



*Routledge Studies in International Political Sociology*

# **COLLECTIVE MOVEMENTS AND EMERGING POLITICAL SPACES**

Edited by  
Angharad Closs Stephens and Martina Tazzioli



**ROUTLEDGE**

# Collective Movements and Emerging Political Spaces

*Collective Movements and Emerging Political Spaces* addresses the politics of new forms of collective movements, ranging from anti-austerity protests to migrant struggles and anti-colonial demonstrations.

Drawing on examples from various countries, as well as struggles taking place across borders, this book traces the emergence of new practices of being political, described as ‘collective movements’. These represent something looser than a common identity – long held as necessary for a political struggle to cohere. They also suggest a different understanding of emancipation to the promise of transformation in time. By addressing various examples of ‘collective movements’, the chapters in this book examine other ways of being political together, formed through relations carved in cramped spaces or small movements that rearrange our ideas about what is possible. Drawing on the temporary and fleeting nature of many migrants’ struggles, the chapters develop concepts and approaches that acknowledge how such mobilisations trouble many standard political sociological categories – including nation, identity and citizenship. In combining an attentiveness to theories of affect, emotion and atmosphere, they also go beyond a focus on either individuals or collectives, to address the ways bodies are moved by the world and by others. Overall, the chapters propose new questions, methods and starting points for addressing collective movements in emerging political spaces, and for understanding how what counts as politics is being redrawn on the ground.

This book will interest students, researchers and scholars of international political sociology, human geography, international relations, critical security studies and migration studies.

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*Edited by Angharad Closs Stephens and Martina Tazzioli*

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**Edited by  
Angharad Closs Stephens  
and Martina Tazzioli**

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# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<b>1 Collective movements and emerging political spaces: an introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
ANGHARAD CROSS STEPHENS AND MARTINA TAZZIOLI	
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>The conditions of being political</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2 International political sociology and problematising critique: interview with Claudia Aradau, Jason Dittmer, Jef Huysmans and Debbie Lisle</b>	<b>17</b>
CLAUDIA ARADAU, JASON DITTMER, JEF HUYSMANS AND DEBBIE LISLE	
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>Migrant spaces</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3 The multiple genealogies of abolitionism: undoing the detractive rights' logics and the reform-revolution dichotomy</b>	<b>35</b>
MARTINA TAZZIOLI	
<b>4 Unruly migrations, abolitionist alternatives</b>	<b>52</b>
VICKI SQUIRE	
<b>5 CommemorAction</b>	<b>63</b>
MAURICE STIERL	
<b>6 Affect, uncertainty and exhaustion: methodological reflections on migration struggles and governance</b>	<b>69</b>
LEONIE ANSEMS DE VRIES, NORA STEL AND NADINE VOELKNER	

<b>PART III</b>	
<b>Affective solidarities</b>	83
<b>7 Drowned world: imagined futures and collective movements</b>	85
ANGHARAD CLOSS STEPHENS	
<b>8 Senses of togetherness in a Covid city</b>	105
MARTIN COWARD	
<b>9 Foreignness/forensis: burdened entanglement in the Black Mediterranean</b>	121
SAM OKOTH OPONDO AND LORENZO RINELLI	
<b>10 The libidinal lives of statues</b>	136
RAHUL RAO	
<b>PART IV</b>	
<b>Emergent politics</b>	149
<b>11 Examining emerging xenophobic nationalism in Sweden: transformations between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ civil society</b>	151
EMMA Mc CLUSKEY	
<b>12 Examining the limits of the hospitable nation: hosting schemes and asylum seeker’s perspectives on destitution</b>	162
FRANZ BERNHARDT	
<b>13 The paradox of Anthropocene inaction: knowledge production, mobilisation and the securitisation of social relations</b>	174
MADELEINE FAGAN	
<b>14 From muscular nationalisms to struggles for freedom: interview with Nicholas De Genova and Nandita Sharma</b>	193
NICHOLAS DE GENOVA AND NANDITA SHARMA	
<b>15 Afterword: planetary movements</b>	212
ENGIN ISIN	
<i>Index</i>	223

# Figures

7.1	The sign ‘Cofiwch Dryweryn’ (Remember Tryweryn) on the beach in Abertawe/Swansea, August 2019. Photograph by Angharad Closs Stephens	86
7.2	Badges for sale, August 2019. Photograph by Angharad Closs Stephens	86
7.3	Capel Celyn memorial chapel, near the reservoir. Designed by R. L. Gapper, August 2019. Photograph by Angharad Closs Stephens	94
7.4	The original wall and the security camera, August 2020. Photograph by Angharad Closs Stephens	96
7.5	Llyn Celyn, the reservoir created from the flooding of Tryweryn, August 2019. Photograph by Angharad Closs Stephens	97
8.1	Morning, January 2021. Copyright Martin Coward	106
8.2	Blue Sky, May 2020. Copyright Martin Coward	110
8.3	Supermarket Traffic Lights, September 2020. Copyright Martin Coward	111
8.4	Queue Marker, June 2020. Copyright Martin Coward	112
8.5	Tribute Bench, May 2020. Copyright Martin Coward	113
8.6	Tribute Bench, June 2020. Copyright Martin Coward	114





