

Book of Abstracts

Conference Enacting Citizenship and Solidarity "From Below"
in Hamburg on October 9-11, 2024.

The program and more info about the conference can be found on our project's website:

<https://europefrombelow.net/events-2/>

Wednesday (October 9, 2024)

Round table discussion: "Organizing in Common: Migrant and Housing Justice"

18:00 - 20:30 at Centro Sociale (Sternstraße 2, Hamburg)

This round table discussion will bring together voices from various movements struggling for migrant rights and housing justice. Our panelists will share their experiences and explore key questions such as: How does their work translate across borders, and what successful collaborations have they fostered with different local, regional, and national actors? What have been their successes and learning moments in their work for social justice? How do they connect their struggles with others focused on different social questions and causes, and what challenges or consequences have emerged from these cross-movement collaborations? How can we foster strong, strategic, and sometimes unlikely alliances that bridge social movements and struggles in intersectional and translocal ways, especially around migrant and housing justice? We look forward to learning together and envisioning more connected, transformative, and powerful movements organizing in common for justice.

Panel discussion with people from: **International Women* Space (IWS)**, a feminist, anti-racist political group from Berlin, **Deutsche Wohnen & Co enteignen (DWE)** (tbc), a berlin based campaign for the socialization of profit-oriented housing corporations, **Women IN Action (NINA)**, an open group of refugee women*, women* with migration experience and friends in Hamburg, and **Hamburg Enteignet**, a campaign for the socialization of housing in Hamburg.

The event is organized by the team of the research project "Enacting Citizenship and Solidarity in Europe 'From Below': Local Initiatives, Intersectional Strategies, and Transnational Networks" (University of Hamburg, <https://europefrombelow.net>) in cooperation with European Alternatives (<https://euroalter.com>).

Thursday (October 10, 2024)

Opening Talk: Horizontal Citizenship. How Urban Movements Create Alternative Ways of Being Political

Helge Schwiertz

Horizontal Citizenship and Solidarity explores the potential of citizenship to understand urban social movements and political engagement in times of multiple crises. Moving beyond notions that focus on legal status and vertical relations to the state, I examine how citizenship is enacted through close relations of solidarity and mutual aid at local scales, which became vital in crisis contexts. This sheds light on how collective political subjects emerge that constitute themselves by crossing borders and the public-private-split, prefiguring alternatives to exclusive national communities and neoliberal individualization. Proposing the concept of 'horizontal citizenship', I bridge approaches of citizenship

studies with approaches to the everyday practices and prefigurative politics of contemporary movements. Drawing on insights from recent history and empirical case studies across Europe, I re-articulate citizenship with concepts that are currently resonating in academic debates and social movements that emphasize the material dimension of citizenship: solidarity, care, and commoning. Horizontal Citizenship and Solidarity thus invites scholars, students, and practitioners to broaden their understanding of citizenship and to rethink diverse ways of being political with such an expanded concept.

Panel 1: Caring for the Commons

In recent times, conceptions of care and commons have been linked to practices of solidarity from below. While carrying a multiplicity of meanings, as they are adapted to different contexts, care and commons have entered the language of progressive social movements to signify the search for overcoming perceived limitations in previous practices of solidarity from below. The aim of this panel is to analyze the innovations introduced by practices of solidarity connecting caring and commoning in self-managed spaces, with particular attention to solidarity in the context of uneven, intersectional power relations.

Inhabiting the City. Solidarity Practices in Urban Mobilizations in Italy

Angela Adami, Donatella della Porta, Joana Lili Hoftetter

Activists are increasingly framing their engagement in contestations at the urban level around notions of 'inhabiting'. This paper explores the practices behind this framing and its emergence in times of multiple crises in urban mobilizations around the right to the city. We conduct a cross-city comparison based on ethnographic research in two inner-city neighbourhoods in Italy: San Frediano in Florence and Ballarò in Palermo. As neighbourhoods historically populated by the poor, the working class, and artisans, these '*quartieri popolari*' are particularly affected by gentrification, touristification, and the precarization caused by financial and health crises. In this contribution we trace the transformation of practices from below in response to these challenges. Viewing these mobilizations as embedded in specific territorial political structures and subcultures that shape the development of social movements, we identify the growing spread of mutualist solidarity practices around the right to the city. These practices strengthen a sense of community, cohabitation, and neighbourhood care by addressing basic needs and creating commons through the sharing of skills and the reclamation of urban spaces. As such, they point to alternative visions of the neoliberal city and create new spatial subjectivities of 'inhabitants' which extend notions of citizenship by insisting on the right to dwell.

