PROTEST AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Elias Steinhilper

Migrant Protest

Interactive Dynamics in Precarious Mobilizations

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Protest and Social Movements

Recent years have seen an explosion of protest movements around the world, and academic theories are racing to catch up with them. This series aims to further our understanding of the origins, dealings, decisions, and outcomes of social movements by fostering dialogue among many traditions of thought, across European nations and across continents. All theoretical perspectives are welcome. Books in the series typically combine theory with empirical research, dealing with various types of mobilization, from neighborhood groups to revolutions. We especially welcome work that synthesizes or compares different approaches to social movements, such as cultural and structural traditions, micro- and macro-social, economic and ideal, or qualitative and quantitative. Books in the series will be published in English. One goal is to encourage nonnative speakers to introduce their work to Anglophone audiences. Another is to maximize accessibility: all books will be available in open access within a year after printed publication.

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List of Abbreviations

ATF	Association des tunisiens de France, the association of Tunisians in France
ATMF	Association des travailleurs maghrébins de France, the association of workers from the Maghreb in France
BBgAA	Berliner Bündnis gegen Abschiebungen nach Afghanistan, the Berlin-based alliance against deportations to Afghanistan
BBZ	Beratungs und Betreuunszentrum für junge Geflüchtete und Migrant*innen, a center for counseling and support for young refugees and migrants in Berlin
CADA	Centre d'accueil de demandeurs d'asile, the public reception centers for asylum seekers in France
CFDT	Confédération française democratique du travail, a trade union in France
CGT	Confédération générale du travail, a trade union in France
CRS	Compagnies republicaines de securite, the French police unit for riot control
CSP75	Coordination 75 des sans papiers, the umbrella organization of various collectives of undocumented migrants in Paris
FASTI	Fédération des associations de solidarité avec tous-te-s les immigré-e-s, an umbrella organization of migrant solidarity groups in France
FTdA	France terre d'asile, a French humanitarian organization focusing on refugees and asylum seekers
GISTI	Groupe d'information et de soutien des immigrés, a migrant support association in France
KuB	Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle für Flüchtlinge und Migrant_innen, a migrant support association in Berlin
MSF	Médecins sans frontières, a humanitarian organization in France
OFII	Office français de l'immigration et de l'intégration, the French public agency in charge of migration and integration
OFPRA	Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides, the French public agency in charge of refugee status determination

PADA	Plateforme d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile, the first reception centers for asylum seekers in France
RESF	Réseau education sans frontières, a support association for young migrants in France

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Introduction

Precarious Migrant Protest in Europe

"You, new brothers and sisters, who have left the misery, crossed the desert and the Mediterranean and have made it to Paris. You are very welcome to us. We march every Friday. Because when we march, we disrupt. If we do not disrupt, no one cares about us – we are invisible but always in danger."[1]

Abstract

Migrant protest has proliferated worldwide in the last two decades, explicitly posing questions of identity, rights, and equality in a globalized world. Nonetheless, such mobilizations are considered anomalies in social movement studies, and political sociology more broadly, due to "weak interests" and a particularly disadvantageous position of "outsiders" to claim rights connected to citizenship. In an attempt to address this seeming paradox, this book explores the interactions and spaces shaping the emergence, trajectory, and fragmentation of migrant protest in unfavorable contexts of marginalization. Such a perspective unveils both the odds of precarious mobilizations, and the ways they can be temporarily overcome. While adopting the encompassing terminology of "migrant," the book focuses on precarious migrants, including both asylum seekers and "illegalized" migrants.

