p. 415), especially when the same group visited immigration offices and spoke to state authorities which represents a claim over their political existence. Ultimately, he argues, such performances question deportation procedures, and force authorities to recognize and engage with these individuals as subjects who are political and have agency. There episodes highlight, for Nyers, how in some cases, even if not in the dispossession of legal rights, migrants *enact* citizenship.

Other than Nyers, however, the narrative that shines through the other sources, especially through concepts such as deportability, or stolen time, is that of a deportee whose subjectivity is mainly characterized by anxiety, confusion, loss of independence and agency. Meanwhile, concentrating on actions and experiences inside detention centers shows scholars examples of very constrained, desperate and suffered acts of resistance, building the experience of detention as one shaped by uncertainty, and arbitrariness. Altogether, then, they construct the idea of the deportee as very anxious subjects, constrained by their despair in their protests.

2.3   Conclusion

This literature review has discussed two main arguments commonly reproduced in studies that explore deportation. Therefore, the conclusions that solidarity movements are shallow and that deportees are constrained and anxious subjects, are common assumptions built into the theoretical contributions on deportation. However, I argue, these conclusions are so common because approaching deportation through micro-level ethnographic engagement with solidarity movements is not a methodology that has been readily applied in the research efforts on the phenomenon of deportation. Rather, the insights provided by such methodology demonstrate that real-life episodes of collectives fighting against deportation and their participants challenge the above mentioned arguments, and underline the potential contribution of political ethnographies.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Nathalie Peutz (2006), there is a grave need to study deportation through ethnography. For her, the potential this approach has to broaden the understanding of this phenomenon beyond merely another migration governance instrument is significant, because it can give insight into how deportation affects the concepts of displacement and belonging for the migrants affected. Not studying the phenomenon in such close contact with the way it plays out practically, and what it entails for people, she continues, risks not unpacking the significance of deportation for the idea of migration per se, and how it shapes mobility. A more distant, top-down, reading, then, fails to uncover the significance of the expulsion of migrants beyond an administrative public tool.

While Peutz's call for an ethnographic study with deported migrants guarantees a view of deportation's effects and meanings for the migrants who suffer it, an ethnographic study of solidarity movements organized against it can also reveal aspects of the politics of deportation that are not evident in other approaches. Studies like Rakopoulos' (2014) ethnography of civil movements to create a solidarity economy in Greece gives insights into how involved individuals conceptualize, react to and contest the Greek debt crisis. In parallel, Razsa and Kurnik's (2012) exploration of the occupy movement in Slovenia argues that ethnographies of episodes of direct action can give insight into how individuals conceptualize alternative democracies and social and political orders. Here, to pay attention to the claims being put forth by activists who mobilize, is to capture concepts that allow understandings outside dominant assumptions. Juris and Khasnabish (2013), furthermore suggest that ethnographies of social movements allow understanding of emerging political subjectivities and cultural imaginaries.

In this sense, a call for an ethnography of solidarity movements against deportation is also valid, as it is able to highlight how individuals engaged in the anti-deportation cause define and react to the practice of expulsion of migrants; how they resist and conceptualize alternative orders to the present one; and how their engagement and practices reveal a specific political subjectivity. Therefore, this approach to deportation is also a way to broaden the distanced reading of deportation as a tool - investigating how it is contested in host countries can also reveal what this governance tool represents for individuals, and potentially how this contestation can also lead to the construction of a knowledge used for disruption of the migration governance.

More specifically, the arguments further developed in this thesis to support this framework will mobilize two specific concepts to demonstrate how an ethnography of solidarity

movements can uncover the anti-deportation cause in this way. Each concept will aid in the challenge to the assumptions laid out in the last chapter.

To articulate the first argument - that the investigation with the Swiss collectives demonstrated an empirical example of a movement that was critical of the fundamental practice of deportation - relying on the existing literature on such movements and challenging their typologies will suffice. More specifically, Abdou and Rosenberger's (2018) typology of anti-deportation protests will be used as a starting point, as it helps delineate what previous literature has expected to observe when assessing the purposes of similar movements. This typology, as mentioned in the previous chapter, consists of three ideal types of anti-deportation movements (the conformist, the reformist, and the radical movement), which differ in relation to their dimension, how they define the problem they are fighting against, the solutions they see fit, and the claims they put forth. The author's specific classifications and definitions are summarized in Figure 1, below.

	Transformational/radical	Reformist/substantive	Conformist/moderate
Dimension	Political/social order	Legislative regulations	Case enforcement
Problem definition	The right of nation states to restrict the freedom of movement of foreign citizens is unjust	Regulations and/or implementation are too restrictive	Costs of exclusion for individual deportees and/or society are too high
Problem solution	Abolishing nation states' sovereignty as regards the regulation of mobility	Reform of policies and/or policy implementation on residence and return	Preventing the deportation of individuals
Expression	Claims against restrictions of movement	Claims for liberalizing policies/implementation	Claims against deportations in individual cases

Figure 1. *Typology of anti-deportation movements.* Extracted from Abdou and Rosenberger, 2018.

As also mentioned before, Abdou and Rosenberger argue that they have only observed "conformist" protests, that is, movements that focus on one case specifically and preventing the deportation of individuals, and therefore not challenging the principle that people should be deported. However, they also outline the "reformist" and the "radical" protests. The reformist protest is a movement that targets legislative regulations, and specific policies in relation to deportation. In this sense, it is bigger in scope than the conformist protest, targeting more than one case, but still, it is focused on a certain implementation of the deportation principle. So, it criticizes some implementations of the expulsion of foreigners, usually arguing for policies to be less restrictive, but does not attack it in principle. Lastly, radical movements are protests

that put forth transformative, normative claims, that question the principle of deportation. They are therefore more encompassing than specific policies and implementations of expulsions, but they criticize that they are implemented in the first place.

In this sense, I will mobilize these three definitions in my analysis of the purpose of the movements I observed, by comparing and contrasting these ambitions to how the Swiss collectives acted on the protests I attended and on what they chose to share in their social media profile. Therefore, some actions such as their behavior on the street, the chants they sang, and the documents and posts they shared, will be used as indicators as to where the ambitions and goals of the movements I observed fit with respect to Abdou and Rosenberger's typology. Therefore, by keeping in mind the classifications of conformist, reformist and radical, the ethnographical methodology employed here will be able to argue that we can also reach different conclusions than the authors reviewed above.

In order to articulate my second argument - that in the case of these two collectives, I could see a form of active deportee participation which challenges the depiction of deportee's subjectivity through an immobilizing anxiety - I will use Peter Nyers' above mentioned chapter on Canadian deportees and his idea of abject cosmopolitanism and taking-subjectivity. According to Nyers, it is worth looking into contestation to deportation in order to provide an "antidote to the anxious subjectivities fostered by recent securitizations" (Nyers, 2010, p. 415). In this sense, he problematizes the notion of abjection as a political category because of its opposition to cosmopolitanism, and the binary division of exclusion and inclusion between them, respectively. That is, he speaks of the violence of assuming that abject subjects are excluded and therefore inscribed with a victimized, speechless, apolitical subjectivity. This implies, for him, that these subjects are a priori characterized by these adjectives, rather than becoming abject because of practices of exclusions (like deportation, for example). De-essentializing these attributes by remembering that exclusion is an active social act imposed upon somebody, is a powerful tool to remove the violence of assuming that any abject individual is essentially mute, victimized, apolitical, that the abject is automatically associated with a muted political agency. He sees abjection more as a process rather than an identity.

To highlight that migrants, for example, who are very often considered abject individuals in an anti-migratory society, *are* not abject, but have *become* abject, this is not their natural condition, is an important differentiation to allow us to think of ways that these positionings are mutable, they can be politically contested by abject individuals themselves. That is why he puts abjection and cosmopolitanism together and argues for us to see deportees as abject cosmopolitans and perceive how "the cast-off today are taking up the

cosmopolitan call and with their practices, recasting the possibilities for local- global political life" (Nyers, 2010, p. 420). Cosmopolitanism, then, is here seen as a call for inclusion into a social and political order anywhere, to the extent that abject cosmopolitanism can be a way to describe emerging political practices of migrants when resisting their exclusion.

Furthermore, Nyers understands politics through Racière's theory of equality. Rancière argues that neither politics nor equality is given principles, but rather that politics is continuously defined in the practices of implementing equality. In this way, he dissociates making politics from citizenship, for the ability to enact political equality does necessarily require that somebody has a citizen's legal status. In this way, through Rancière, political agency by a citizen is equal to expressions of grievances of non-citizens. Abject individuals, then, can adopt a taking-subjectivity and act as an equal-speaking being as citizens. In this sense, Nyers observes deportees acting as abject cosmopolitans and adopting a taking political subjectivity in the example from Canada, where deportees formed an association and took speech and space when storming public buildings and directly talking to state officials.

Taking space and taking speech, then, are used by Nyers as instances where deportees even if classified as abject individuals take on political agency despite being non-citizens. These concepts are very different from the anxious subjectivity present in the other sources explored. Rather, while not arguing that deportees are not anxious nor afraid of deportation, Nyers also demonstrates that deportees can have a taking-subjectivity and enact political agency in expressing speech and directly talking to authorities. This subjectivity and means of resisting are different from the more constrained and desperate ways this is expressed in analyses that focus on detention centers, and can therefore help us broaden the way we understand how deportees can resist.

In this sense, I will use Nyer's definitions to explore how deportees present in the protests attended behaved, drawing parallels to forms of taking speech and space. It will therefore demonstrate a different kind of subjectivity and political agency as described elsewhere, which rather negotiates with political barriers to protest, and engages with the anxious feelings produced by deportation to articulate resistance, and result in an active political agency, rather than a crippling subjectivity.

By employing an ethnographic method and concentrating on the concept of the taking-subjectivity and the typology of possible scopes of solidarity movements, I, therefore, expect to capture more closely the arguments and claims raised by activists when performing their resistance, and will therefore be able to see ways in which onsite political imaginaries are

emerging that have the potential to contest the embeddedness of the practice of deportation and our scholarly understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, together, the typology of purposes and the concept of taking-subjectivity are able to demonstrate ways in which actions are articulated in practice which show a political opposition to the policy of deportation and put forth a disruption to the embeddedness and legitimacy of this governance tool.

4. METHODOLOGY

Most typically, International Relations' classic scholarship tends to be concerned with ensuring an objective method. That is, in IR, legitimacy tended to be granted to positivist research approaches that ontologically assumed the distance between the researcher and their object of study, and methodologically proceeded to establish very well defined steps for investigation, in an attempt to guarantee that the subjectivity of the researcher did not interfere with the development of the research. Strategies for this kind of method entail, for example, the establishment of a falsifiable hypothesis, or a precise dataset (Leander, 2015). However, more and more, the possibility of guaranteeing the distance between researcher and research has been questioned, and hence the validity of more flexible methods has become increasingly appreciated in IR.

In fields like Critical Security Studies (CSS), an openness to alternative approaches can be observed. According to Aradau and Huysmans (2015), in that sense, methodology in CSS should be seen as an *experimental* way of connecting theory and practice; methodology should be an active choice that takes into account what it represents normatively. This recognition that no method is neutral, furthermore, leads the authors into arguing for the need to be sensitive to how one produces knowledge, and constantly be reflexive and interrogate their choice, thus taking into account the interplay between researcher and research. Similarly, Salter and Multu (2013) also highlight the need for reflexivity in CSS and assume there is always a way in which methods relate to a researcher's positionality.

These stances open way for new methodologies to become acceptable – recognizing that the engagement between research and researcher is always present and carries value, also grants more flexibility to methodology, permitting, for instance, not delimiting relevant data a priori, but allowing for experience with the object of study, throughout the research, to illuminate what information is or not relevant. Being critical of academic objectivity, then, has allowed these researchers to change the way they perform investigations, being more open to building assumptions along the way and taking into account their and others' emotions and values (Leander, 2015). Along these lines, method flexibility has also permitted openness to new ways of knowing and seeing otherwise subjective objects as forms of knowledge, like bodies, performances, sounds, or everyday practices. Another form of methodology this framework opens way for is political ethnography.

In this sense, Salter and Multu (2013) refer to an ethnographic turn in CSS which is characterized by the thick description of an encounter between the researcher and another

culture; a self-reflexive immersion of the researcher into a field of study. Most important in this way of analysis for Salter and Multu (2013, p. 51), as well as other sources, is how it allows for "an empathetic analysis", that takes the process of research as a mutual encounter, rather than an unidimensional extraction of information. In this sense, it is a way of advocating for the need to experience/deeply contextualize something in order to know it.

Therefore, for other scholars like Evelyn Brodkin (2017), the ethnographic turn in political sciences has opened ways to understand and contextualize political behaviors and beliefs through their expression in real-life, situated settings. For Brodkin, it is also in the method that allows for research to be continuously built in the engagement with an object or subjects of study, that these approaches show their value, for they permit the researcher to be open to learning in different ways; "to probe beyond the boundaries of their assumptions by immersing themselves in the world of their subjects and learning how their subjects experience the world" (Brodkin, 2017, p. 132). These reflections then tend to conclude that flexible, open-ended, emotive and curious micro-level observations and interactions allow a different understanding of political and social phenomena than more positivist methods. Or rather, in the explanation of Charles Tilly (2006), political ethnography aims to bring understanding of political processes without filtering knowledges and experiences researchers meet on the ground.

Finally, for Edward Schatz (2009), political ethnography's essential contact with people is its most valuable contribution to the study of politics, since it ensures empirical, grounded and reflexive research. For him, furthermore, the most basic commonality to any ethnographic approach to political science is a sensibility, an emotional engagement from the researcher that allows them to "glean the meanings that the people under study attribute to their social and political reality" (Schatz, 2009, p. 5). In this sense, political ethnography becomes a sensitive immersion into a study object that produces contextualized, empathetic information, and such a "close" way of studying can allow researchers to perceive nuances that would otherwise be hard to notice, such as social complexity, heterogeneity, informal conversations, etc. This way of knowing, therefore, in producing such detailed and emotive evidence, can help us build knowledge that questions former generalizations (Schatz, 2009, p. 10).

This investigative, open and sensitive quality to political ethnography is what makes this method the most suitable way to conduct the present research. Since this paper aims to gauge what looking at deportation from the angle of solidarity movements allows us to understand; and to specifically take the micro-dynamics of the little-documented cases in Switzerland, to use ethnography here is both practically and ontologically pertinent. In practical

terms, if the thesis object of study is an understudied phenomenon I wish to unpack further than it has been in previous research, then a valid method to undertake would be field research, involving interviews and real-life interactions with the people and events I am interested in. As further discussed below, this close interaction is at the core of ethnographic work, which makes it a suitable avenue to pursue.