Solidarity as Caring: Multidimensional inequalities and narratives in Italian cities

Donatella della Porta and Carlotta Caciagli

Solidarity practices have always been crucial for social movements, but they played an even more central role during the pandemic crisis. Old and newborn grassroots organizations have been committed to provide immediate help for the population in need, whose material conditions worsened due to the crisis and the consequent lockdowns. But the pandemic crisis not only increased solidarity actions, it also gave these practices a new meaning within the broader societal transformation that movements look for. Indeed, solidarity turned to be the main tool to claim and enact citizenship rights. The paper explores the narratives around solidarity practices of Italian urban movements in three fields in which solidarity initiatives are widespread: migration, housing and care. In particular, through frame-analysis it aims at shedding light on the new meanings and potentialities of solidarity actions in fostering urban transformation. The research focused on collective organizations and movement networks that are locally based in two Italian cities: Florence and Palermo. The two cities are indeed experiencing a similar process of gentrification and urban transformation and they witness the presence of activism in the three fields of study, providing a rich picture of movements' strategies and difficulties. Nevertheless, they also face different challenges due to different historical and geographical contexts. This variation allowed us to depict a broad picture of contemporary urban movements and conflicts in Italy. Empirical and analytical insights emerged from this explorative studies. First of all, we gain a picture the contemporary issues at local level and how they are framed and approached by movements through direct social and solidarity actions. Moreover, the study revealed that the daily practices and related narratives connect to a new, broad meaning of care and commons that have at their core environmental and health issues as well as co-management and sharing of resources. Even if explorative, the study hopes to pave the way for further researches on the link between urban movements, solidarity and reshaped notion of care and commons.

Insights from a Decade of South European Crises: Contributions and Challenges in Social Movement Studies.

Haris Malamidis

This paper aims to inform the social movement research agenda by focusing on the concepts of commons and care as these have shaped the understandings of South European mobilizations over the last decade. The economic crisis of 2008 triggered a dual process that has since unfolded in parallel: first, crises have become ongoing and interconnected, becoming a new normal. The economic crisis was followed by the refugee crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the climate crisis. Although different in context and intensity, these crises have collectively fostered a stable condition of instability and precarity. Second, these waves of crises have elicited diverse collective responses of solidarity, with grassroots initiatives providing support to those in need. These actions not only developed safety nets to mitigate the crises' consequences but also highlighted the limitations of traditional street politics by incorporating everyday, hands-on practices into social movement analysis. Aspects of self-management, commons, and prefiguration have proven central to social movements' theorization. This reframed agenda of social movement studies has also built new bridges with feminist scholarship by analyzing the provision of services through the lenses of interdependence and care. However, despite the empirical surge in collective action and the nuanced theorization of social movements, there seems to be a hesitance, if not an incapacity, to analyze and

propose alternatives to a political environment marked by individualization, conservatization, nationalism, xenophobia, authoritarianism, and decreased social movement activity. Thus, this paper investigates the contributions and challenges of this reframed social movement research agenda developed during the period of crises. Based on secondary research, the paper first analyzes the different crises and the social movement responses to them. It then discusses the ways in which the new social movement agenda has been informed by prefigurative politics, the politics of commons, and the aspects of care. This enables us to draw preliminary conclusions regarding the contributions and limitations of our analytical framework and to apply it to current political and social challenges. Consequently, the final section of the paper explores how these arrangements can outline key directions for the development of a new research agenda.