Keywords: political sociology; migration; contentious politics; protest; asylum

Migrant protest has proliferated worldwide in the last two decades, explicitly posing questions of identity, rights, and equality in a globalized world. Nonetheless, such mobilizations are considered anomalies in social movement studies, and political sociology more broadly, due to "weak interests"

1 Field notes, Paris, 16 June 2017.

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and a particularly disadvantageous position of "outsiders" to claim rights connected to citizenship. In an attempt to address this seeming paradox, this book explores the interactions and spaces shaping the emergence, trajectory, and fragmentation of migrant protest in unfavorable contexts of marginalization. Such a perspective unveils both the odds of precarious mobilizations, and the ways they can be temporarily overcome. While adopting the encompassing terminology of "migrant" (Carling 2015; Scheel and Squire 2014), the book focuses on precarious migrants, including both asylum seekers and "illegalized" migrants (Bauder 2013).

Borders and Protest in an "Age of Migration"

Cross-border human mobility of all kinds has reached a historic peak in the "age of migration" (Castles, De Haas, and Miller 2014). Such patterns of migration include a wide range of individuals leaving their countries of origin for reasons of war, individual or group-based persecution, and poverty (Betts 2013; Carling 2015). This has led to mixed responses in migration policy. Countries in the so-called Global North have partly liberalized their entry policies to attract selected foreign labor (De Haas, Natter, and Vezzoli 2016), yet, particularly since the 1980s, have also reacted with tightened immigration policies, including stricter border controls, increased deportations, and widespread encampment of those deemed "unwanted" (Agier 2011; De Genova 2017; Boswell 2003; De Haas, Natter, and Vezzoli 2016). Recent years have furthermore witnessed an intensified selection and differentiation of migrants into "deserving" and "undeserving," "good" and "bad," "legitimate" and "illegitimate," and ultimately "legal" and "illegal" (Gibney 2014; Neumayer 2005; de Haas, Natter, and Vezzoli 2016). In this process of securitization and differentiation of migration, the international norm of asylum has also been curtailed in various European countries (Fassin 2012; Crépeau 1995; Noiriel 1999; Bade and Oltmer 2005a, 2005b).

The presence of migrants has been accompanied at times by heated social and political controversies, between conservatives and multiculturalists, about migrant reception in the Global North, national conceptions of citizenship, and legitimate motives of migration (Balibar 2009; Benhabib 2004; Betts and Loescher 2011; Ghosh 2000; Isin 2012). Migrant rights movements have gradually emerged in various countries in North America and Europe from the late 1970s onward and organized multiple campaigns at the local, national, and transnational levels (Nicholls and Uitermark 2016; Monforte 2014; Giugni and Passy 2001).

Yet, the last two decades were a turning point, insofar as precarious migrants themselves have systematically engaged in struggles over rights and recognition. Political mobilizations by migrants have proliferated on all continents in the last two decades (Tyler and Marciniak 2013; Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016; Anderson 2010; Nicholls and Uitermark 2016). Imogen Tyler and Katarzyna Marciniak speak of "an explosion" (Tyler and Marciniak 2013: 143) of migrant and migrant solidarity activism in this period; Ilker Ataç et al. observe a "new era of protest" (Ataç et al. 2015).[2] Precarious migrants' claims range from respect for human rights, freedom of movement, access to labor markets, a liberalized asylum process to critiques of deportation migrant death at borders.

The forms of mobilization, and the characteristics of individuals involved, are contingent in space and time. In Europe, the geographical focus of this book, widespread migrant protest sparked in the 1990s, when undocumented migrants, self-identifying as "*sans-papiers*",[3] engaged in occupations, hunger strikes, and marches. Their political protests brought questions of migrant political subjectivity to the attention of a wider public for the first time (Cissé 2002; Freedman 2004; McNevin 2006; Siméant 1998). The undocumented migrant movement quickly diffused to other big cities in France. Subsequently, it inspired protests and activist networks in various other European countries, including Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Greece (Tyler and Marciniak 2013: 143). Restrictive asylum policies have furthermore fueled protest against them, the detention of asylum seekers, mandatory residence requirements, exclusion from the job market, encampment in remote areas, the suspension of family reunification, and deportations.