Additionally, under the ontological lens, ethnography and my aim also share the belief in the validity of knowing through interactions and the dynamics of micro-level politics. The understanding that the empathic observation of these relationships, how they are evidenced in resistance and mobilization actions, and that they can uncover processes, discourses and behaviors that challenge other scholarly assumptions, is the common judgement that ontologically unites ethnographic methodology and my research aims.

By way of further contextualization, it is worth mentioning that ethnography is "the study of people in naturally occurring settings or "fields" by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally" (Brewer, 2000, p. 10). In its anthropological tradition, ethnography was first used as a method promoted by scholars to research cultures and communities distant from them. This form of ethnography and the narrative it promotes, however, has been criticized for perpetuating a colonial framework. That is, insofar as it originated as a European discipline which sought to study non-western populations, scholars have argued that ethnography has been used to perpetuate the idea of the non- western society as inherently different and inferior to the western society. The connotation of an ethnographical exploration of inferior others to the researcher is further criticized for classic work's failure to address the colonial rule of the context they were studying (Bejarano et al, 2019).

A more critical ethnography has emerged however, becoming more concerned with the structures of inequality and power, in economic, political, gendered and racial terms, which characterize the "field" they are studying. Many, however, still actively advocate a careful attention to the need for ethnography to break free of its colonial underpinnings. Bejarano et al (2019) state, for example, that there is a need to redesign the rationale of ethnography, especially by adopting a decolonial mindset that inverts the classic hierarchy, but pushes scholars to engage with the people they study as active collaborators; "a full recognition of anthropology's so-called research subjects as thinkers and researchers in their own right" (Bejarano et al, 2019, p. 37).

Another important ethnographic methodological tool to keep in mind is Clifford Geertz's idea of thick description. This entails the production of descriptive essays that do not report information without reference to further circumstances, but rather, they strive to result in thorough reports of contextualized phenomena (Geertz, 1973). To simply describe an action, and to strive to describe the context and probable underlying significances of that action, then, would be two different approaches, and Geertz (1973) states that the importance of the latter would be to open way to analyze the complex configurations of social systems and their practices.

This is useful in the present research since its goal revolves around contextualizing and deriving meanings of observations and impressions made in real life. However, the criticism usually placed forward against the concept - that it is heavily reliant on the interpretation and discretion of the observer; should be addressed. It relates to what others call the matter of friction in observational ethnographic research, referring to challenges of collecting data from observation and being aware of the divergence between different standpoints of the researcher and what they seek to understand.

Key here is to address, rather than ignore, the possibility of a biased description and of the existence of friction in observation. In this sense, being aware of this challenge is important in as much as it mitigates ignoring the impact that differences have on analysis. Therefore, it also relates to reflecting on positionality and being adaptable and flexible in learning. In this sense, it is worth spending some time on positionality now, and reflect on how my own identity, experiences, and perspectives may influence analysis - as a Brazilian woman who has studied migration academically for some time now, and has also engaged with assisting refugees in practice, as well as now become a migrant myself moving to Switzerland, I have been exposed to all sorts of previous academic and personal knowledges on the matter which may bias my opinion and interest in continue researching these issues, as well as my interpretation of data. Specifically, now living in a country outside of Brazil, having visa restraints imposed on services I can access, or hours I can work, the pressure of additional bureaucracy assessing my suitability to stay in Switzerland or not, and the anxiety over the possibility that there may be a time in which I can no longer live where I want legally, are all factors that put me closer to the lived experience of migration and the sentiments it entails.

Even if I am in an infinitely more privileged position than somebody effectively facing a deportation order, being treated violently or fearing returning to an unsafe place, it might still influence a preconceived notion of what migration entails and what deportees might feel. In this sense, recognizing the power dynamics and difference in experience between me, a

regular student migrant, and the individuals I refer to when I talk about deportees, is very important presently as not to assume that what I experience as a migrant must be reproduced in the different experiences I am investigating in this thesis. In terms of friction, then, I will be conscious of the fact that my personal feelings towards migrations are not to be sought to be reproduced in what I research, but rather to understand that I am talking of different experiences and being as open as I can to discover other's thoughts and behaviors towards this phenomenon.

In practical terms, possible data collection mechanisms that are fruitfully used in ethnographic research primarily entail: (1) participant observation, when the researcher effectively immersing themselves and partaking physically in a "field", observes their practices and behaviors and takes field notes, either in written visual or auditory form; (2) interviews, mostly conducted in an unstructured and in-depth manner; (3) document analysis, usually of personal material of the people involved, or produced by them (Salter and Multu, 2013).

All three mechanisms will be mobilized for the present research. Participant observation was mainly conducted by participation in protests organized by the solidarity movements I personally accompanied. In total, I followed three protests, organized in the month of March and April by collectives present in Lausanne and Geneva, taking field notes of how such events were organized and played out, as well as some pictures of the events. Such activities, as well as my own emotions and perceptions while partaking in them, allowed me to have a lived experience of how the solidarity movements I am interested in happen in real life, and therefore were instrumental in my understanding of this phenomenon.

Second, I also conducted interviews with members of the collectives as a data-gathering mechanism. Over the course of the research, I conducted interviews with members of both collectives I am researching. They were performed in an informal and unstructured form, to allow for a more spontaneous interaction between me and the member of the collective, and to give them space to express information I might not have anticipated. This method of conducting interviews is therefore useful when trying to give interviewees more possibility of free expression (Soss, 2014). In this sense, while I had an idea of the general path I wanted to take and some pre-drafted questions I wanted to ask, I refrained from sticking to a pre-determined script across interviews and instead allowed for spontaneous questions and interactions to take place.

Overall, with the interviews, I wanted to gather some key information on the collectives that were not accessible online, ie. how many members they had, their overall demographic,

their routines, and how and why they would meet, amongst other small pieces of information that would help me create a more encompassing understanding of how the collectives worked. Furthermore, I also aimed at asking the members, especially the ones that were Swiss nationals, about their personal engagement with the collective and their own personal views on the politics of deportations and its issues.

Finally, I also conducted document analysis both with the physical flyers I would be given when I participated in protests, and also through examining the posts the collective would publish on their social media profiles. Both sources were primary data produced by the subjects I was studying and they were selected because they could give me a deeper understanding of the messages and kinds of mobilizations that were being promoted. They, therefore, helped with the investigations of the purposes and role of these solidarity movements.

In order to analyze the materials collected, I use ethnographic principles to reflect on the possible meanings and insights that can be gained by putting together all the information gathered. In this sense, the principles and approaches of empathetic consideration for the people involved in the study as well as the belief in their active participation and voice, and the substantiation of information in thick descriptive context are all elements that aid in the ethnographic analysis. In practical terms, this translates into one contextualizing chapter that follows this methodology, and then two analytical chapters, as explained in the introduction.

However, before finally moving on to context and analysis, a few words on ethical considerations should be addressed. In this sense, it was important for me to be conscious that this research deals with sensitive political issues, that have a practical effect on people's lives. That is, it investigates movements who are in direct contact with migrants with precarious legal statuses in Switzerland, and at times makes comments about these individuals directly. For this, it was important to keep in mind the political and practical impacts of what is being said and the possible repercussions it could have on the lives of these individuals. In order to ensure, in this sense, that there was minimal potential additional danger being placed on their lives, I adopted measures of informed consent and confidentiality. First, in terms of informed consent, it is important to note that information related here was either publicly available to anyone who followed the protests I attended or carefully followed the collectives' social media activity, or told to me through interviews with collectives' members who were fully aware of my position as a master researcher writing a thesis on their activities. In this sense, I utilize here data made available by collective members who understand the potential dangers some information might have for the migrants they work with and therefore will keep the matter of potential danger in mind when disclosing information, and be selective of what they inform.

In any case, apart from the name of each collective I followed, all other information relayed below was kept as anonymous as possible. In this sense, I will not state the names of the people I spoke to, their gender, age, or nationality, and wherever it is possible, I will try to keep their specific affiliation to either collective ambiguous so as to make any traceability of information harder. Anonymity was something one person I spoke to asked me to employ, and in that sense, I will adopt these measures to ensure the protection of the source of information given to me.

Through informed consent and anonymity, then, I have tried to minimize any potential harm this research could cause to the individuals it aims to understand, always keeping in mind that their irregular migratory status is subject to change given additional information.

5. SETTING THE SCENE: SWISS PRACTICES OF DEPORTATION AND CONTESTATION

Abiding by Geertz's principle of thick description, whose main impetus is providing extensive contextual descriptions, this chapter's goal is contextualization. This has two dimensions. The first is an understanding of how the issues this thesis deals with (deportation and public contestation) are articulated in my camp of study, Switzerland. This entails the contextualization of how these two concepts are legally embedded and socially reproduced locally, situating the ways in which the matter of migration has been shaped in Switzerland, as well as understanding how social movements, civil participation and resistance as practices normally occur in the country. The second dimension is a description of my own involvement with the solidarity movements against deportation I came in contact with. This is rather a determination of the specific field in which the research for this thesis has taken place. After all, analysis can be contextualized further than through describing the structural, social and legal contours of migration and resistance in Switzerland, but also drafting an understanding of the specific actors and contexts I engaged with personally, helps delineate better the examples I will bring up later on.

In order to achieve this double goal, I will interpose a description of how I came about contacting the collectives I interacted with, their specific characteristics and my impressions of what I encountered, with a broader discussion of the history of migration in Switzerland, its current legal implications, as well as the political contours in which contestation takes place. This involves, then, examining the connotation of deportation in this context, and also what kind of expectations Swiss politics imposes on activism a priori. These two formulations, then, become necessary to situate and understand the social movements analyzed later on, as well as the broader boundaries the specific field this study is embedded in entails.

In this sense, it is worth mentioning that I became motivated to study migration in Switzerland deeper because of the specific legal regulations of the movement nationally that seem to facilitate and make deportation decisions more agile and standard than in other countries. To expand, much like in other political contexts, migration in Switzerland has been treated as a security issue since the early 20th century, justified by a concern over foreign overpopulation (Santos Rodriguez and Griffiths, 2021). Migration was also framed under the notion of "*überfremdung*", the fear that foreign influence would significantly change national identity. In this context, migration governance in Switzerland, much like in other contexts, has become concerned with preventing such foreign-led "negative and intrusive" transformations.

Also similar to other contexts, economic dependence upon foreign labour has meant an institutionalization of an ambiguous balancing in Swiss policy over the need to preserve national identity and benefit from foreign labor, which is delineated by race (Santos Rodriguez and Griffiths, 2021). Mainly since the 1990s, there has been a progressive opening of the Swiss economy and migration laws towards other European countries, an establishment supported by the discursive framing of the überfremdung fear towards extra-European migrants. Hence, what results is an economic integration and heavy migratory movement of other European nationals, and increased nationalistic sensitivity towards extra-European nationals (Santos Rodriguez and Griffiths, 2021). In this scenario, irregular migration becomes evermore defined by racial and ethnic lenses: non-Europeans thus become much more subjected to low-skilled jobs and irregular legal statuses, forming a group of migrants known as the "sans-papiers" in Switzerland (Santos Rodriguez and Griffiths, 2021).

This described selective opening of borders for some and closing for others based on their race, nationality and ethnicity, of course, is not Swiss-specific, but a widespread phenomenon. What is striking about the Swiss case, however, is the lack of institutional efforts to address the issues of those irregular non-European migrants who have been working in the country for a long time. There have never been, for example, collective regularization programs as elsewhere (Santos Rodriguez and Griffiths, 2021). The result is an estimated 76.000 sans-papiers living in Switzerland in 2020 with very little possibility of becoming regular migrants. In fact, with the lack of national level provision of solutions, Swiss cities hosting most of these irregular migrants (Zürich and Geneva) who feel the more immediate pressure made on the public system, have put in place city-level initiatives for regularization or marginal integration into public services, but that does not provide full citizenship status, nor a systematic solution to the irregularization problem (Kaufmann and Strebel, 2020).

Other peculiarities from the Swiss migration system appear in refuge regulations. As explained by Dina Bader (2018), asylum policy is constantly revisited in Switzerland and almost always made more stringent. Furthermore, they differ from EU asylum policy in significant ways: while in the EU, any refugee has their application examined in detail by authorities, in Switzerland, while a refugee can have their application be examined in depth, and be granted asylum seeker status, an applicant can also be denied proper examination of their application if their initial claim is found to be:

(1)   unfounded (they do not fulfill the definition of a refugee as someone fleeing persecution from elsewhere), or

(2)   inadmissible, a decision reached in several scenarios: if the applicant fails to cooperate sufficiently, if they come from countries considered "safe", if the case contains economic or medical claims, if significant identification documents are missing, etc.

The unfounded and inadmissible criteria are part of an impetus to accelerate the processing of asylum requirements in Switzerland. In practice, it results in an increased number of asylum applications that are not even examined by authorities, and migrants who are fastly prohibited to reside in the country. This predicament, furthermore, was exacerbated in 1998 when the number of days in which an unfounded or dismissed applicant could appeal went from 30 to 5. Additionally, the Dublin convention, which determines the return of asylum applicants to the country in which they first sought asylum, has also been vastly applied in Switzerland, which has registered to return more migrants than receiving them back under the principles of Dublin (Bader, 2018).

With the legal regulation above being applied, and with the value given to making asylum processing faster, a system is constructed where asylum seekers are easily and fastly given a notice of removal when their permanence in Switzerland is denied.

The configuration of this asylum policy, which fastly and systematically dismisses applicants, along with the lack of a regularization plan for irregular migrants in Switzerland, and the hardening of its borders for extra-European citizens all lead to a regime of deportation being implemented since all of the above mentioned measures often result in expulsion orders for these migrants. As mentioned, for De Genova and Peutz (2010), deportation practices become a regime when they stop being exceptional measures; when it becomes a common regulatory instrument in the need to control borders. In the Swiss scenario, the bureaucratization and need for fast processing of asylum applications is anything but the increasing institutionalization of deportation through regulations, in detriment of a more considerate and careful processing of asylum cases. Likewise, the hardening of borders for extra-Europeans and the refusal of the State to implement compensatory programs to alleviate the condition of irregular migrants also points to the deferral towards deportation as a regulatory measure in Switzerland instead of more holistic solutions. In this sense, a deportation regime can be said to exist in Switzerland, given the number of scenarios in which this result is predicted by the law and the lack of alternative measures that can be provided.