Care in Politics: An Action Oriented Framework for Analysis

Felipe Gonzalez Santos

This paper proposes an action-oriented analytical framework for understanding care in politics, focusing on how care operates within collective contexts and across diverse ideological landscapes. This framework emphasizes that care is fundamentally a collective process, often occurring within social groups rather than through isolated individual actions. It also outlines that care occurs in all groups not primarily defined by economic or labor relations, transcending any ideological divides. Differences across ideological groups rest on how they delineate the in-group that is entitled to care, as they seek to politicize the issue around which care is deployed. Furthermore, the framework posits that care in political contexts aims to empower individuals or collectives to enhance their capacity to contribute to the group's objectives and take ownership of their struggles. This empowerment can result in either challenging, maintaining, or even reinforcing existing structural inequalities. By providing an analytical framework of how care is deployed across various political contexts, this paper seeks to illuminate the centrality of care for political action, as well as illuminating the complex and sometimes contradictory roles that care plays in shaping politics.

Panel 2: Local Organizing between Everyday Practices of Mutual Aid and Protest

Building on the debates of the first panel, we continue to shed light on the rather imperceptible care practices and infrastructures "from below" that are often overlooked from a perspective of social movements and macropolitics, while also analyzing how they relate to more visible forms of protest and the transformations of citizenship. We want to highlight how they enable and support everyday life, politicize structural causes of precarity and inequality, and build place-based solidarities in neighborhoods as a basis for further urban struggles. We see their everyday experimentation with lived alternatives to privatized and conventional forms of social provisioning and to hierarchical and racist structures as insightful and important for broader processes toward radical social change. We therefore want to discuss how the micropolitics of everyday organizing relate to publicly visible practices of protest and contentious politics but also cooperate with, challenge, or confront municipalities, democratic institutions, and welfare regimes.

Instances of care-tizenship under precarious platform capitalism: Transnational exchanges of app-delivery accounts among migrant couriers

Maribel Casas-Cortes

The prophetic analyses advanced by precarity networks of the late 90s and early 2000s in Southern and Central Europe strongly resonate with the context of the current platform economy. Nowadays, app-based delivery labor consists mainly of short-term, poorly paid, and highly informal arrangements with no access to benefits and low-job security standards. This gig economy has brought the language of precarity back to the fore. Based on an interdisciplinary project on food-delivery platforms in Spain, my presentation emphasizes the multi-layered and ambivalent character of precarity in the app-based delivery sector. Pointing out how precarity operates beyond the sphere of labor itself, I focus on a series of everyday instances of re-appropriation enacted by migrant couriers within those very same precarious/uncertain conditions. Emerging from key delivery platforms and mainly led by couriers with precarious citizenship statuses, these underground practices consist of sharing app-delivery accounts and couriers' own developed situated knowledges of algorithmic driven delivery. I argue that through these seemingly glitchy and anecdotic practices, transnational chains of mutual support among migrant couriers are put to work, leading to instances of "care-tizenship". This process facilitates the informal integration into national labor markets thanks to the platforms' permissive attitude towards their app-delivery accounts being worked by multiple users. In the hands of migrant couriers, these technical possibilities become the site for mutual aid practices. These practices unfold situations in which many couriers with precarious migratory statuses are able to reside, labor and develop family lives in European countries, such as Spain, regardless of migratory restrictions.

The right to the city and the right to opacity. Decolonial commoning practices of people on the move in the case of Greece

Haris Tsavdaroglou

People on the move face multiple physical and social borders, obstacles and uncertainties. In their effort to break through borders, they often develop repertoires of solidarity and commoning acts of co-mobilization that are based on mutual care, shared knowledge and self-organization. This paper proposes the interconnection of the concepts of "the right to the city" and "the right to opacity" in order to highlight the subversive, insurgent, and mobile and urban commoning practices when people arrive in a city or when they are on the move. The former bring to the fore the discussion on newcomers as city makers and actors beyond the nation-state citizenship (Holston, 2009; Isin, 2008; Lefebvre, 1968; Nyers, 2015) and the latter emphasizes the potentialities of undocumented people to move invisible, under the deck and out of the radar of authorities. These practices exercise "the right to move" and "the right to stay" developing opaque mobile and arrival infrastructures (Meeus et al., 2019) that often 'refuse being understood on the coloniser's terms, to not stand under' (Khosravi, 2020). Specifically the paper will present, analyse and discuss how newcomers and people on the move invent and craft infrastructures of mobility and urban settlement like escape routes, logistics of