With radical actions such as sit-ins, hunger strikes, lip sewing, occupations,[4] squats, and street camps as well as long-distance marches, migrants have left their attributed place at the margins of society and voiced claims for rights and recognition (Monforte and Dufour 2011, 2013). Despite their increasing frequency and the use of a predominantly disruptive

2 Despite this general tendency, multiple forms of migrant mobilizations such as migrant self-help organizations and migrant worker strikes (Però and Solomos 2010) have a far longer history (for France, see, e.g., GISTI 2014).

3 *Sans-papiers*, French for "without papers," is the self-identification adopted by the illegalized migrants' movement in France. The term has rapidly proliferated and is still widely used in the Francophone world (Siméant 1998).

4 In this book, two terms are used to denote the appropriation of buildings by contentious actors. "Occupation" is used when the purpose of action is primarily protest oriented and disruptive, whereas it is referred to as a "squat" when the action also includes an element of providing shelter for precarious residents.

and radical repertoire of action, such political mobilizations have only occasionally received resonance in both public discourse and academia. In addition to the proven disproportionally low representation of migrant voices in the mass media (Bleich, Bloemraad, and De Graauw 2015),[5] migrant mobilizations also hardly correspond with the dominant public portrayal of migrants and established theories of political mobilization. Discursively, the figure of the precarious migrant is either constructed as a passive victim and needy object of (non)governmental humanitarianism (Malkki 1996; Fassin 2012) or as a stigmatized outsider and intruder in a national "order of things" (Bigo 2003; Nicholls 2013a). This results in migrants being both "casualties of care" (Ticktin 2011) and casualties of "excessive governance" (Stierl 2017). Precarious migrants' claims in the public sphere are, hence, considered to be disturbing "noise" rather than legitimate "voice" (Nicholls 2013a, 2013b).

A Fragmented Academic Landscape

Migrant agency has also received only limited attention in the social sciences. Systematic reflection on the issue has only recently started to grow, and remains scattered across disciplines. While an extensive *philosophical literature* exists on citizenship and the exclusion from rights (Agamben 1998; Nussbaum 1998; Sassen 2014; Benhabib 2004), empirically oriented contributions with an explicit focus on migrant protest continue to be scarce. In political science, the issue of migration has predominantly been addressed from a top-down perspective concentrating on the question of how migration could be "effectively" governed (Moravcsik and Nicolaidis 1999; Truong and Maas 2011; Boswell 2003)[6] or, in its critical turn, how governmentality impacts the lives of migrants (Balzacq 2008; Bigo 2003). Yet, few contributions exist on acts of contention against "excessive governance" (Stierl 2018), or "migration governance from below" (Rother 2013b) by both migrants and promigrant groups.

Bottom-up perspectives on politics have been developed extensively in *political sociology*, and the issue of migration has obtained a key role in studies of political conflict and contention (Cinalli 2016; Kriesi et al. 2012; Koopmans et al. 2005). However, mostly, migrants have been studied as

5 The issue of migration is, indeed overrepresented, while migrant perspectives and voices are underrepresented in relation to the migrant population.

6 For an excellent overview on the specific research strand of global migration governance, see Rother (2013a).

"the object of claims of other actors, including political parties looking for votes, interest groups, policymakers, social movements, as well as a large volume of other allies and opponents within civil society" (Cinalli 2016: 86). Contributions on contentious acts by migrants, have with notable exceptions (Zepeda-Millán 2017; Nicholls and Uitermark 2016; Siméant 1998) remained scarce.[7] Despite recognizing protest as a means of the disenfranchised, "researchers have given the most attention to those movements endowed with endogenous organisational resources and exogenous political opportunities, which were considered in explaining their emergence, strength, forms, and outcomes" (della Porta 2018a: 1).[8] In this vein, migrants as uprooted, often weakly resourced and "deportable" actors have been considered unlikely candidates for political mobilization (Cinalli 2016). Even compared to other disadvantaged social groups, such as the unemployed, the disabled, and the mentally ill, migrants were expected to be less inclined to mobilize, as the public discourse on membership in a society organized as a nation-state is strongly biased toward formal citizens of a polity: "The nation state may proclaim equality for all, but equality of rights is only reserved for its core members" (Nicholls 2013a: 171).[9]