Furthermore, it is important to underline that this regime is also upheld in a discursive sphere by the before mentioned narrative of überfremdung and racialization of the idea of

threat in Switzerland. In fact, according to Barfuss (2022), überfremdung, the racialization of the idea of threat and the securitization of migration all come together in Switzerland through measures like the 2008 Swiss People's Party Deportation Initiative, which now successfully regulates the granting of deportation as a penalty for foreigners convicted for crimes, be they serious offenses like homicide or rape, but also lighter crimes such as robbery or improperly receiving social insurance. One of the posters for such campaign, she continues, became controversial for depicting three white sheep, in Swiss territory (demarcated by the Swiss flag), kicking out a black sheep, with the slogan "Creating Safety" (image below). In this initiative, it becomes clear that deportation in the Swiss context is becoming an increasingly implemented regulation to govern migrant bodies, here, clearly supported by a securitized and colonial narrative.

Figure 2. *SVP 2007 propaganda against migration.* Photograph from Barfuss, 2022.

This racial regime of deportation, then, legally determines that the expulsion of foreign nationals can be granted by Swiss authorities when:

(1)   An asylum request has been determined unfounded, inadmissible or denied.

(2)   A cantonal authority issues a removal order against irregular migrants, who do not possess, have exceeded, or have been refused pertinent visas.

(3)   The federal police orders the expulsion of a foreigner to safeguard security.

(4)   Criminal courts order the deportation of people convicted of a crime (Sem, 2021).

In the case of these scenarios, when the migrant concerned does not voluntarily leave Switzerland by the deadline given by authorities, the forcible implementation of deportation ensues, and these individuals are detained in deportation centers and wait for their removal (Sem, 2021). Additionally, however, authorities are allowed to assess on a case-by-case basis the need for a forced deportation from the start in which case detention can be performed immediately (Melgar, 2011). Asylum seekers deported under the Dublin Convention can also be detained before their transfer (Sem, 2021). Therefore, while legally detention should only be applied as a last resort and proportional measure (Acherman et al, 2019), a 1995 law also allows authorities to place migrants in detention if officers feel like they "*might intend* to evade" (Bader, 2018, p. 77, emphasis added) their deportation order. In this sense, detention can also have a preventative character and is often left to the discretion of authorities. Another indication that detention can be a vastly deployed measure by Swiss authorities comes from data from the Global Detention Project (2020). According to their country profiles, in 2017, the number of deportations in Switzerland was 3.021, and the number of migrants detained was 3.724. In 2018, the number of detainees also exceeded the number of deportation orders, which may indicate that the percentage of deported migrants who are in fact detained, is very high.

After detention, deported migrants are then sent back to their countries of origin by plane. The way that journey can occur, however, is varied - in cases with enforcement level 1, the police escorts the migrant to the aircraft, but they make the journey unaccompanied and as a regular passenger; in levels 2 and 3, the deportee is accompanied by a police officer until destination, but in a normal flight without physical restrictions; in level 4, the deportee is placed in a special flight (commissioned by Swiss authorities specifically for executing this deportation), continuously accompanied by multiple police officials and always in restrictive conditions (handcuffs, restricted to the chair, etc) (Sem, 2021). As demonstrated in Melgar's 2011 documentary Vol Special, once a deportee refuses to cooperate with a return under enforcement level one, their penalty is escalated and continuously towards being deported in a special flight. Furthermore, "safety" measures employed in special flight procedures, tend to be executed in extremely harsh conditions, given the example contained in the documentary of two men who died because of police brutality during their return (Melgar, 2011).

Therefore, there are different levels of enforcement of deportation, detention and forced return procedures. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that the procedure is a common practice, and discursively supported by racial and colonial justifications. A Swiss racial deportation regime, then, can be observed being applied both to irregular migrants and asylum seekers, which underscored the prevalence of the topic in the country. Of specific importance, moreover, desk

research on deportation in Switzerland thus showed me how a regime is in fact established with the agilization of asylum procedures being a common practice that ever so often ends with a lack of sure processing and solution ascribed to deportation. There is furthermore a violent regime, with strict detention and expulsion measures which have been readily documented and contested in the nation as well.

Furthermore, this contestation against episodes of undue violence against deportees is documented and public. This is how I first got into contact with episodes of anti-deportation struggles in Switzerland. Namely, I found a website, named Vivre Ensemble, which is an information platform organized to document and expose migrant issues in Switzerland. Apart from writing opinion pieces on such violent episodes by Swiss police, I noticed that they also published news articles announcing protests organized against deportation. Scouting those particular pages, I found that Vivre Ensemble would reference multiple collectives organizing such protests. The number of such announcements was significant, and my first indication that the phenomenon of solidarity movements in Switzerland was noteworthy.

One of the collectives mentioned numerous times was Lausanne-based Droit de Rester. I then proceeded to investigate Droit de Rester's own website and perceived that a permanent column to the right of the page informed, in bright blue colors, that the collective hosted, every Monday night a "permanence", open to public (Droit de Rester, 2023). When reading that information, I thought they meant a public event, led by the collective, where they would advocate for their cause, or inform the public of what they were organizing at the moment. I thought, then, it would be a good appointment to join, in order to understand their work more deeply. However, what I found at the site was not what I expected to see.

Upon arrival at the location advertised online, even though it was minutes before the announced beginning of the permanence, no event looked like it was about to happen. The location in question was a big two-story house. The door to enter was closed but unlocked, and my first impression of it was that it was a high school, with a lot of colorful posters on the walls, and big rooms full of desks and chairs.

In reality, la maison de quartier sous-gare is the headquarters of an association for inhabitants of the sous-gare district of Lausanne. They organize workshops for kids, yoga lessons, movie screenings, amongst other activities available for inhabitants of the district who pay to be members. It is, therefore a kind of recreational cultural private club. They also let local collectives use their rooms regularly (Maison de quartier, 2023).

When I arrived there, to my right there was an open door, and a couple of people sitting around tables and talking to each other. I thought it did not look like the event I was looking for. I looked further, going up the stairs to the second floor, where I saw a big closed door and a couple of people waiting outside of it. Nothing else about that floor told me I would spontaneously find my event, so I asked one of the people waiting if they knew of the Droit de Rester collective. He was middle-aged and African American. They told me yes, I should just go through the closed door and they were there. Upon crossing the door, I found a small room, with two desks, and a man and a woman who appeared to be between 60 or 70 years old. They were white and spoke fluent French. The older woman welcomed me in, a little taken aback and asked me to sit down and wait a little. They were still organizing the room, but shortly after she called in the man I had spoken to earlier, led him to the table where the other older man was sitting and came to sit by my side. It became clear to me that they were there to provide some kind of service. I could not tell exactly what, but they seemed to be preparing individual stations to personally attend to migrants in need, I presumed.

She asked what she could help me with, and I told her I had probably made a mistake. I explained I was looking for the event by Droit de Rester, and that I did not personally need any services, but rather thought it was a public event anybody could follow. She explained they were scribes, and were exercising attendance hours, helping migrants communicate in French to authorities. She said they were not from Droit de Rester, but that they usually stayed downstairs, in the big room I looked at earlier, but she did not know if I could find them at the moment. I thanked her for her time and went back to the room I was before. There were a couple more people there. I approached the men who noticed I had arrived and asked if they were from Droit de Rester, and he told me yes, I should just sit down and wait to be approached.

In this sense, it's worth spending some time on the spatial configurations of where I was. Upon reflection of what the Maison was and who was occupying it, to me it highlighted an environment characterized by empathy and selfless care - a private organization that owned the space of the Maison to host the activities they set up for the members of the "club", let at least two different groups of people involved in aiding irregular migrants in Lausanne freely use their space on a regular basis. This implies a sympathy of the Maison towards the migration cause, which starts to delineate here that further than the actual collectives organized under this motivation, they are also able to find sympathizers in other organizations who support their endeavors. Furthermore, being a private club, we could also assume that not many of the Maison's members revolted against the provision of rooms to these networks,

which can be a sign of even further sympathy of the sous-gate district in Lausanne towards irregular migrants.

This also, however, brings about an important characteristic of the possibilities of contestation in Switzerland - The Maison, an institution that could afford to host services to informally assist migrants, was founded and led by Swiss nationals. The people I met in this first room, as well as all the members of the collectives I interacted with were also Swiss. This is one of the aspects of contestation in Switzerland that is most analyzed in literature - Switzerland's political system is characterized by direct democracy, which means that there is a possibility not only to be constantly called to vote on specific issues to be approved, or not, on national, cantonal and city level (around 50 issues a year), but also to propose popular votes by: (1) popular initiatives, suggesting an amendment to the constitution (requires 100.000 signatures of support gathered in 18 months to be implemented); or (2) optional referendums, when federal acts are demanded to be put to public vote (requires 50.000 signatures collected within 100 days of the publication). If a popular initiative or optional referendum is successful, that is, manages to gather enough signatures, then its claim is put to a national vote, and its implementation is determined by simple majority (Sem, 2021b). According to Bader (2018), the possibility and institutionalization of these movements means that public opinion is of high importance since it can have a direct impact on authorities

However, the openness to contestation provided by direct democracy is selective in its participants - Swiss citizens are allowed to participate in such public acts, but votes or signatures of non-nationals are not taken into account. In terms of social rules, the establishment of such precise and "accessible" ways to contest also means the delegitimization of more spontaneous or radical demonstrations (Balsiger, 2016). Hence, the existence of such tools to influence Swiss politics means legitimising their use to the detriment of others. Therefore, the possibility and public recognition of well-organized, balanced, rational social movements also limit what sort of public demonstration is deemed acceptable and who can effectively participate in them.

In fact, Hutter and Giugni (2009) state that while in the 1980s and 1990s, there were significant records of protest movements initiated by migrants reclaiming their rights in Switzerland, that number dropped in the 2000s, mainly because of the lack of legitimacy publicly granted to those mobilizations. Instead, it is now more common to see migrants mobilize in Switzerland to raise awareness to an issue present in their home country. However, in parallel, the authors also record a growing number of protest movements in solidarity to migrants in Switzerland ever since the 1980s. In this sense, their data tends to demonstrate

that in terms of public mobilization, and events of protest, in the sphere of migration, initiatives by migrants have been replaced by initiatives by Swiss citizens in solidarity with foreign nationals in contemporary times (Hunter and Giugni, 2009).

In any case, this configuration predicted by political rules was conferred in my experience, with actions against deportation being primarily led in "acceptable" forms of the contest (ie. duly planned and regular protests), and by Swiss nationals. In fact, back to the day I visited the house, also in the second room I was directed to, there were eight people apart from me. Two were white, a middle-aged man, and a woman who appeared to be in her late 70s, or 80s - later, through interviews, they were confirmed to be Swiss nationals. The other six were black, four were middle-aged men, and a woman with a toddler in her lap. The two men to my right were each sitting at a table alone with a lot of paperwork organized on each table. The one further ahead was talking to the white middle-aged men, and the other was waiting, as me. During the time I was waiting to be talked to, I could overhear the two men's conversation - the black man whose documents were on the table had had his asylum request denied, and the white man, the representative of the collective I had spoken to, was advising him on what he could do next.

This scene, additionally, reminded me of Navaro-Yashin's 2007 article on affect generated by documents in Cyprus, where it is argued that often enough documents are materials through which the state-individual relation happens. Rather than a sterile material, she continues, state documents "transmit specific kinds of energy amongst their users" (Navaro-Yashin, 2007, p. 95), they are then productive and represent emotions. In the episode I witnessed, I also felt this sentiment of the productive and representative power of the papers laid out on the two tables to my right - I noticed they were not only letters and forms produced by the Swiss state, but also migrant's documents. In this sense, they represented the legal battle for the recognition of a migration, both by what these individuals could "prove" to the State, by providing all sorts of documents in their power, and by the responses they would receive. It is then up to the migrant, in these situations, to arrange their documents in a way that makes sense and constructs a convincing enough case to sway the government into a favorable decision. The role of the representative of the collective, in this sense, was a support for these migrants in both deciphering State-issued communications to them, as well as suggesting ways to utilize their own documents to communicate back. My impression was thus that the collective's member would play an instrumental role in representing an intermediary between the State and migrants and trying to aid the latter on how to best communicate with the former.

Back in the room, to my left, while the mom and daughter waited on the table further ahead, the older woman was telling the two other men on the table closest to me about a protest the collective, was organizing for later that week. She calmly explained that there were going to be police there since they had to notify them every time they organized a public demonstration, so they should really consider if they wanted to join or not. Meanwhile, a younger white woman walked in apologizing for being late. She was another representative of the collective and joined the older woman with the two men. Picking up on the conversation, she explained where the protest was, and underscored the older woman's point, mentioning that, for her, it does not matter at all if the police of Switzerland are there and checks her ID, but that her two interlocutors should really think about that possibility and what it could mean for them before joining.

Here again, the role of these members as an intermediary between the State and migrants shined through to me - they were cautiously explaining what costumes are to be expected in these events, and providing information to assist migrants in interacting with the Swiss state. In this sense, what I found onsite were scenes much more practical and engaged than what I actually expected to find when I went to Lausanne. More than a public event to advocate against deportation, these "permanences" were set hours for the collective to effectively provide assistance to migrants in their correspondences and life in Lausanne.

After talking to the two men to my left, the young woman who had just arrived then started to look for somebody to talk to. After around a couple of minutes of waiting, then, I was attended to by the collective. She took me to a corner away from the others in the room and with attentive, caring, and wide-open eyes, asked what she could help me with. As the scene I had just witnessed also appeared like another attendance time, and so not the public event I was expecting, I repeated I had been mistaken, and did not need any migratory assistance, I was rather trying to get familiar with the collective's work. She was surprised, but very open, and told me I was not wrong at all, and this was also a time for people who wanted to become involved and contribute to the collective. She asked me to talk more about myself, at which point I identified myself as a Brazilian student doing a master's degree in Geneva.

Immediately, she said it would definitely imply way too much work, if I lived in Geneva, to become involved with Droit de Rester in Lausanne, if the involvement with the collective was already a lot, she mentioned, it could not be reconciled with the commute. This instantaneous reaction in alerting me that it was too much work for me to be involved with the group in Lausanne, living in Geneva (only a 40 min train ride away) was also a significant fact to imply

the frequency of the work these collectives put in and the amount of effort and personal time it might require.