connectivity and networking, and housing squats that can be perceived as decolonial mobile and urban commons. These decolonial commons are particularly important in comparison to the European Union exclusionary migration policies of housing newcomers in isolated prison-like camps, which have their origins in colonial practices of population control and governance as early as the late 19th century. The paper is based on extensive field research carried out with people on the move in Greece, a stopover country in the newcomers' long journey across Balkan geographies.

Open Format Event: Fractured relationships – Opportunities and conflicts between institutional municipalism and urban activism 'from below'

Room TBA

In this discussion, we want to further explore one of the main important research findings of the ECS project which could not be fully conceptualised and theorised. This finding is that almost all of the social movements under examination did **not** actively collaborate with their respective local municipalities – or, reversely, have even developed fractured and conflictual relationships with their local urban municipality institutions. Considering the importance that notions of “new municipalism” have played for progressive urban political actors and various social movements in Europe in the last decade, this poses some new questions, which are of political and theoretical importance. What has happened to the envisioned coalition of urban political actors and institutions with movements ‘from below’, which was part of a “new municipalism”?

With this question in mind, the ‘Open Format’ discussion intends to explore – by unearthing personal stories and experiences from organising activist practice - the relation between urban activism and municipal authorities. It aims to provide a forum for activists, scholars and audiences to participate in an open format discussion that examines vital questions that underline the relationships of engaged city inhabitants and municipalities. The forum then intends to address some of the following questions in three roundtables:

1. *Debates on existing activist-municipal relationships:* What are the opportunity structures and obstacles between activist collectives and municipalities? Can municipalities really support the solidaristic infrastructures built ‘from below’?
2. *Questions on future relationships:* What should be the role of municipalities in future activist struggles? What changes would the activists within social movements ‘from below’ want to see to revitalise these imagined political coalitions (or to build them in the first place)?
3. *The help of academia:* How could research on the role of municipalities help movements achieve their emancipatory goals?

Suggested timetable of the Open Format discussion:

15.45-15.50: Introduction by organisers (Franz Bernhardt and Marko Ribac)

15.50-16.00: Organisation into three roundtables corresponding to each of the question sections (Existing relationships, Future relationships, The role of research)

16.00-16.30: Discussion of suggested questions 'within' the roundtables

16.30-16.45: Each roundtable 'presents' their discussion results to the room, subsequent discussion on each of the three presentations with everyone present (5 minutes for each table)

16.45-17.00: Drawing together the findings from the discussions, and where we go from there ... (Moderation by Franz Bernhardt and Marko Ribac)

→ Suggested and freely available municipalist activism information:
<https://minim-municipalism.org/>

→ Suggested reading on 'radical municipalism': Laura Roth, Bertie Russell, Matthew Thompson. 2023. Politicising proximity: Radical municipalism as a strategy in crisis. *Urban Studies* 60(11), 2009-2035. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231173825>

Roundtable: Enacting Solidarity and Citizenship at Urban Scales (with Engin Isin, Margit Mayer, and Martin Bak Jørgensen; moderation: Donatella della Porta)

Friday (October 11, 2024)

Panel 3: Between Commoning and Re-Municipalization: Struggles against Profit-Oriented in the Social Fields of Housing and Care

In this panel, we highlight and discuss the implications of one of the main findings of the frame analysis that was part of our broader research project: the importance of 'profit-orientation' as a diagnostic frame, and how current struggles of social movements in the social fields of housing and care work across Europe have all taken place in the context of 'neoliberalization' (Brown 2016), privatization measures and austerity policies enacted by nation-states and private investors alike. This panel therefore looks at the various struggles that have emerged in the social fields of housing and care work activism to resist and challenge these hegemonic processes. We will examine both the political forms of organizing (commoning or remunicipalization) and the concrete practices (building infrastructure or more "everyday" practices of care) through which housing and care work movements are fighting the profit orientation of their subsequent sectors, and how they are offering alternatives against developments towards the "neoliberal city" (Hackworth 2006).