The sociological variant of *migration studies* has ever since been sensitive to migrant experiences (Faist, Fauser, and Reisenauer 2013; Vertovec 2009; Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2003), but largely neglected the contentious side of transnational migration (Steinhilper 2018). A growing body of literature, commonly referred to as "autonomy of migration" (Mezzadra 2010; Transit Migration 2008; Tsianos and Karakayali 2010), has stressed the inherent subversion in cross-border migration, yet has largely avoided an empirical analysis of the conditions and trajectories of migrant protest. The most explicit contribution in this regard was made in *critical citizenship studies*, where Engin Isin introduced the notion of "acts of citizenship" (2008). He conceptualizes citizenship as a social practice, also performed by marginalized migrants acting "as if" they were entitled to citizenship rights (Isin and Nielsen 2008). Along these lines, a burgeoning literature has emerged, which aims at thinking migration politics "from the margins" (Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2017). The seminal edited volume *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement* by Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel (Nyers and Rygiel

7 For a more comprehensive discussion of the literature on migrant and pro-migrant protest, see Chapter 1.

8 Notable exceptions are Piven and Cloward (1979) and Chabanet and Royall (2014).

9 Manlio Cinalli has even argued that asylum seekers and undocumented migrants as "weak immigrants" are "passive protagonists" and "incapable of speaking on their own behalf" (2008: 300).

2012), but also subsequent contributions from the same theoretical angle (Stierl 2012; Ataç et al. 2015; Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016; Stierl 2018), have provided most of the insightful analyses of migrant agency in contexts of marginalization. However, this community of scholars has partly maintained a certain skepticism toward theories of mobilization and rarely quotes any social movement literature on the issue (Stierl 2018).

As this cursory overview shows, academic reflections on migrant protest remain scattered across various disciplines and are poorly integrated. In the same vein, Nina Eggert and Marco Giugni note in their chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* that "[w]ork on migrants' movements is particularly necessary, as this represents one of the main blind spots in the extant literature" (Eggert and Giugni 2015). The "long summer of migration" of 2015 in Europe has dynamized the field, yet recent contributions on the issue tend to either perpetuate a focus on relatively strong migrant support activists (della Porta 2018b) at the expense of a closer look into the dynamics of precarious protest, or address the issue of migrant resistance in the distinct theoretical tradition of critical migration studies without an explicit engagement with theories of political protest (Stierl 2018). My hope is that this book contributes to fostering a dialogue between those two strands of literature, which complement each other in important ways.

Research Approach

In an abductive research tradition, the book draws from and complements existing work on migrant activism and theories of political mobilization more broadly, to explore how niches for political mobilization are appropriated, expanded, contested and lost. This entails a scrutiny of the spaces and interactions, through which precarious actors (temporarily) break invisibility, gain access to resources and allies against all evident obstacles of mobilizing in contexts of marginalization. Predominantly rooted in the theoretical universe of social movement studies, the book aims for opening this body of literature to precarious and volatile forms of protest and to suggest bridges to migration studies. With social movement studies, this analysis shares the general empirical focus and interest in the conditions, dynamics and forms of political mobilization (see also della Porta 2018a: 2) and approaches migrant activism from a "players and arenas" perspective (Jasper and Duyvendak 2014). In light of the structural obstacles to precarious migrant mobilizations, it shifts the attention to the microinteractions of