She then opened her WhatsApp on her phone and started to look for a contact while explaining to me the nature of these networks in Switzerland, and how they mobilize individually in Cantons and prefer to communicate with the cantonal authorities. This is also something present in literature, which explains how there are legal provisions that make punctual shifts from the law a little easier to achieve at cantonal than at federal level. Cantons can grant residence permits as they wish, even if that means going against a federal decision if there is a case in which they determine the existence of serious personal hardship (Kaufman, 2020). This is a humanitarian clause that takes into consideration a migrant's financial and health situation, their compliance with the law and their previous efforts to integrate (Wetzstein, 2021). Under this clause, cantons like Geneva have granted 3001 hardship permits between 2001 and 2007 (Kaufman, 2020). However, how severe should personal hardship be for it to become a reason for a permit is a very arbitrary measure, and there are significant discrepancies between cantons (Zürich, in the same time span has granted only 2). Moreover, a collective member also told me that in cases where the federal level grants a visa, the canton receives money because of such decisions. However, there is no money received when the canton decides to grant hardship visas, which is also a limitation to their willingness to do so. Still, it is important to recognize that often enough hardship visas are granted at cantonal level following public petitions, organized by civil society that demand the revision of cases.

In this sense, she also informed me about a very similar collective, in Geneva, that is organized in the same way as them, Solidarité Tattes. Mobilizing her conversations on the app, it was clear that she not only knew of them but personally knew and talked to them. What struck me through this action, furthermore, was the networked nature of these movements in Switzerland. Combining the Vivre Ensemble information platform, the scribes on the top floor of the Maison, Droit de Rester and Solidarité Tattes, it appeared to me that they were all independent groups fighting for similar goals, and maintaining important networks amongst each other that furthers the impact of their work. Vivre ensemble helped collectives such as Droit de Rester and Solidarité Tattes, and others, to have their actions broadcasted, and assisted in the mobilization of participants to attend their protests. Furthermore, collectives such as the two I came in contact with, knew of each other and had established personal contact through its members.

Finally, the young collective member wrote down on a piece of paper Solidarité Tattes' Instagram handle, and their email, and strongly suggested I establish contact with them. Before

I left, I revealed myself as a researcher and asked if the collective would potentially be available for an interview. Again, she was surprised, but said she could investigate with the other members and was sure somebody could help, giving me her personal phone number and email address. As I got up, she invited me to come to the protest they were organizing that week and did not repeat the same cautions she had to the other migrants.

After leaving, I soon found out through Solidarité Tattes' social media profile, that they were organizing a protest themselves at the end of March. I attended that event as well and later established personal contact with the Geneva collective through the email I had been provided with. These points of contact and interactions were the means through which the specific field of this research was established. Hence, it focused primarily on Droit de Rester in Lausanne and Solidarité Tattes, organizations I came in contact with by personally engaging with relevant solidarity movements in Switzerland.

Through interviews I conducted later on with members of both collectives I found out more precise information about their configurations:

Droit de Rester was founded in 2003 as a very small informal group of friends came together to demonstrate against Swiss asylum laws. It was only in 2015 that it became popular, when demonstrating against the practice of placing migrants in Bunkers - around that time, Switzerland was receiving so many new asylum seekers, foyers (public buildings to accommodate asylum seekers) were all overpopulated. They then turned wartime underground bunkers into migrant placements, which were depicted as even more overpopulated, unsanitary and inhuman than the foyers. In this scenario, there was a big reaction from Swiss civil society against such practice which eventually led to an end to housing in bunkers. After that, Droit de Rester became more established as a collective, and currently, it has an iteration in Lausanne, as well as Neufchâtel and Fribourg.

Droit de Rester Lausanne is formed by a core group of around 5 people, who actively implement the activities the collective promotes, and a bigger group of people less engaged which is composed by dozens of people. In the core group, members are between 25 and 70 years old and only one is male. All members are Swiss. In terms of the activities they promote, the collective, as I witnessed, holds permanence hours to interact and help migrants, both in terms of bureaucracy and mental health, they also organize protests and work on contesting the political norms around migration, contacting local politicians, posting statements on social media, and interacting with the media to publish their points of view and the fight they promote.

On the other hand, Solidarité Tattes was formed in 2015, after a fire occurred in the Tattes Foyer, the biggest housing facility in Geneva for refugees and asylum seekers. Like many other similar establishments, the Foyer was administered by security guards who put in place numerous measures to keep its inhabitants from leaving the center. This included locking doors and windows at night. In this sense, when the fire started spontaneously in the Foyer, its 600 inhabitants had major difficulties when attempting to evacuate the building. Moreover, for unknown reasons, Swiss firefighters were notably late in arriving at the scene. The episode resulted in one death and the hospitalization of at least dozens of other migrants.

After the episode, Swiss authorities were quiet and non-apologetic - no investigation to discover the source of the fire ever happened, nor for the reason why the firefighters were late or why the security present failed to let migrants out when the fire started. At the time, a state counsellor even stated that migrants only jumped out of the windows to escape the fire because they came from countries where it wasn't a habit to wait to be rescued. Faced with what some genevans thought was an outrageous episode, Swiss nationals formed the Solidarité Tattes collective to help the people who had been in the fire to tell their stories, and publicly criticize authorities for their behaviour in the event. They then extended their operations beyond, broadening the scope of the group progressively. They also protested against the Bunkers, helping refugees to organize protests and occupy a public building in Geneva (the Grütli cultural center), until bunkers stopped being used to house migrants in the canton.

Nowadays, the collective's purpose is much broader - to help migrants in Geneva to have a life with dignity. One of the biggest actions advocated against in that regard is the practice of deportations, which the member I spoke to related being a theme that was present since the start, always a tool members found to be very violent and unacceptable. One example of an action they perform against that regard that they specifically spoke of, was the clause in the Swiss regulations which determines that a Dublin return can only be performed if the individual in question has not stayed in Switzerland for over 6 months. If they have, then authorities are required to open a due process of an asylum request, in which case their claim to stay will be considered. Because of this, the collective attempts to delay deportations for over 6 months, usually by claiming health issues that impede Swiss authorities from performing the return. Other activities they outlined included: the organization of public protests and demonstrations; accompanying migrants to conversate with the migratory authorities, collecting testimonies from migrants about their experience and publicizing their realities, maintaining the network between migrants in Geneva and social workers, keeping data on the

number and demographics of refugees in Geneva, and providing limited financial help for migrants whose deportation they could not impede. They also promote political work, having regular meetings with the federal administration twice a year.

Much like Droit de rester, Solidarité Tattes has a core group of around 10 members and a bigger group of around 200 people. The ages range from 30 to 75 years, and a great majority of the core group are women. Unlike Droit de rester, moreover, 2 people from the core group are migrants, who joined the collective after being helped by them to be able to stay. Successful cases, then, of people who are now allowed to legally stay in Switzerland and continue helping the group. Most other successful cases, though, I was told, choose not to engage because of the trauma of their migratory journey and the mental impact it would cause them to become involved in a frustrating struggle against deportation.

In any case, the number of activities performed by both collectives is wide, and their actions are comprehensive. However, it is important to state that people I talked to in both collectives made it clear that none of the people involved worked with the collective for a living - there are no monetary benefits for members - rather, it is something all people involved do in their spare time and on top of their regular jobs. To me, this declaration especially demonstrates deep personal engagement and might from these individuals to demonstrate their solidarity and advocate for their political ideals. This is moreover exemplified by an explanation from one of the interviewed members who explained to me that the government does not give them money because the collective is not seen as a public utility organization (as is, for example, Caritas, who helps in providing legal services to asylum seekers), but that this is a positive point for them because it also means that they do not depend on the State for anything and are therefore freer than public utility organizations not to be neutral but to confront authorities and express their opinion as they wish.

Apart from the voluntary and heavily political involvement of members, my first impressions of this field were also highlighted above but included the significant network of actors which united multiple solidarity movements against deportation in Switzerland, and that other groups, like the Maison club, also became involved and aided their actions. Furthermore, the practical and active engagement of the collective's members and migrants was also striking, as I encountered, more than the advocacy event I was waiting for, attendance hours where members were providing services for people concerned and acting as intermediaries between them and the State. In this sense, furthermore, the racial configurations and demographics of these scenes were also striking - most often than not, members of the collective were white, older and Swiss, at least the ones present during the attendance hours.

Meanwhile, as highlighted by literature, the migrant population suffering from the pressure of deportation were mostly black, male and adults. In this sense, there was also significant overlap with some actions predicted in literature - as scholars have discussed, a racial deportation regime in Switzerland has been established.

All of these conclusions help situate the phenomenon of deportation in Switzerland, its usualness and how it precisely occurs. They also help establish the framings of the boundaries in which social movements can take place in Switzerland, and indicate how that structure molds who and how this resistance is performed. All these factors further encapsulate the specific collectives I interacted with, and their configurations within this systemic mold. Having set up my own field of study that this thesis was concerned with and the broader theoretical and contextual framework this research is concerned with, the next two chapters concern the development of more analytical arguments based on my observations and data collected and the understanding gained through the previous chapters.

6. PURPOSES OF SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PUBLIC APPEARANCE AND DIRECT OBSERVATION

A major conclusion of literature concentrated on studying solidarity protests against deportation has been that they tend not to seek out very transformative goals - they focus on single deportation cases and do not question the practice of deportation in principle. In this sense, they do not indicate any challenge to the system that legitimizes that certain foreigners should be expelled from a national territory. Often seen as failing, small-scale, and not challenging the logic of deportation as protracted by the State then, authors such as the ones detailed above, conclude that solidarity movements against deportation often conform to, rather than seek to transform the normative understanding of deportation.

Based on my interactions and participation in events organized by such solidarity movements in Switzerland, the conceptual goal of this chapter is to argue that while an investigation of these events based on their advertisement online might lead to the same conclusion, in fact, a deeper and more personal interaction can lead to a different empirical example. The argument at work here, then, concentrates around observations of the ways in which protests and claims were articulated onsite (through how people in the protests acted, what they said to me in interviews, the kind of material they distributed and posted online, and chants they sang), and how they relate to a different overarching purpose of the collective's movement, than the kind of purpose that could be gauged at a distance.

These forms of acting and protesting - behavior, chants, documents and posts - will be explored further below in an analysis that will attempt to demonstrate the extensiveness of Droit de Rester and Solidarité Tattes' purpose as solidarity movements. Using Abdou and Rosenberger's typology, these forms of protesting will be compared and contrasted to the authors' definitions of conformist, reformist and radical protests in an attempt to place the movements observed within the typology, and thus categorize their purposes. Again, the argument laid out will explain that while at a distance the protests' aims do seem to be conformist, upon more personal and engaged interaction with the collectives, deeper reformist and radical purposes could be observed.

In this sense, it is necessary to note that I have personally attended three protests organized in this scenario. The first one was organized by Droit de Rester, in Lausanne on the 23rd of March 2023, the second was organized by Solidarité Tattes in Geneva on the 29th of March, and the third was organized by both collectives, as well as another 10, for a "manifestation romande" in Lausanne on the 1st of April 2023.

All three were advertised under similar prompts on social media. The first protest's original motif was gathering to stop the deportation of "Charles", a fake name given to a migrant in Switzerland, whose story was published on their Instagram page around 10 days before the event, on March 14th (Droit de Rester, 2023a). There, they publicized the case of a migrant who was detained in a deportation center in Geneva and had been given the news that he was going to be deported back to Zagreb under the Dublin convention. The post further informed that Charles had been a victim of police brutality in Croatia, being beaten on three occasions. They state he was severely kicked and as a result, had difficulty moving for some minutes. After, he was hit in the ears resulting in maintained ringing. He was further beaten in the police station, where he was forced to give his fingerprints, was deprived of food and beverages for hours, had been a target of racist injuries and had his phone confiscated, being unable to alert anybody of his whereabouts. The post concluded that Charles had long-term physical and mental effects from this experience, was under medication, had suicidal thoughts and constant nightmares about returning to Croatia. The post ended by urging readers to flood the mailboxes of the federal counsellor responsible for migration Elizabeth Baume-Schneider, SEM, and the Canton Vaud, for they were the authorities that still had maneuvering powers (Droit de Rester, 2023a).

Two days later, a second post informed that Charles had been sent back to Croatia on a special flight. Two more posts condemning the cantonal authorities of Vaud and repeating Charles' story ensue (Droit de Rester, 2023c; Droit de Rester, 2023d), until the announcement of the protest (Droit de Rester, 2023e). Interestingly, on the day of the protest, an urgent news is posted on their feed about another case in which the Vaud police had arrived at 5 am at the house of a migrant, identified as Y, notifying him that he would also be sent back to Croatia under the Dublin convention, even though he had been the subject of police violence there, much like Charles. While the police was trying to detain him, somebody had notified the collective of what happened, and that Y was threatening to commit suicide. The collective claims that after they arrived at the site to protest, the police affirmed they had made a mistake, and that in fact Y was not being deported nor detained. It was the second mistake they had made against Y since December. The collective then demanded that the police responsible for the intervention be reprimanded, that a permit be given to Y, and that his case was one protested against later that day (Droit de Rester, 2023f).

The second protest, on the other hand, was announced as the last (third) protest series the collective organized in solidarity with Alireza, an 18 year old man who committed suicide in December 2022 when he was told he would be deported to Greece (Solidarité Tattes,

2023a). This case, then, had been brought up regularly in the collective's social media since the 9th of December 2022 (Solidarité Tattes, 2022), when they exposed what had happened, while also raising money for Alireza's family in Afghanistan (Solidarité Tattes, 2022a), and organized the two preceding protests to the one I attended.

Finally, the third protest was organized under a broader goal of fighting against the deportation to Croatia under the Dublin Convention. The common post shared for this movement related a narrative that stated that the practice went against the principles of the convention's clause of a safe return, and mentioned the cases of Charles and Y, and two other unnamed families. Finally, the exigences put forth were that: the Sem suspended deportations to Croatia and that cantonal authorities refused to execute them (Solidarité Tattes, 2023b).

In this sense, the main purposes advertised for all three events follow the arguments put forth in previous literature - mainly concentrating on individual cases of Y, Charles and Alireza, they would fall under the classification of conformist protests, that lack the substantive, or radical motivation to promote systematic change, and a challenge to the principle of deportation (Abdou and Rosenberger, 2018). In this sense, even the third protest, which was more expansive, including multiple collectives and therefore not only one case, argued against a very specific clause of Dublin-motivated returns to Croatia. Here too, the advertised goal of the movement was not very radical, insofar as it actually advocated for upholding existing clauses in the Dublin Convention to prevent deportations to countries deemed unsafe. In this sense, it seemed actually conforming to existing legislation, and attempting to uphold legal provisions. Therefore, there doesn't seem to be very tangible evidence upfront of a protest movement that aims at challenging the practice of deportation per se. Consequently, the continuum that Kalir and Wissink (2016) talk of, could also be noticed here a priori, even though the reinforcement of State biases and discourses that the authors see in their case study can not be glimpsed at here, still, these advertisements and spelt out purposes of the protests I visited did not necessarily promote a logic that contradicted the practice of deportation as a whole.