"Not just mobilised, but organised...": From place-based housing activism(s) to organisational solidarity in a stigmatised 'Ghetto' neighbourhood in Denmark

Franz Bernhardt, Aalborg University

The introduction of the 2018 'Ghetto Law' in Denmark, which requires local municipalities to dismantle or sell non-for-profit housing stock to 'eradicate' areas which the Danish government has declared to be 'parallel societies' (according to discriminating categories of income, crime, education, and racialised categories of the number of people with 'non-Western background') has led to enormous changes and disruptions across the fields of housing and migrant rights. But these state-enforced processes of commodification and territorial stigmatisation have also been met by various forms of resistance. Drawing on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork in the neighborhood area of Mjølnerparken, as well as semi-structured interviews with residents and activists from across Copenhagen, this book chapter develops a twofold argument. On the one hand, it traces from a detailed ethnography of a specific neighborhood how in response to its territorial stigmatisation the forms of resistance and housing activism which emerged there, in particular by the resident-led social movement organisation 'Almen Modstand', were grounded in localised specificities and territorialities- a form of *place-based activism*. In 2022, it was this strong place-framing and place-making that led to a moment of mobilisation of activists, from across Copenhagen, on the destruction of a community house in the area, which facilitated the emergence of another housing activism group called 'Boligaktionen København'. Building connections between residents and activists from social movements in neighboring Nørrebro, this place-based activism was successful in building transversal solidarities. On the other hand, what emerged from activist narrations was the temporality of that mobilisation, and the struggle to build new infrastructures of solidarity. Building on theoretical concepts such as transversal solidarity, this book chapter therefore conceptualises how to build *organisational solidarity*: as a new practice of organising without organisations.

Affordable, decommodified, democratic and environmentally just. How global corporate landlords helped birth an alternative vision of housing provision in Berlin

Lisa Vollmer

Recent tenant protest in Berlin has formulated an alternative vision of housing provision where housing is affordable and accessible for all, regardless of their race, class, gender or sexual orientation. A housing provision in the hands of the public, where the use value of housing is ranked higher than the exchange value of housing. A housing provision that is democratically governed, where tenants can influence housing matters such as management and renovations. The vision entails rapid energetic renovations, without rent increases, to ensure that the building sector contributes its part to reducing CO2 emissions and to shield inhabitants from high heating costs in winter and heat waves in summer. In short, it is a vision of a solidaric housing provision defined by affordability, democratisation and aiming environmental justice towards both tenants as well as climate. The vision developed is the culmination of uncounted tenant struggles in Berlin since the mid-2000s. Tenant protest is typically hyper-localist in nature and has difficulties connecting beyond the house or development scale. Paradoxically, it was struggles against the particularly disruptive valorization strategies of global corporate landlords that created specifically favourable conditions for mobilization and to overcome the hyper-local orientation of the movement. The paper will elucidate this connection and thereby analyse how the tenant movement, in general, and the campaign to expropriate large financialised landlords, in particular, was able to convince a majority of Berliners to vote in favour of the expropriation and thus enact their citizenship rights through direct democracy.

Feminism and Radical Municipalism: This is a Plausible Alliance.

Laura Roth

The relationship between feminism and different political theories and their institutions is far from straightforward. While feminism was initially developed sharing a criticism of hierarchies with liberalism, it later turned towards socialism, republicanism, and even anarchism, looking for better companions. Yet, after some time, care ethics appeared as a political theory based on feminist assumptions and also feminist values. The institutions of care ethics are one of the current fascinating debates, but there are still many pieces missing for this to become a full framework able to guide political practice outside existing institutions.