precarious migrants with other individual and compound players at the local level. Secondly, the research adopts an explicitly spatial perspective to contentious politics (Nicholls, Miller, and Beaumont 2013; Martin and Miller 2003), which allows scrutinizing the patterns of spatial and social exclusion of precarious migrants, and the spatialities of both protest emergence and fragmentation. Lastly, it bridges social movement theories to migration and citizenship studies. As this literature has broadened the conceptualization of migrant agency to the everyday practices or "invisible" resistances by migrants in almost all contexts of restrictive border regimes (Ataç et al. 2015; Stierl 2018). With critical citizenship studies, it shares the perspective of citizenship as being performative (Isin 2017), and hence, subject to constant transformations. This concept of citizenship, in turn, brings migrant mobilizations closer to a longstanding interest of social movement studies: mobilizations for citizenship rights. Given this analytical focus, the interest in the interactive dynamics of precarious migrant protest in Europe, or, in other words, in protest emergence, incubation, and fragmentation in contexts of marginalization is specified in the following main guiding question: *How do interactions among players in spatial and regulatory settings* (*arenas*) *shape the emergence and trajectory of precarious migrant protest?*

Given this focus on interactions in concrete spatial settings (arenas), the analysis is situated at the local level. According to Kathleen Blee, "[m]uch of the salient context of grassroots activism is local" (Blee 2012: 15). This is especially true for migrant mobilizations, which have particularly proliferated in large urban centers with more favorable conditions for creating social ties, both within migrant communities and with migrant support organizations, such as human rights NGOs, faith-based groups, the radical left and trade unions (Nicholls and Vermeulen 2012; Plöger 2014; Nicholls and Uitermark 2016; McNevin 2006).

The book compares migrant protests in two urban settings, Berlin and Paris. This selection builds upon previous research on the two countries, which has identified a number of important spatial and relational differences in the issue area of migration. According to Rogers Brubaker's seminal work, France and Germany represent two ideal types of modern citizenship regimes – the German *ius sanguinis* and the French *ius solis* (Brubaker 1992). Koopmans et al. have found that such seemingly abstract differences indeed have an impact on political mobilizations by migrants (Koopmans et al. 2005). Furthermore, the countries represent distinct "borderline citizenship regimes" (Monforte and Dufour 2011), in which daily lives for undocumented migrants and asylum seekers differ strongly. Whereas the German asylum system

is characterized by accentuated isolation and illegalized migrants often remain strongly controlled by the state (*Duldung*), the daily life of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in Paris has been less constrained due to fewer controls and larger ethnic networks, as well as access to the job market in a larger informal economy (Monforte and Dufour 2011). Monforte has furthermore shown that not only political opportunity structures differ, but also the availability of promigrant allies. Whereas in France, social movement organizations involved in migration and asylum issues are deeply entrenched in society, and highly concentrated in Paris, the German case (at least until the "summer of migration" in 2015) is much more fragmented, since contention related with migration issues is dispersed throughout the federal polity (Monforte 2014). Despite these contextual differences, both cities have witnessed periods of heightened migrant protest.[10] Paris is a crucial case in this regard, as it constitutes the cradle of the *sans-papiers* movement in Europe, with regular episodes of contention since more than two decades. Berlin, on the other hand, has been the nucleus of the most prominent and visible asylum seekers protests in recent years in Europe (Plöger 2014), and has witnessed the largest arrival of asylum seekers in Europe in the course of the crisis of the European border regime.

Upholding the virtue of cumulative knowledge production, the research is strongly informed by existing scholarship on migrant protest in Europe, particularly the work of Siméant (1998), Monforte and Dufour (2011, 2013), and Nicholls and Uitermark (2016). Yet, it complements these contributions in various regards: Firstly, none of the previous contributions explicitly addressed protest of asylum seekers.[11] This book intends to shed light on the particularities of asylum regimes and their impact on political protest, as well as the overlap illegalized migrants' mobilizations. Secondly, in contrast to Nicholls and Uitermark, the analysis does adopt a historical perspective on transformations in migrant rights movements, but rather in the contentious interactions unfolding within specific arenas. By focusing on shorter time frames, it adds more specific insights into the interactionist and spatial patterns and dynamics at play. Lastly, the empirical chapters of the book studies recent episodes of contention in time periods that have not been scrutinized so far.