Still, what I experienced in the movements through participant observation, gave me different insights. My personal involvement with how these activists acted during the protests, especially through how they behaved, what they chanted, and the material they handed out, all observations which were substantiated by interviews with members, I could see other aspects of what they advocated for. Moreover, following their activities on social media, and how their fight was articulated there also allowed me to notice further normative expansions of their statements, especially by linking the migration clause to other social fights. All four

aspects are delineated below, followed by a conclusion that will formulate the argument put forth in the present chapter that ethnographic, personal, involvement with these solidarity movements allowed me to notice their radical purpose, an empirical challenge to other literature.

6.1. On-the-street behavior

Having attended three protests in person, I could notice some differences in how people behaved during the events, which allowed me to delineate the impactfulness of certain on-the-street behaviors and the extent to which they manage to effectively make an impression. In this sense, it is worth noting that while the first protest in Lausanne took place in a square where members of the collective read out certain statements, the second and third protests were rather composed of a first gathering where members of the collective made statements, and then we proceeded to march around town, which was interposed with moments of stopping and listening further to claims made by collective members. In this scenario, the difference in the impact that the configuration of the second and third protests had when compared to the first was significant.

In the first protest, I must confess, my main impression was how quiet it felt. When I arrived at the location, it was at a square in front of a church. People were gathered around a big round staircase that led to the church, and members of the collective were positioned on the stairs. They had one megaphone for communication that they shared amongst themselves. I would say that around 100 people were gathered around the stairs, paying attention to what was being said. Common life, however, went on normally all around us. In a central location in Lausanne, there was a McDonald's and other very popular commerce around the protest. It did not seem like their businesses were affected in any way by the protest, nor were people's normal life whose route included passage through where we were. Even sonically, the protest was not very loud and I often had difficulty hearing what members were saying. The protest lasted around 40 minutes, after which everybody that was there very quickly went their own way.

My impression, in this sense, was that that event had not really made a lasting impact on people around it or behaved in an overtly contesting way. Of course, for the ones who were part of the protest, and listened to what was being said, it was impactful and something could be taken out of the organization. However, I could notice that for people around, after a glance at the scene, they continued their path. The configuration I refer to can be noticed in the picture posted by Doit de Rester shortly after the protest had ended, in the picture below.

However, this impression of quietness and non-disturbance of the first protest was not the same as I had when I attended the other two events. In both of them, I felt like not only people participating but people around the scene noticed and were impacted by what was happening. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the second protest had around 300 participants (Solidarité Tattes, 2023c) and lasted around an hour and a half, while the third had 1000 participants and lasted more than 3 hours (Droit de Rester, 2023h). In effect, only in scale, these two other protests were much more significant than the first. Additionally, the fact that they chose to march also

Figure 3. *Droit de Rester's post after protest 1* Photograph from Droit de Rester, 2023g.

implied closing down streets and making a change in the usual circulation around the city. In fact, upon conversation with one of the collective's members, they related feeling frustrated about how they always had to notify authorities of protests according to Swiss law, and how the State would not let them protest on bigger, busier streets to make more of an appearance. When I responded that they still caused some disturbance to the flow of the city, they smiled and replied that that was their purpose to raise awareness and bring attention to themselves. By these factors alone, then, these protests had a physical impact on the people around them when they took place - gathering a significant crowd to parade on central streets in Geneva and Lausanne, they made an impact on commerce and inhabitants around the location.

Sonically as well, there was a big difference to the first protest - megaphones were much louder, and the two later events had a group of around a dozen people with percussion instruments like tambourines and small drums which were constantly played as people marched. Additionally, in the third protest, given the physical length it had, apart from the drums at the back end of the protesters, in the front a shopping cart was being pushed carrying speakers which loudly played rock music. In this aspect as well, these protests were noticeable to people around.

The two later protests, therefore, were much more impactful than the first and effectively made themselves be seen and heard. Particularly on the third event, I remember we stopped marching in front of a Burger King diner, which was very full, and all customers inside stopped eating and paid attention to the scene instead, with some stepping outside the restaurant to hear what was being said. In Geneva, when the protest was going through the most commercial part of town, multiple people also stepped out of the shops to see what was happening. Later,

Figure 4. *Solidarité Tattes' post after protest 2.* Photograph from Solidarit´Tattes, 2023c.

when the Geneva protest was going through the old town district, residents also opened their windows to follow the protest. One resident, in particular, leaned against their balcony and started to wave an LGBTQI+ flag on top of people passing, receiving very loud positive feedback from protesters. In this sense, these two protests made themselves noticed when they were happening, disturbing the usual rhythm of the cities, unlike the first one.

Another major difference I perceived was the registration of the protests - in the second and third, I felt much more exposed noticing multiple people participating in the events with big, professional, cameras, as well as passersby who took out their phones to register the event. In this sense, these two protests had mediated, visual repercussions beyond the event itself. In fact, after the second protest, a friend whom I had not informed I had gone to the protest, asked me if I was there because she had seen a picture of me on a social media account reporting the occurrence. Therefore, these two protests were also publicized and reached people beyond the ones in attendance.

However, in this sense, it is interesting to relate what collective members later told me of their relationship with the media - although they could see the benefits of being publicized in traditional media outlets, they described an ambiguous relationship with reporters. Collectives told me that often enough when they went through the effort of establishing contact,

only small news segments would be produced which they attributed very little impact to. Moreover, they also related being very careful which newspaper to contact, since they had to ensure that the framing of their acts would be representative of what they really advertised for. In this sense, collectives were not always trusting that traditional outlets would actually portray their actions in a good light. Therefore, only one traditional outlet, Le Courier, was pointed out as trustworthy to collaborate with, and later on, members explained to me that the cameras on the protests belonged to local militant social media accounts whose administrators the collectives knew and trusted. This is further evidence of the network between Swiss civil movements, and a wish to be associated only with specific other actors whom they were sure were likeminded.

What I mean to say with this exposition is that the way people behaved, particularly in the second and third protests, was disruptive and loud, in the sense that they represented, merely based on how they acted, a non-conformist behavior. In this sense, unlike the seemingly poised way in which the first demonstration played out, the other two made an adverse impact on people's daily lives and represented actions which, at the very least, were confronting enough to derange the normal functioning of Geneva and Lausanne, which is a glimpse into their purpose - it is a first indication that they were not covert/conforming.

Symbolically, moreover, the two later protests all followed a route that ended in front of the Hotel de Ville in Lausanne and Geneva. Therefore, they also directly made themselves noticed by political authorities and challenged them. In interviews, when I wondered why that had been the route, collective members answered me that the intention behind ending the protest there was to incite authorities, make the government feel called upon, and feel the responsibility to acknowledge them and reply. Therefore, this choice was a way protesters demonstrated their criticism to authorities - by directly making them interlocutors, calling upon their reaction through their physical presence in the Hotel de Ville.

In Geneva, moreover, protesters ripped apart copies of a visa F and a rejected asylum application they had handed out before. Visas type F, it is worth mentioning, are granted when an asylum request is denied, but a deportation is considered impossible because of the security situation in the home country. In these cases, migrants are given a permit F on a provisory basis (SEM, 2022). However, in reality, people with F visas tend to stay in Switzerland for extended periods of time, but often cannot find employers willing to employ them, or secure an apartment rental, and access other basic services with the document.

In this sense, in two protests attended, people's behavior on the streets was disruptive and symbolic - being loud, physically blocking important pathways in Geneva and Lausanne, ending the march at the Hotel de Ville, ripping apart F visas, were all ways in which protesters acted to make themselves noticeable to the general public, and get their message across. Therefore, in practice, these actions come across as more significant than the impression literature gives. If in fact there was a continuum between NGOs and the State in relation to deportation
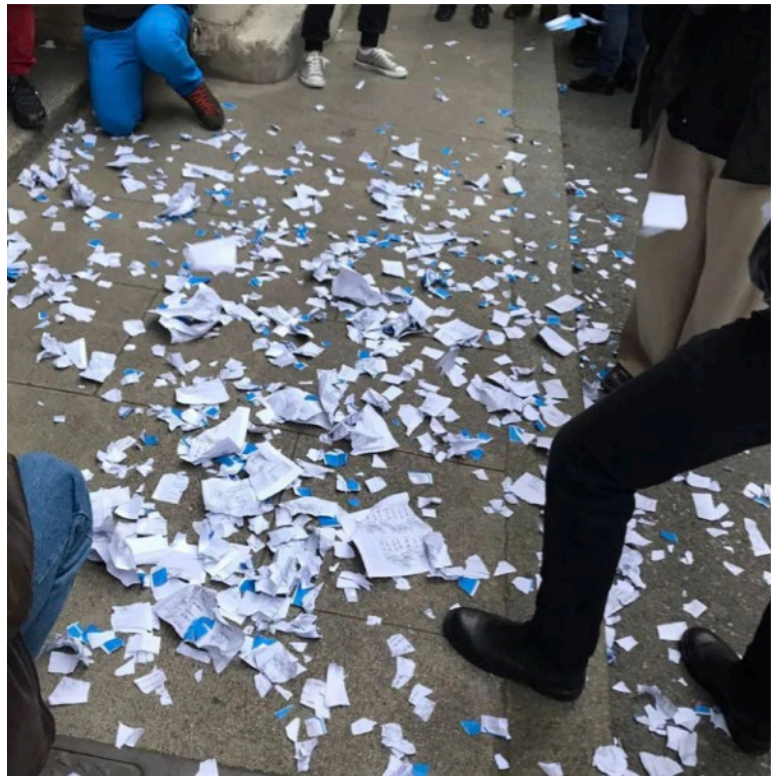

Figure 5. *Solidarité Tattes' post after protest 2.* Photograph from Solidarité Tattes, 2023c.

Figure 6. *Flyer Protest 2.* Scan of the flyer given to me by members of Solidarité Tattes
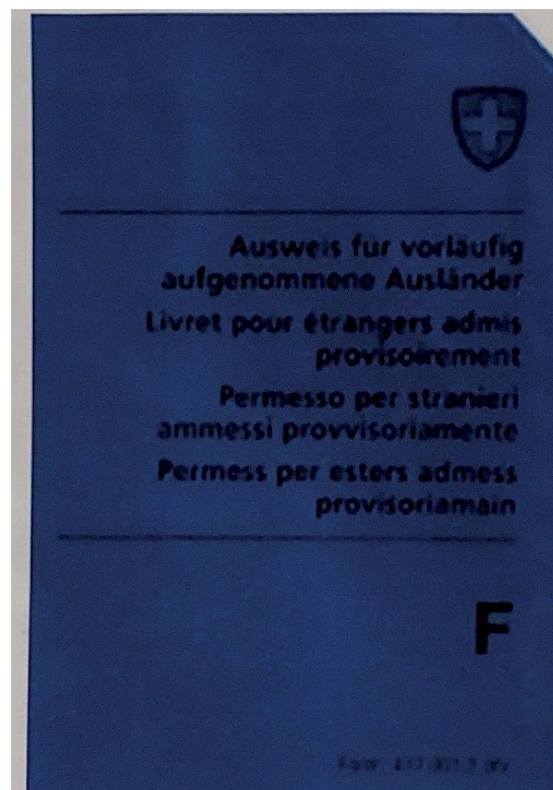

Figure 6. *Flyer Protest 2.* Scan of the flyer given to me by members of Solidarité Tattes

in Switzerland, perhaps protests would be more subsumed like in the first event I attended. However, the two others made a disruptive impact in the cities, disturbed passersby, and physically, directly challenged the national authorities, standing in front of the Hotel de Ville. In Geneva, furthermore, we can see an initial indication of the normative breath of the claims being put forth in practice as well. Even though the event was organized for Alireza, technically, protesters made a much more all-encompassing statement by ripping apart F visas - not only does this bring into account a different aspect of their contestation, other than Dublin-based returns to Croatia, but it is also a stance against a Swiss policy. In this sense, if we use Abdou and Rosenberger's (2018) framework, while at first, the event seemed to be conformist, focusing on one specific, personal, case, this act frames it more towards the reformist category, by contesting a national legislation. Therefore, people's behavior on the street was a first indication for me that the events I was following seemed a little more encompassing than what the literature predicted.

6.2.   Chants

Another aspect of the experience of participating in protests that gave me different insights than what I had read was the chants sung by participants whenever we were marching. In my experience, then, when there was a march, there was also a continuous expression of chants, repeated over and over. In the second protest, for Alireza in Geneva organized by Solidarité Tattes, I was given a pamphlet with the complete chant everybody repeated (below). The original chant in French translates to the following in English:

"Alireza, we will not forget you

Yemane, we will not forget you

Tony, we will not forget you

Mike, we will not forget you

SLOGANS

Alireza on t'oublie pas
Yemane on t'oublie pas
Tony on t'oublie pas
Mike on t'oublie pas
Nzoy on t'oublie pas

Pas de 3ème Alireza

SEM assassin / Conseil d'état complice

Hospice: injustice

Stop permis F
Stop papier blanc

Permis B pour toutes et tous

Une vie normale pour tout le monde

Etoile: fermeture

Stop Renvois / Stop Dublin

Nos vies valent plus que vos permis

So-So-So-Solidarité avec les réfugiés du monde entier

Hospice t'es foutu, les RMNA sont dans la rue

Fièr.e.x.s, vénère.x.s, et pas prêt.e.x.s de nous taire!

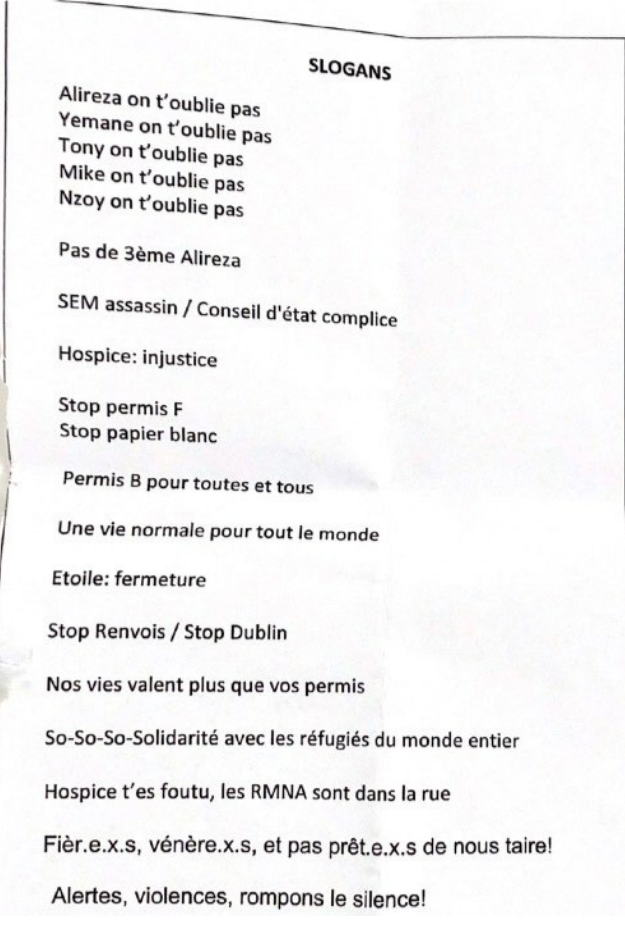Alertes, violences, rompons le silence!