Although radical municipalism cannot yet be considered a full political theory, it does present a promising democratic repertoire based on local democracy and trans-local collaboration, challenging existing political institutions and practices based on the state, political parties and political representation. In this paper I argue that radical municipalism is a good ally for feminism and care ethics for (at least) three interrelated reasons. First, radical municipalism advocates for a politics of proximity where power is built from the ground up, not through competition (power over) but through cooperation (power with/to), which is more in accordance with a feminist view than other political theories. Second, radical municipalism emphasises the importance of micropolitics and relationships in addition to justice and fairness. In that sense, this political project is more attuned with an ethics of care than other political theories. Finally, radical municipalism wants to enlarge the space of “the political sphere”, not only by mobilising extra-parliamentarily, but also by openly questioning the division between the public and the private spheres and advocating for a strong presence of everyone in politics (and not only the usual privileged suspects).

In the initial part of the paper I define and describe radical municipalism. Then I list some differences and similarities between its assumptions and institutions, on the one hand, and liberalism, socialism, anarchism and republicanism, on the other. Finally, I analyse the three affinity points between radical municipalism and (some versions of) feminism; this is, the idea of power, the importance of relationships and the scope of the political. I conclude by arguing that radical municipalism is a promising political framework for a feminism based on an ethics of care.

Claiming and Commoning Care in the City. Solidarity Practices in/through the Feminist Strike Movement in Zurich and Bern

Sarah Schilliger, Interdisciplinary Center for Gender Studies, University of Bern

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the failure of nation-states and markets to create care infrastructures that ensure quality care and decent working conditions. This structural carelessness is most evident locally, where care gaps and unmet needs are prevalent. Feminist strike movements have increasingly addressed these issues, with significant mobilizations like the June 14, 2023, demonstration in Switzerland, where 300,000 women took to the streets. However, the feminist strike extends beyond singular events and visible acts of citizenship, constituting an ongoing process that politicizes care across different forms, scales and sites. This paper, drawing on activist ethnographic research, explores how care is politicized in Bern and Zurich, focusing on the intersectional solidarities that emerge around care in these cities. As I will show, childcare workers

and networks of mothers are at the forefront of addressing the care crisis by 1) claiming for the expansion of public childcare infrastructures, 2) creating self-organized care spaces and caring communities, and 3) negotiating with local authorities to institutionalize solidarity and promote a 'caring city'. These collective actions, undertaken by paid and un(der)paid care workers, can be seen as practical responses to the immediate needs, while also serving as experiments in alternative, self-organized and collective forms of care. By affirming interdependency and fostering proximity, the care workers challenge both the traditional public-private divide and the neoliberal "care fix" strategy (Dowling 2021) which attempts to bridge the care crisis by offloading the cost of care to less privileged sectors of society.

Panel 4: Building Solidarity Cities, Infrastructuring Urban Solidarity

This panel elaborates on the forms of solidarity and citizenship that (can) emerge in the context of a solidarity/sanctuary city framework. First, we want to broaden the debate on solidarity cities beyond its focus on migration and ask about the experiences and potential of solidarity/sanctuary city mobilizations that provide a connecting/intersectional framework for a multitude of urban social struggles for a good life for all inhabitants (including access for all to housing, care, education, democratic participation). In this context, we also ask how concepts such as "new municipalism", and "urban citizenship" relate to "solidarity city" concepts. Second, we are theoretically and empirically interested in the relationship and dynamics between grassroots transformative practices and municipal politics. We want to discuss their interplay and also cases in which a co-production of urban infrastructures of solidarity could potentially succeed. Finally, we are also interested in the multi-scalar relations inherent in these political practices, reflecting on the role of cities vis-a-vis national and supranational institutions, but also on the relation between city, community, and neighbourhood scales.