10 The expression "periods of heightened migrant protest" underlines that precarious migrant protests are also often clustered in space and time, yet they are not sufficiently structured to qualify as protest "waves" or "cycles" (Koopmans 2006).

11 Monforte and Dufour include German "refugee" activists in their analysis, yet treat them as "undocumented" migrants.

In addition to shedding light on both specificities and patterns of precarious migrant protest in the tradition of "political ethnography", the book informs social movement studies more broadly. It documents the potential of interactive and cultural theories of social movements to study precarious and volatile forms of protest. Where structural models lack the sensitivity for detail and dynamism, the more recent "cultural" theories combined with an openness to the precious knowledge produced in neighboring disciplines offer alternatives to address forms of contention, which have received less attention and only fit awkwardly in the dominant theoretical toolkit. An "arena" perspective moves toward a middle ground, combining the effects of macrostructures and microprocesses. Underlining how actors perceive, strategize and act upon regulatory and discursive contexts, it contributes to the moderation of old disciplinary turf wars between structure and agency.

The research scrutinizes and thickly describes the dynamics of migrant protest in two locations. In line with an arena approach to contentious politics (Jasper 2014), however, the unit of analysis is the protest arena, not the city. The case-oriented comparison in my research consists of a total of four arenas, two in each location. From a comparison of dynamics in highly distinct contexts, as well as comparing arenas within one location, the research generates insights on the patterns of interactions and strategic dilemmas typical to such kinds of political activism while, at the same time, pointing to the respective specificities of the cases studied.

Both the subject of migrant protest and theoretical angle adopted in this research require particular methodological choices, taking at least two aspects into account: the dynamic, interactive nature of precarious protest ("volatility"), and the involvement of stigmatized and disenfranchised actors ("subalternity"). Blee indeed argues that the inherent conceptual and practical challenges of studying precarious activism have prevented most scholars from investigating them in the first place (Blee 2012). Those few working on small-scale and emerging activism (Blee 2012), weakly resourced groups (Chabanet and Royall 2014) or migrant protest (Nicholls and Uitermark 2016; Zepeda-Millán 2017) have all advocated for a range of flexible qualitative approaches. Furthermore, in contexts of marginalization, stigmatization or repression, trust building and negotiation is part of research reality for both ethical and practical reasons. Elusive information and valid data can often only be gathered if research resembles more "normal communication", and, even more importantly, if it can be adapted to the respective interlocutors. For these reasons, this research applied a variant of "political ethnography" (Schatz 2009b), which is characterized by a particularizing impulse and attention to details on the one hand ("ethnography"), and to

aim at (some degree) of deduction and comparison ("political") on the other. This "creative tension" (Schatz 2009a) poses specific challenges since political ethnographers seek to study several cases and broader political processes. Hence, they tend to spend much shorter periods (months, rather than years) in one setting, and triangulate insights generated through participant observation, with a range of other data. At times, political ethnographers also immerse themselves in a specific context retrospectively through historical reconstruction, adding as much information as possible through archival work and interviews (Schatz 2009c). This book is based on fieldwork in Berlin (January-August 2016; July-December 2018) and Paris (April-July 2017).[12]