Figure 7. *Flyer Protest 2.* Scan of the flyer given to me by members of Solidarité Tattes

Nzoy, we will not forget you

No third Alireza

Sem is an assassin, the State Council is an accomplice

Hospice: injustice

Stop visa F

Stop white papers

Visa B for all

A normal life for all

Etoile: closure

Stop returns / Stop Dublin

Our lives are worth more than your visas

Solidarity with refugees from all over the world

Hospice, you are evil, the RMNA are on the streets

Proud, revered and not ready to shut up (gender-inclusive terminology in French)

Alerts, violences, let's break the silence."

My first impression gathered from this was the extent to which it extensively surpassed the original publicized purpose of gathering because of Alireza's case. Even though he takes center stage in the chant, opening the song, a first point to notice is that other names are mentioned. None of the other names are mentioned in any post on their social media. However, onsite, people were carrying banners with their names and date of death. Presumably, then, these are individuals whose stories are similar to Alireza's. Two of the posters also referred to an Ali Reza H, and to a Alireza, one who passed away in 2019, and the other in 2022, which explains the following line, urging for the same fate not to happen to a third Alireza. Still, these first lines of the song make mention of individuals who passed away while in detention, or

because of the prospects of a deportation order, and thus do not challenge the original purpose of the protest - they are drawing attention, still, to particular cases of deportation in which treatment was deemed unfair to the extent that it led to death.

The rest of the lines, however, rapidly expand their claims. Still concerning Alireza and other similar cases, the lines "Hospice: injustice"; "Etoile: closure"; and "Hospice, you are evil, the RMNA are on the streets" all refer to the treatment seen being dispensed towards minor migrants who receive a deportation order. In this sense, it is worth explaining that RMNA translates to requérants d'asile mineurs, or minor

Figure 8. *Picture published of protest 2.* Photograph from Solidarité Tattes,

asylum seekers. Etoile is an establishment, run by the social services organization L'Hospice Général, used as a foyer to house young (until 25 years) unaccompanied asylum seekers. It has been under intense criticism since its opening in 2016 - occupied by more than its capacity, Etoile's inhabitants have spoken out about feeling abused and overly controlled by the center's staff, not being effectively accompanied by an educator, as was the purpose of the center, and not receiving helpful information from the Hospice's social workers. It has also been the setting of multiple suicides by young migrants (Revello, 2022). Solidarité Tattes, in fact, has organized other protests before demanding that the center be closed, as well as demonstrated in front of the Hospice Général's headquarters (Solidarité Tattes, 2022b; 2022c).

Therefore these parts of the chant expand upon the significance and calls made by the protest - that is, they extrapolate beyond individual cases, and accuse the institutions responsible for minor and young asylum seekers in Switzerland of being inefficient and neglecting the individuals they are supposed to care for. In this sense, this is already a further indication of a reformist protest, since it connects the individual cases they draw attention to, to the broader organizations associated with them. In this sense, it transcends the criticism towards the merit/conditions of Alireza's, Ali Reza's, Yemane's, Tony's, Mike's, Nzoy's specific personal cases, but rather expresses a criticism about the institution in charge of caring for all other young asylum seekers like them. There is, then, a further claim being put forth. One that

asks for an institutional reform. This pushes the protest away from a conformist event, but towards a reformist event.

Other lines in the chant also follow this direction. Especially the following: "Sem is an assassin, the State Council is an accomplice"; "Stop visa F"; "Stop returns / Stop Dublin". Here, they refer more specifically to further policies and organs responsible for the governance of migration in Switzerland in general. In this sense, they are broader than the reformist claims about cases of young asylum seekers whose request was denied, but attack the policies around deportation from more angles. More specifically, on one hand, they refer to other types of visas and reasons for deportation, such as the Visa F and the Dublin Convention. Here, like in the act of ripping apart copies of visa F, protesters stand against the policy in principle, and ask for it to be abandoned, which makes the protest take a reformist shape. Similarly, protesters ask for the Dublin convention writ large to stop. This claim is very different from the references made to Dublin before - more than denouncing specific cases of returns to Croatia because it is a country deemed unsafe, a claim that aims to uphold a provision in the convention prohibiting returns to unsafe countries, the line "Stop returns, Stop Dublin" is a stance against the whole principle of Dublin and all deportations based on the convention. In this sense, it also becomes a substantive, reformist argument that denounces the legal convention of Dublin returns. Therefore, these two lines highlight a reformist stance not only on bad conditions of treatment placed upon deportees but more than that, they criticize principles of deportation per se. They are reformist in a deeper sense in that they are not only a criticism against the physical and psychological maltreatment of young deportees, but rather the principle of legislation that determines Dublin returns, or that grants F visas.

On the other hand, the line "Sem is an assassin, the State Council is an accomplice", refers to even broader migration governance actors, and therefore put forth a criticism that is even more structural than the former. Referring to Sem, protesters mean the Secrétariat d'État aux migrations, the State secretariat for migration. This is the federal organ, run by federal counsellor Elizabeth Baume- Schneider, that enforces Swiss migration laws and therefore decides the resolution of personal cases, and orders deportations (Sem, 2023). The State Council, on the other hand, is the highest decision-making organ of the canton, a parallel structure to the federal council at a state level. In this position, they would be the organ able to refuse a deportation decision made by Sem, and reverse an order, granting canton- specific visas themselves. They are the organ Bader and Probst (2018), then, refer to when identifying whom protesters target for specific cases. They are, theoretically, the people easier to access and more readily able to stop a deportation.

Therefore, in calling these two organs, who have very substantive power in Switzerland to decide on migration statuses, assassin and accomplice, the protesters are, again, putting forth more than a conformist claim, one that targets the whole Swiss migratory system. It is, then, a "deeper" claim than the lines criticizing visas F or Dublin returns, but one that accuses the whole system of being unfair, and inhuman. Here, however, a claim for the need for change and reform so that the system becomes better somehow is not present - a stark criticism against the whole system, then, is not completed by an ask, either that the system must then be reformed or abandoned. In this sense, this specific line stands somehow in between either a reformist ask to promote a structural change to a policy and decision- making process, or a radical claim, that argues for a substantive change to a broader social/political order (Rosenberder and Abdou, 2018). In any case, however, it represents more than a conformist or personal claim, in attacking the structural, powerful actors in the Swiss system as a whole.

Moreover, the other lines in the chant go beyond the reformist nature delineated above and definitely move to a radical protest. Specifically, the lines "Stop white papers", "Visa B for all", "A normal life for all", "Our lives are worth more than your visas", "Solidarity with refugees of all over the world", "Proud, revered and not ready to shut up", "Alerts, violences, let's break the silence", all share a transformative vein in that they target the normative character of deportation, proposing a change to the social and political order of migration. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that white paper is the colloquial name for an attestation de délai de départ, a declaration of deportation that informs people they must leave and by what date (Asile, 2023). Visa B, on the other hand, is the Swiss visa granted to legalize migrants in Switzerland, giving them the right to stay, to access services, work, etc.

In this sense, the line "Stop white papers" is a claim against any and all orders of deportation - not to have a white paper is, then, not to apply deportation at all. "Visa B for all", "a normal life for all", and "our lives are worth more than your visas", are claims for the regularization of all migrants in Switzerland, a wish that all in the country live with the dignity of having a legal status and surpassing the boundaries that being granted a visa that has more restrictions places in the lives of foreign nationals. Or rather, a revolt that some lives are more legally restricted than others. In this sense, these four exclamations are substantive claims for migration in Switzerland, they ask for radical change to an order that starts to no longer deport, but rather give all "a normal life"

"Proud, revered and not ready to shut up" and "Alerts, violences, let break the silence", then, are lines which underscore the character with which protesters act and are willing to act. This also highlights the non-conformist stance present in their activity and behavior on the

street, as underscored in the previous section. It demonstrates the behavior these protesters are willing to adopt to pursue the reformist and radical wishes they also present. Furthermore, the radical claim surpasses the Swiss context with the line "Solidarity with refugees of all over the world", in which a wish that the claim for dignity for all and a halt to all deportation orders also be followed elsewhere.

Moreover, in the third protest I attended, there was no formal chant, and I wasn't handed a leaflet. However, one overarching chant was more spontaneously repeated along the protest: "No border, no nation, no deportation", the same slogan Alldred (2003) mentioned in her article as an example of an effective and strong European fight to change border governance. The message spoken lends itself towards a radical, transformative agenda, criticizing the basic concepts of borders, nations and deportations, and therefore moves towards a reform of a whole system and ideological order that gives border, nations and deportations its meaning. Upon conversation with collectives' members, as well, this chant in particular was identified as a spontaneous sentiment that attacked the paradox of the selective border mechanisms employed in Europe, which allowed some to stay and others not, mostly based on their country of origin and race. Therefore, collectives identified this line as a representation of the general motivation behind protesting, and the grievance protesters shared towards migratory governance which they deemed unfair.

In this sense, the chant sang in the protest, in the majority of its passages, referred to reformist and radical ideals, making claims to change policies and institutions, or even promote a broader ideological reform against the idea of deportation. This finding then, contrasts also with the notion of a conformist movement that does not aim for significant normative change.

6.3. Pamphlets and banners

A further aspect observed in the protests that arose curiosity was the content of the flyers handed out and the banners carried by participants in the crowd. All in all, they also expanded the announced scope of the protest and announced more transformative claims than expected. In terms of the flyers, all I received are attached to this thesis, in the annex, but I will focus on analyzing one in particular (below), received in the second protest, organized by Droit de Rester, in Geneva. Focus on this one is given because it presents a more fruitful opportunity for analysis in the present section, differing a little from the flyers I was handed in the other protests, which mostly concentrated on quoting migrants who had been deported, which will be better analyzed in the following chapter.

In any case, it is worth mentioning that in general, the flyers were not the most fruitful source where the expansion of the cause of the protests could be observed. Mostly, they repeated the claim that Dublin deportations to Croatia should be stopped because of human rights abuses, just as advertised. The one from Geneva, however, was different.

In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the document beside raises 3 different issues relating to deportation and demands 5 asks. Firstly, it raises the theme of Dublin returns to Greece. This is a very similar claim to the criticism towards Dublin returns to Croatia because of human rights violations, and while broadening the scope of this specific claim, it still is an ask that conforms to the Dublin convention, and in some way only asks for it to be upheld. However, it also articulates criticism towards the F visa and the white paper, similar to the claims being put forth by the chant above. In any case, they raise reformist and radical claims, as analyzed. Here again, then, they expand upon the advertised purpose of the protest.

In terms of asks, furthermore, they also reinforce here some of the points raised on the chant: stable visas for all, a respectable housing for all, and the right to study and work for all. Here again,

POUR EN FINIR AVEC LES STATUTS PRÉCAIRES DE L'ASILE

Fin novembre 2022, un jeune demandeur d'asile afghan de 18 ans s'est suicidé après avoir appris qu'il allait être renvoyé en Grèce par les autorités suisses. Ses amis et soutiens se sont déjà réunis à plusieurs reprises pour manifester leur tristesse et leur révolte contre les renvois inhumains et l'hébergement indigne des personnes qui demandent une protection à la Suisse.

Cette fois, ce sont les conditions de vie des personnes en exil que nous dénonçons !

Le « papier blanc » ou le permis F, vous connaissez ? Ces statuts administratifs sont des spécialités suisses qui détruisent les vies des personnes venues demander l'asile.

Vous recevez une réponse négative à votre demande ?

C'est la survie, quel que soit votre âge : un « papier blanc » à faire tamponner régulièrement et la peur du renvoi, constante. Travailler ou faire un apprentissage ? Interdit. Ce qui vous reste, c'est un logement précaire et une aide inframinimale de 10 CHF par jour pour manger et couvrir vos besoins de base.

Vous recevez un permis F ?

L'asile vous a été refusé mais votre renvoi est jugé inexigible parce qu'il y a la guerre dans votre pays, ou parce que vous souffrez d'un grave problème de santé. Vous pouvez rester en Suisse, mais avec une admission dite « provisoire ». Pour combien de temps ? Sûrement pour toujours – comme 90% des 45'000 personnes avec un permis F. mais vous ne pourrez jamais vous reposer sur cette certitude.
Vous voulez travailler ? Vous former ? Trouver un appartement ? Vous construire un avenir ? Courage avec ce statut labelisé « provisoire ».
En attendant, vous recevrez 451 CHF par mois pour vos besoins de base, soit moins de la moitié de l'aide sociale ordinaire. Vous ne pouvez pas voyager à l'étranger, pas même en France voisine pour faire vos courses ni en Allemagne pour voir un cousin. Vous n'avez pas non plus le droit de faire venir votre conjoint·e ni vos enfants. Avec un peu de chance, vous pourrez demander un permis B dans 5 ans, mais à condition de remplir toute une série de critères stricts.

Pour mettre fin aux injustices, à l'incertitude insoutenable et aux impasses existentielles engendrées par ces statuts, nous exigeons

- **Des permis stables pour toutes et tous !**
- **Une aide sociale pleine et entière, quel que soit le statut !**
- **La fin du régime de l'aide d'urgence !**
- **Le droit à un logement digne pour toutes et toutes, mineur·es et majeur·es !**
- **Le droit de se former et de travailler, quel que soit le statut !**

Figure 8. *Flyer of protest 2.* Scan of the flyer given to me by members of Solidarité Tattes.

while the ask for respectable housing is already a right that should be granted to migrants, radical claims are put forth by the asks of the granting of stable and all-encompassing visas and rights for all. These, furthermore, are substantiated by a new point: the right to access full social aid for all, which further reinforces the radical character of the collective's positioning, advocating for a more holistic inclusion of migrants to the public Swiss system. In this sense, it advocates for an ideological transformation of the social and political notion around migration in deportation to the extent that it pushes for a more inclusive policy towards any migrants, rather than their securitization and profiling as potential threats.