Refugee hosting and the intimate infrastructures of urban solidarity

Jonathan Darling

The past decade has seen the growth of grassroots refugee hosting organisations across the UK. Diverse in nature, size, and type, these organisations provide short-term accommodation for homeless asylum seekers and refugees and represent a critical voluntary response to refugee homelessness. Building on feminist accounts of the intimate, this paper advances understanding of how these programmes of hosting, which rely upon embodied contact across distinctions of citizenship status, develop openings for solidarity between citizens and non-citizens. The paper draws on the work of The No Accommodation Network (NACCOM), a UK-wide collective that brings together organisations across the country who run night shelters for destitute asylum seekers, host refugees and asylum seekers in spare bedrooms, and in some cases have purchased property to enable asylum seekers and refugees to have a more secure future. In considering the role of such intimate infrastructures of support, the paper explores how alternative models of accommodation and support are being enacted in urban contexts across the UK. Whilst starting with the intimate relations of hosting, many grass roots organisations have now begun to experiment with building

more sustainable accommodation futures beyond hosting. In the case of NACCOM, this has involved two critical moves, first, working with urban authorities to identify opportunities for collaboration on housing rights that resist the exclusions of the nation-state, and second, working with the wider homelessness sector to explore opportunities for solidarity across forms of urban dispossession and displacement.

Reflections on Solidarity: A Research Ethics in Theory and Practice

Veronika Zablotsky

While the lived experiences and struggles of refugees and migrants have long inspired academic debates on questions that range from the contours of the human to the cosmopolitan visions of radical democracy, critical migration scholars must account for the implicatedness of university-based knowledge production in structurally violent, unequal and exploitative power relations. This talk reflects on the institutional, ethical, and methodological challenges of activist scholarship in accompaniment of migrant justice movements that aims to be responsive and accountable to social justice struggles. Departing from a normative conception of solidarity as a practice that aims to dismantle structural injustice while furthering emancipatory social change through joint action with others, I argue that a research ethics of solidarity reorients methodological choices and citational practices in such a way as to enhance the autonomy of marginalized persons and groups. I will illustrate this proposition through examples from my own solidarity action research in accompaniment of migrant justice movements across Europe and the Americas, including: 1) the urban interventions of the *Kiosk of Solidarity* developed by the interdisciplinary research project *Transforming Solidarities* with civil society partners engaged in solidarity practices in labor, housing, and health in the city of Berlin; 2) the oral history project *40 Years of Sanctuary* which archives video-taped narrative interviews with key protagonists of the transnational sanctuary movement in Germany; and 3) the co-articulations of sanctuary and abolition by the interdisciplinary research group *Sanctuary Spaces: Reworlding Humanism* at the University of California, Los Angeles which inform its forthcoming open access anthology with Duke University Press (co-edited with Ananya Roy). On this basis, I explore how the dynamics of recognition, redress, and repair play out in theory and practice when solidarity is mobilized as a research ethics for activist scholarship.

Affective Solidarity: Social Movements' Framing of Migration

Mojca Pajnik, Marko Ribač

The analytical current of research into emotions and affectivity has increased in the last decade and is concerned with emotional social dynamics or the “affective turn” in “late capitalism”. This paper contributes to the theorisation of the affective in the field of social movement analysis, which has remained a neglected field of enquiry in attempts to 'normalise affects' beyond traditional binarisms (rational-emotional, public-private) in addressing social issues. We consider emotions as part of social and cultural processes when it comes to enacting citizenship and solidarity in contentious action. We argue that affective framing helps social movements to widen the scope of new

imaginaries and forms of belonging by foregrounding emotions as discursively expressed 'moral batteries' fostering action. The paper compares framing processes across multiple local sites and national or municipal contexts on issues related to migration by analysing public documents in selected cities in five European countries (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Slovenia and Switzerland). Beyond the degree of affective communication and the types of affects used in the movements' 'affective discourse', we examine how specific emotions are attached to the formulation of problems and solutions in the movements' public appeals on migration and migration policy. The findings show how the movements use different strategies to mobilise affects. They engage with empathy and compassion when they show solidarity with migrants in the struggles against border and detention regimes, on the one hand. On the other hand, social movement organisations also put forward emotions of anger and frustration when discussing harmful actions taken by state officials, contributing to a high degree of "affective resemblance" among solidaristic social movements that are questioning different citizenship regimes.