Ethics of an Engaged Social Science

A growing community of scholars highlight academia's duty to contribute to the understanding of key social problems and an intervention in public debates (Burawoy 2005). From this perspective, the proliferation of migrant protest points to one of these crucial questions of our time. In many ways, the precarious migrant protagonists of this book embody the contradiction of a global situation: poverty, war, exploitation, environmental degradation due to climate change, among others, remain unequally distributed at a global scale. Vastly disparate life and survival chances are importantly determined by the "lottery of birthplace" (Betts 2009; Gibney 2014). While root causes of migration are multifaceted, many have argued that they are importantly coproduced and reproduced by particular modes of production in a globalized capitalist economy with an unequal distribution of gains and losses (Brand and Wissen 2012; Žižek 2015), postcolonial continuities, and geopolitical patterns of domination and dependency (see, e.g., Hardt and Negri 2000). In current times, according to Zygmunt Bauman, "mobility has become the most powerful and most coveted stratifying factor." The global elites are able to cross borders at will, while the poor are meant to stay at home: "the riches are global, the misery is local" (Bauman 1998: 9, 74). Consequently, the very presence of precarious migrants in the Global North is fundamentally political, as it highlights a global reality of social inequalities combined with widespread politics of closure. Such contexts produce friction, in which the idea of a smooth "migration governance" is illusionary (Geiger and Pécoud 2010). Against this background, protest by precarious "noncitizens" constitutes a "rupture" of the political order, urging

12 For details on the methodological approach, see the Appendix.

renegotiations of rights and belonging (May 2008; Rancière 2010; Schwiertz 2016). For these reasons, Angela Davis, the eminent figure of the US civil rights movement, has called the "refugee movement [...] the movement of the twenty-first century", as it is "the movement that is challenging the effects of global capitalism, it is the movement that is calling for civil rights for all human beings."[13]

Despite these fundamental political and moral questions, the true protagonists of this book are human beings, predominantly striving for a life in economic and physical security for themselves and their families. Many of their practices are precarious and contradictory and indeed, the fragmented nature of migrant protest, the multiple internal conflicts, illustrate the countless challenges of precarious and "unwanted" (Agier 2011) human beings to organize and be recognized as political actors. Following these groups and individuals is one part in the mosaic of understanding the contradictory realities of a globalized twenty-first century, in which both precarious migration and migrant protest are likely to proliferate.

Outline of the Book

The seven chapters that follow this introduction scrutinize how precarious migrant protest emerges against all evident odds, how it at times incubates through interactions in certain spatial settings, and how it fragments as a result of hostile contexts, internal disputes, or exhaustion. Chapter 1 elaborates on a theoretical perspective, which integrates interactionist and spatial theories of protest, and provides a bridge to migration and citizenship studies. Chapter 2 introduces comparatively the two "borderline citizenship" (Monforte and Dufour 2011) regimes in Germany and France, carving out the grievances as well as discursive and political opportunities they entail. The following four chapters present empirical evidence on the interactive dynamics in four periods of heightened migrant protest in Paris and Berlin. Chapter 3 analyzes the Bourse du Travail protests by undocumented migrants from 2008 to 2010 in Paris, paying particular attention to the fragility of alliances in episodes of precarious migrant protest. Chapter 4 traces interactive dynamics during protests by asylum seekers at La Chapelle from 2015 to 2016. It shows how precarious resistance sparks and incubates even in the most disadvantageous contexts of marginalization. Chapter 5

13 Angela Davis, during a meeting with migrant activists in Berlin on 14 May 2015. Statement recorded and accessible on Vimeo: https://vimeo.com/127986504.

shifts the focus to Berlin, following the most disruptive series of precarious migrant protest in Germany so far, the Oranienplatz protests from 2012 to 2014. The chapter carves out the role of particular spaces of contention, which temporarily allow the amplification of precarious protest into larger mobilization. Chapter 6 traces protests by (rejected) Afghan asylum seekers against deportations between 2016 and 2017 in Berlin, documenting the role of established exile communities in amplifying marginalized voices.

The final chapter of the book moves away from the close-up analyses of interactive dynamics in the four case studies to identify both commonalities and particularities, capitalizing on the twofold potential of "political ethnography" (Schatz 2009b). It singles out patterns of interaction, strategic dilemmas, and spatial configurations influential for migrant protest across space and time. It also lays out the core differences rooted in distinct regulatory and discursive contexts.

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