Furthermore, other written content present on the protests that also helps us think of the expansion of these collective's purposes were the banners, carried by participants and collective members in the events. Some of them are captured in the pictures below, some taken by me, and some posted on their social media profile:

Figure 9. *Picture published of protest 3.* Photograph from Droit de Rester, 2023h

Figure 10. *Picture published of protest 3.* Photograph from Droit de Rester, 2023h.

Figure 11. *Picture published of protest 3.* Photograph from Droit de Rester, 2023h.

Figure 12. *Picture of protest 2.* Photograph taken by me, onsite.

Here too, texts read: "Switzerland pushes back, refugees welcome!", "No Frontex", "Lausanne, refuge town", "Refugees are welcome here", "Right to study", "Right to work". All, then, argue for radical changes to the migration and deportation order as it stands. To articulate claims as all- encompassing as they do above, collectives are in fact either asking for a substantive ideological change to the policies regulating migration in Europe at the moment (against Fontex, more rights to migrants), or positioning themselves in opposition to the social and political order that restricts refugee movement, rather stating all refugees are welcome.

6.4. Normative claim delineation

Through following the collectives on social media, furthermore, a fourth aspect of these movements became interesting to me. I found that often enough, in their Instagram stories, Droit de Rester and Solidarite Tattes would share posts made by other movements, outside the deportation fight. That is, they would advertise in their account other movements focused on human rights, or the anti- racist fights in Switzerland, or against homelessness for example, such as the screenshots below evidence. In this example, specifically, they mention a Collectif du Sud Global, that presents itself as a group against racism, imperialism and colonisation (Collectif du Sud Global, 2023), simply sharing an event about a discussion on a book about racism. In the other story, they share the content of collective la rue, which fights against homelessness.
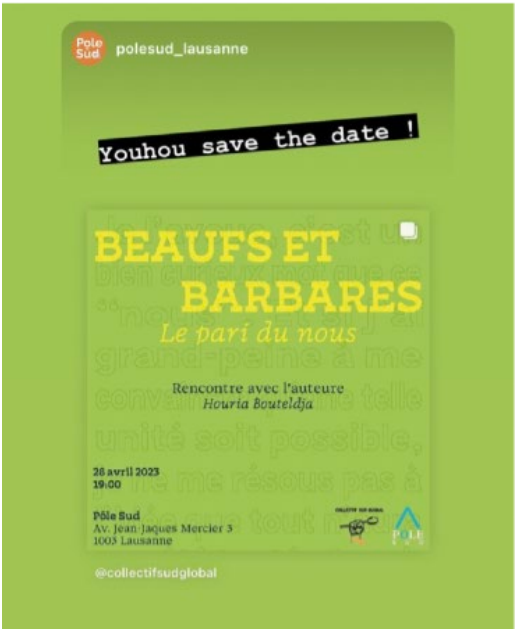

Figure 13. *Stories published by Droit de rester. Screenshot taken by me.*

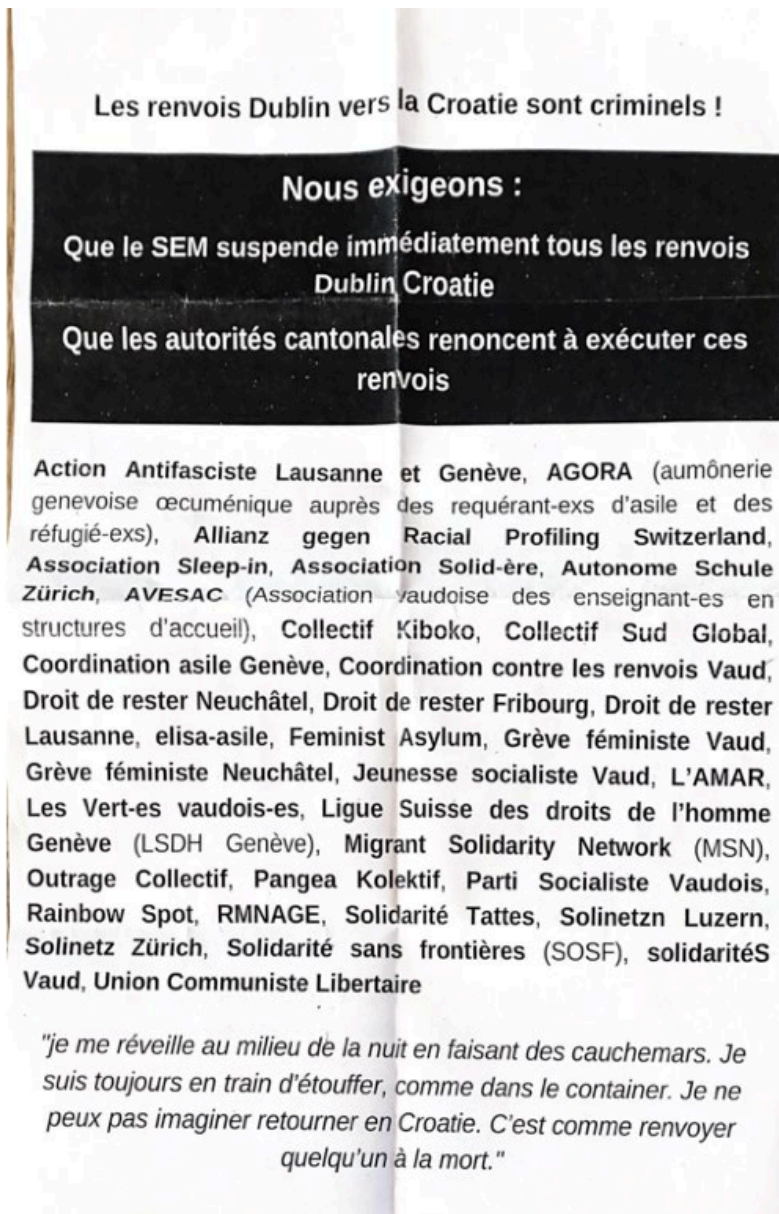Figure 14. *Stories published by Droit de rester.* Screenshot taken by me

Les renvois Dublin vers la Croatie sont criminels !

Nous exigeons :

Que le SEM suspende immédiatement tous les renvois Dublin Croatie

Que les autorités cantonales renoncent à exécuter ces renvois

Action Antifasciste Lausanne et Genève, AGORA (aumônerie genevoise œcuménique auprès des requérant-exs d'asile et des réfugié-exs), Allianz gegen Racial Profiling Switzerland, Association Sleep-in, Association Solid-ère, Autonome Schule Zürich, AVESAC (Association vaudoise des enseignant-es en structures d'accueil), Collectif Kiboko, Collectif Sud Global, Coordination asile Genève, Coordination contre les renvois Vaud, Droit de rester Neuchâtel, Droit de rester Fribourg, Droit de rester Lausanne, elisa-asile, Feminist Asylum, Grève féministe Vaud, Grève féministe Neuchâtel, Jeunesse socialiste Vaud, L'AMAR, Les Vert-es vaudois-es, Ligue Suisse des droits de l'homme Genève (LSDH Genève), Migrant Solidarity Network (MSN), Outrage Collectif, Pangea Kolektif, Parti Socialiste Vaudois, Rainbow Spot, RMNAGE, Solidarité Tattes, Solinetzn Luzern, Solinetz Zürich, Solidarité sans frontières (SOSF), solidaritéS Vaud, Union Communiste Libertaire

"je me réveille au milieu de la nuit en faisant des cauchemars. Je suis toujours en train d'étouffer, comme dans le container. Je ne peux pas imaginer retourner en Croatie. C'est comme renvoyer quelqu'un à la mort."

Figure 15. *Flyer of protest 3.* Scan of the flyer given to me by an organizer.

Furthermore, also attached is a flyer I received attending the third protest, which includes the names of all the collectives involved in the organization of that event. Here, we see again the Collectif du sud global, and other collectives organized against fascism, racial profiling and homelessness, feminist, youth, environmentalist, human rights, queer, socialist and communist collectives, amongst others. This demonstrates, therefore, the interlinkage presented by this claim against deportation with other social structural issues.

These actions, however, represent a linking of the anti-deportation fight, and what Droit de Rester and Solidarite Tattes represent to other subjects. Here, they invoke the anti-racist fight, which suggests also a colonial criticism of the deportation regime in Switzerland. This linking of fights indicates that what these collectives represent, and the fight they put forth are also embedded in other fights. As Alldred (2003) indicated, the creation of links between migration, capitalism, and colonialism embed and substantiate what these groups are fighting against.

Furthermore, upon conversation with collectives members, it was also mentioned that it was common that members of the collectives studied here were also a part of other movements, for feminism, or against racism for example. I was told, in this sense, that they tended to be generally politically engaged people, who had a motivation to fight against all injustice. In this sense, this is also a further indication that a normative understanding of the

problem of migration, for these individuals, was not a siloed claim, rather it was also connected to other injustices.

In this sense, these actions also represent a transcendence of covert protests. Rather, they lean towards radical protests in that the normative delineation of their claims and what they advocate for becomes more substantive, accompanies more issues, and structural problems, and thus expand the scope of what these collectives fight against. Publicly relating, supporting and advertising for other collectives, which fight against different, and yet related structural issues, then, is an indication of how far beyond protesting against specific cases the purposes of these collectives go. Moreover, it moves these collectives away from the idea that they would share a continuum logic with the State - contrary to that, by collaborating with these other causes, they are embedding and strengthening their opposition to the ideas the State promotes. Rather, they are also advocating against racist, classist, and sexist structures that underpin the migration regime. In this sense, this is also a further indication that the purpose of the observed collectives goes far beyond the analysis that they do not stray from a deportation continuum dictated by the State, or do not aim to change and criticize significant structural issues.

6.5.   Conclusion

In conclusion, participant observation in protests and close monitoring of social media activity of the two collectives has evidenced to me that there is empirical evidence of solidarity movements that: behave in a non-conformist way on the streets, shout out reformist and radical chants, hand out and parade around with radical and reformist written material, and articulate their fight in broad, structural normative stances. These factors underline the way that the solidarity movements I observed are not in a continuum of civil society/State because they do not advocate for one single logic on deportation to be maintained. Rather, they challenge and criticize the understanding that the Swiss state formulates on deportation. Furthermore, I was able to observe that while at first glance, the purpose of why these collectives demonstrate might seem conformist, considering all they say and do onsite, we can rather conclude that their stance is reformist and radical. In this sense, they do not stop at raising an issue with specific cases based on personal merits. Rather, they constantly criticize the implementations of policies, the character of institutions, and the basic principle of deportation.

When speaking to collective members as well, they clearly stated that while sometimes their actions might argue for individuals for tactical reasons to circumvent the legal Swiss system and accomplish faster reversals, the scope of their goals is much bigger. When I asked

members to describe what they, personally and the collectives stood for, they related to me how the motivation of all involved is based on the ideal and the principled goal of a change to the migration system writ large. The main goal identified was the accomplishment of a system where there is no differentiation of how people are treated in migratory decisions based on their race, gender or ethnicity. Injustice and colonial were therefore adjectives attributed to the system, and a motivation to change this configuration was identified as a primary goal.

In this sense, I could observe examples of solidarity movements that challenge the assumptions made in former literature. More than that, it is important to delineate that here, these collectives are rather advocating for alternative political imaginaries - it is by linking the deportation cause with race, gender, homelessness, class, and other structural problems, and by advocating that visa policies become more inclusive in their provisions and to whom they are reserved for, that these collectives rather act to advertise for a change in the political order that legitimizes the differential legal inclusion of foreign nationals and that to expel some individuals is a normal governance tool. In this sense, pronouncing reformist and radical claims as these collectives have, indicates the emergence of a new political imaginary that does disrupt the acceptability of deportation as a normalized practice.

7. DEPORTEES' ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN PROTEST AS TAKING-SPACE and TAKING-SPEECH PRACTICES

As exposed in the literature review section, some authors who concentrate on deportation through the investigation of migrants' and deportees' experiences, tend to argue that the prospect and experience of being expelled from a country creates sentiments in deportees mostly characterized by a crippling sense of anxiety and loss of independence that leads to a disciplined subjectivity, as what De Genova and Peutz (2011) call the docile deportable labour force. Moreover, with sources investigating resistance by these individuals mostly focused on the constrained space of the detention center, where often self-harming forms of actions are the only option, agency in these studies is also portrayed in desperate, highly constrained examples, and still mostly tied to the crippling anxious subjectivity. All in all, then, the subject of the deportee that is constructed through these studies is formed by a disciplining fear and self-harming forms of contestation.

There is absolutely no doubt that deportation is a very negative, constraining, and violent experience for irregular migrants who are subjected to it. In this sense, by no means do I intend to argue that the deportation system does not cause anxiety, restrains actions, or amounts to fear in deportees, nor that the above-referenced sources, which depict what the arbitrariness of deportation policies mean for the independence and freedom of deportees, are wrong. However, what I could observe in my interaction with the Swiss solidarity movements also highlighted an aspect of deportee subjectivity and action that is not so evidenced in these studies. Rather, it is more embedded in Peter Nyers' (2010) analysis of deportees as abject cosmopolitans with political taking-subjectivities. As explained, rather than observing deportees through anxiety, fear and detention, Nyers rather talks of the possibility of alternative visions we can have by adopting a more flexible and deconstructed notion of abjection - if abjection is a process, rather than an identity, then it is possible to think of ways to reverse it, and if politics is about the implementation of equality, as per Rancière, then non-citizens can adopt taking- subjectivities and exercise equal political agency. Canadian deportees do so, furthermore, by taking speech and taking space.

In my experience with the solidarity movements in Switzerland, I could observe multiple factors which led me to associate deportee subjects much more with the taking individual Nyers talks of rather than the constantly afraid and anxious, disciplined subject other sources referred to. In multiple ways, I could see deportees taking space and speech in my experiences - they were actively expressing political agency in public and in the middle of diverse other subjects. These scenes challenged the idea that they were unidimensionally defined by the anxiety and

disciplining force that the prospect of deportation would make them behave in docile and subsumed ways. Of course, constraints on their possibility of action as well as their sentiments of anxiety and fear were transparent and present. However, this did not lead to their absence and reticence in exercising political agency, behaving as disciplined deportable subjects. Rather, they were present and speaking. This, for me, highlighted their taking-subjectivities, because in spite of their non-citizen status, their official non-belonging to a direct democracy Swiss operation, the potential negative consequences they could have faced by being there and speaking, deportees still chose not to adopt a constrained, disciplined behavior, they challenged their classification as abject others, and took space and speech in order to politically express themselves.

To better explain this conclusion, I will now focus on how I perceived the processes of taking space and taking speech. Importantly, these two expansions will show that as per the literature I referred to in the review chapter, legal and political constraints to action were present, as well as the expressions of feelings of fear, anxiety and injustice. However, rather than leading to an apolitical and immobile subjectivity, deportees I observed performed a taking-subjectivity, acting as political agents despite being abject non-citizens.

7.1. Taking-space

As briefly mentioned before, in my first encounter with Droit de Rester, members of the collective were informing migrants whom they were attending that they should be very cautious of their decisions to attend the protest that would take place in the days following, because of the definite presence of the police and the possibility that they might check their IDs. If police checked a Swiss person's ID, they further spelt it out, it would not matter, because they have the right to be present in a protest. If, however, they checked an ID of an asylum seeker, this could have negative consequences afterwards if that information was recorded, or if they discovered that somebody present could not present an official ID, this could also become a justification for an apprehension or the start of a legal investigation of that person's status.

This represents, of course, a big systematic, political and legal barrier to the presence of migrants in these protests and public fight against deportation, and also dramatically marks the differentiation between the possibilities of citizens and non-citizens for accessing direct democracy in Switzerland as delineated in chapter 5. In this sense, after this warning, I confess I did not expect to see any person who looked like a foreign national in the protests. However, I was quite wrong. I could notably perceive when attending the protests that followed, that individuals from very diverse ethnic backgrounds were present, therefore indicating that not

only Swiss nationals were present, but also a significant number of migrant population. While it is not possible to discern, only from this visual observation, which or how many of the people I saw, were actually migrants, or even differentiate between regular migrants, refugees, irregular migrants or deportees. I can still affirm that there was, at least, one deportee in each protest. That is because, during the time of the speeches in the protest, where, as I explained, people would speak through megaphones, there was always at least one person who would speak in a personal tone and share their experiences as people who were dreading going back to Croatia, or who had been deported elsewhere - identifying themselves as deportees.

In this sense, this indicated at first the presence of people personally affected by the issue of deportation in these protests and therefore taking space in these settings. These people, furthermore, radically ignored the legal constraints and possible negative repercussions to their presence on the spot and their publicly sharing of their migratory status. In this sense, some individuals demonstrated their political action by being present and simply showing their face, identifying themselves and choosing to ignore the possible negative repercussions this could have on them.

However, I could also notice a second way of acting, through a negotiation between this constraint, personal protection, and still a demonstration of presence and political agency in fighting against deportation. This negotiation took place through the physical presence of deportees in disguise by avoiding their personal identification by covering their faces with banners, as the pictures below demonstrate, and also, as could be better noticed onsite, by people wearing masks or other material for face covering, like the person in figure 16.

Figure 16. *Picture published of protest 3.* Photograph from Solidarité Tattes, 2023d.

Figure 16. *Picture published of protest 3.* Photograph from Droit de Rester, 2023h.

This action demonstrated that people in personal danger of being identified as having participated in these protests, and in the fight against deportation, managed to surpass the barrier put in their way of having the possibility of being recognized in public and leading to negative consequences by covering their faces and guaranteeing an added layer of anonymity to their personal identification. Upon conversation with both collectives, I was able to verify such information that most often non- Swiss nationals would choose to hide their faces to disguise their identity given their irregular status in Switzerland. Not only was this because of the potential negative repercussions here, I was told, but people from certain nationalities were also conscious of the fact that they might be identified as a participant in these protests by their home countries, which if ever they went back, could also be used against them.

Important to notice, however, is that rather than these constraints leading to the non-presence of deportees from this public fight against expulsions, these individuals rather chose to adopt a taking- subjectivity and be present in these protests. In this sense, in the case of Switzerland, this taking- subjectivity was mediated by the choice to cover their personal identities in order to mitigate the constraints put on their possibility of action, rather than a submissive disciplined subjectivity which could have led to these individuals not being present at all. In this sense, while this behavior shows the constraint placed against public actions deportees can take, that is, considering the negative potential of being identified at the protests and rendered vulnerable to judicial actions, what is noticed is that these constraints do not stop deportees from resisting, but rather instigate them to find ways to at the same time protect themselves *and* be present and take space.

In this sense, deportees in Switzerland strongly demonstrated practices of taking space politically by being present in protests, even if by mediating and neutralizing the potential negative consequences of being present by covering their faces. Still, this demonstrates a practice of occupying important public spaces and making a political statement by being present in these protests.

7.2. Taking-speech

On the other hand, these individuals also demonstrated taking speech practices, directly and indirectly. Directly, as I mentioned, in all protests I attended, at least one person speaking in the megaphones to the crowd identified themselves either as deportees, or asylum seekers afraid of being deported through the Dublin convention. Mostly, they seemed to be people who had been in Croatia before and were afraid of the prospect of being sent back. They were exposing what had happened to them in Croatia before and explaining why they shouldn't be

deported back. Indirectly as well, mostly in the speeches delivered by members of the collective that did not identify themselves as migrants, very often, they would simply read out quotes given to them by deportees the collective had worked with, like the extracts present on the flyer of figure 17, below.
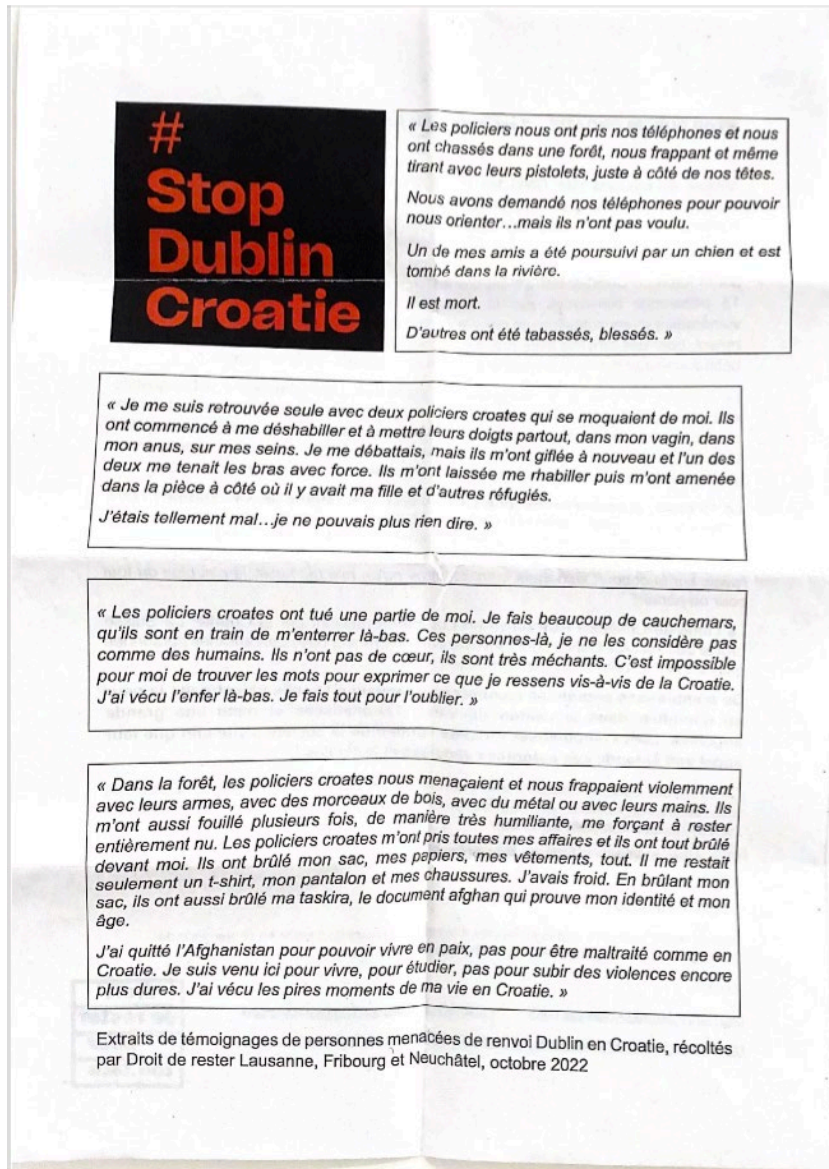

Figure 17. *Flyer of protest 1.* Scan of the flyer given to me by an organizer.

In this sense, deportees demonstrated taking-speech directly and mediated by others in these protests. In any case, they managed to get their personal message across and delivered to the crowds gathered on their behalf. Therefore, deportees were speaking and articulating their own claims against deportations directly, by sharing their experiences and what they understood should be changed in the system. Hence, they demonstrated political agency by publicly raising awareness of their situations, making claims about the migration system and demanding actions for a change to take place.

Interestingly, what also shines through is that the sentiments shared of their experiences were almost always characterized by feelings of anxiety, fear, vulnerability over the arbitrariness of the practices of the deportation system. Aside, for example, one of the quotes reads: "the Croatian policeman has killed a part of me. I have constant nightmares that

they are burying me over there". This deportee expresses the violent experiences they have lived through, that led to trauma and constant fear. This is in line with the related experience of deportation that other authors have exposed. However, again, rather than leading to a subsumed, agency-less subjectivity, by sharing this quote and agreeing to have it read aloud by the collective in a fight against deportation, this individual is much rather exercising their political agency, and taking-speech by sharing their experiences. Likewise, deportees who spoke themselves in the protests were also adopting the taking-subjectivity by acting and speaking of sensitive issues in public.

In this sense, deportees in Switzerland also very strongly demonstrated that they had suffered from the deportation system, and experienced many of the sentiments expected, however, they were also willing to take speech by sharing experiences and having their experiences shared in these public protests. This, then, demonstrates the practice of taking speech and exercising a political agency by deportees.

7.3.   Conclusion

In this sense, deportees were active participants in the protests I participated in - they took physical space and they took speech to retell their own stories and positionings or have another collective member do so for them. While constraints on their possibilities of political behavior were more than evident, as well as the feelings of anxiety, violence and fear, deportees adopted taking- subjectivities. Despite all of the political normative that reserves spaces of direct democracy to Swiss nationals, who, as explained by Hunter and Giugni (2009) are the only individuals considered to become legitimately involved in these events, deportees here demonstrate a taking-subjectivity to the extent that they surpass and ignore this expectancy and take space and speech in these events anyways.

Therefore, active expressions of political agency were observed in the protests I accompanied. In fact, upon conversation with one of the collective's members, I was told that very often young asylum seekers themselves collaborate closely with the groups to put the protests in place. This highlights how deportees can also adopt the subjectivities Nyers (2010) talks of, and contest deportation and their status as abject others. Furthermore, this also represents a break and significant contestation to the normalcy of deportation by being a challenge to the way we would expect deportees to act. In contesting and taking space and speech themselves, deportees are also putting forth an alternative political imaginary that goes against the idea that deportation is a normal governance practice.

This chapter then, illuminates a further way in which the movement studied breaks through a conformation with deportation. Not only are members putting forth reformist and radical claims, but they also count upon and support the active demonstration of political agency by deportees, who chose to assume activities that break through the idea of these individuals being marked by a crippling anxiety. They can also be seen exercising an active and resistant taking-subjectivity that, along with the ambitious purposes of the movement, do question the fundamental idea of deportation as a practice.

CONCLUSION

The deployment of deportation decisions as a practice for migratory governance is constantly on the rise, with scholarly literature determining a configuration of a deportation *regime* (De Genova and Peutz, 2010), and worrying about the lack of possibilities to question and disrupt this measure (Hiemstra, 2016). Literature that further argues that despite the number of occurrences of solidarity movements against deportation being on the rise, they tend not to represent a challenge to the idea of deportation in itself, upholding the legitimacy of expelling certain foreign nationals, also works to maintain the notion of the unquestioned embeddedness of deportation in contemporary times. Further, literature that characterizes the experience of deportation for deportees as productive of a subjectivity marked by discipline and fear also does not give insight into all the ways in which these individuals can resist, express their political voice and perhaps promote a challenge themselves against the practice of deportation.

All in all, then, a general production of knowledge molds an idea of deportation as a structurally embedded practice whose legitimacy remains largely uncontested and hence with little chance of disruption. This thesis, however, has attempted to demonstrate that an investigative ethnographical exploration of solidarity movements can help highlight empirical examples where the behavior of people is contradictory to what is expected per literature and therefore may provide evidence of an alternative political imaginary arising that does, in fact, disrupt and question the idea of deportation. To do so, I concentrated on interacting with two solidarity movements in Switzerland, a country where the implementation of direct democracy broadens the regularity of public acts of contestation by Swiss civilians and where episodes of anti-deportation struggles are numerous.

Upon performing this proposed investigation, two aspects of these movements became clear and proposed empirical challenges to theoretical assumptions about deportation, solidarity movements and deportees. First, while at first sight protests organized by the groups seemed to be arguing only for the reversal of specific cases and for the enforcement of a clause of the Dublin convention, deeper engagement demonstrated that in fact, they put forth a plethora of other claims that evidenced a much more radical impetus to these protests. Confirmed by members themselves, the goal of the movement is not attached to cases. Rather, it promotes a transformational goal to upset Swiss authorities, criticize the differential access to migration inscribed in policies, and, ultimately, argue for an ideal where deportations are not deployed under any circumstance. This configures protests under Abdou and Rosenberger's

(2018) classification of a radical movement, which questions the principle of deportation per se.

Second, observing deportees' behavior onsite made explicit that while experiencing institutional and political barriers to the expression of their political agency as well as feelings of anxiety, pressure, fear, and loss of time, such as predicted in other literature, this did not result only in a disciplined subsumed subjectivity. Rather, deportees took space and took voice, helping organize protests, being present even when disguising their facial identities, and speaking of their personal experiences or sharing them through collective's members. In this sense, they rather acted under the expectation of a taking subjectivity as explained by Nyers (2010), enacting citizenship and political agency and claiming the space of the public protest in Switzerland, even if as non-Swiss-citizens they do not primarily belong there.

This indication of performances of radical protests, as well as demonstrations of taking subjectivities by deportees, are empirical challenges to theoretical assumptions made previously in scholarly literature. Rather than affirming to the strengthening of the idea that deportation is an uncontested and embedded governance practice, they show examples where individuals publicly demonstrated resistance to deportation and criticized the legitimacy of expelling foreign nationals. This signals an emerging alternative political imaginary promoted by people advocating for a radical change to the system, which represents a disruption to the deportation regime.

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