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# 1 Collective movements and emerging political spaces

## An introduction

*Angharad Closs Stephens and Martina Tazzioli*

We are finalising this book in the early aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, and as the world begins to make sense of this collective experience of significant global change. So far, in the UK and Europe more generally, there are minimal efforts to mark or remember this period, in memorials to the hundreds of thousands who died. Memorials are pursued informally by families and friends brought together in bereavement, and who have mobilised as a collective movement outside of any formal or state-organised efforts at remembrance. But largely, there is silence on what has just passed. A collective memory of the Covid-19 pandemic has not yet sedimented. And at this point, it seems that the collective experience of Covid-19 has closed off the political possibility of making a claim for equal rights to public health or the right to public spaces, which appeared so valuable in this period.

We are therefore writing from a position in between a period of significant global disruption, and returning to a social order of heightened inequalities, war, enduring violent struggles and environmental emergencies. Reflecting on a different period, and on how the experience of two World Wars led to a distinct change in social consciousness, Reinhart Koselleck writes that although people's experiences varied, everyone had in some way lived through a rupture. He discusses how people went on to make sense of that rupture, and as those experiences were 'worked through', how they led to change in forms of behaviour, attitudes and outlook (2018: 214) even as other memories remained unprocessed, and without a language for expressing them. Naturally, the aftermath of two World Wars presents a different context to the Covid-19 pandemic, in terms of the forms and scales of violence, but Koselleck's reflections seem relevant. We find ourselves in a sense of collective disorientation (Engelhard, Li, and Van Wingerden, 2021: 431) which has, and may yet lead to more change in behaviours, attitude and outlook. From this space in between, we are interested in the collective movements organising and shaping the emerging new world.

### **What are collective movements?**

Since the event of the 2008 financial crisis, political struggle, dissent and solidarity has taken place in numerous creative and unanticipated forms, sites and spaces. In 2011, the Occupy movement gathered in public and private spaces in global cities



to argue against the increasing concentration of wealth among a small minority. In 2020, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the Black Lives Matter protests mobilised across the spaces of social media as well as in public squares from Melbourne to London. Indigenous activists in British Columbian cities and towns have protested against plans to build a Coastal GasLink pipeline across Wet'suwet'en territory. Migrants held in Greek refugee camps have protested against the unsanitary, overcrowded living conditions that they are forced to live in, as well as European governments' refusal to agree long-term solutions for the populations that continue to arrive at Europe's frontiers. Meanwhile, students and young people at schools, colleges and universities have collectively and repeatedly walked out of classes to call for meaningful global action against the increasingly visible and distressing effects of climate change.

These are all examples of what we call *collective movements*. They emerge in multiple sites and spaces, from streets to social media, classrooms to parks and public squares. However, their claims and struggles exceed the legalistic framework of statist categories. That is, they do not rely on a common identity or make a claim to political territory. Their collective discourses can in fact be better defined as 'counter-discourses': by raising punctual demands and starting from the materiality of living conditions, they articulate expansive claims that do not fit into existing legal-political frameworks and narratives. They are, we can say, discordant with respect to traditional political grammar and categories, and challenge ideas about political membership. What draws our attention is their experimental, lively and creative nature. Although many of these collective movements are precarious and temporary, they nevertheless draw on sedimented and widely shared political practices and languages. The combination of the fleeting, the unusual and the familiar in these movements invite us to consider how we might rethink understandings of what it means to be political and to engage in transformative politics.

These movements, which have sometimes been transitory and at other times endured, have in many cases been exposed to violent suppression. They are overall hard to pin down and to classify. Their incorrigibility with respect to established normative political categories and the terms of a traditional collective subject (such as class, population) is at the core of this edited volume. These emergent collective movements contribute to processes of communing; they enrich ways of being in common and produce new ones. One of the features that these movements have in common is their apparent temporariness, as they are targeted by state repression, and as their autonomous infrastructures are dismantled (Tazzioli, 2019). And yet, their apparent fleetingness should not lead us to ignore the political memories and legacies engendered. What needs to be studied further is precisely how constituent counter-powers emerge, and how new political vocabularies and practices circulate and are transmitted over time, *despite* the precarity and temporariness of some of these movements.

In this book, we are interested in how such movements are producing and claiming new spaces, as people gather together to articulate refusal, objection and dissent. And we explore the collective political subjectivities emerging from these movements, and how they suggest distinctive communities of sense (Hinderliter

et al., 2009). Communities of sense are marked by a ‘nonessential manner of being together in a community whose coherence is no more than a fiction or potentiality’ (2009: 2). They share a refusal to insist on a condition of *membership* for being political. Against the premise of a politics driven by the need to establish commonality, the emerging political movements that we highlight are plural agglomerations, where the starting points, aims, desires and ways of mobilising are worked out *in the doing of them*. Through them, new forms and categories of being political are emerging.

What these movements share, then, is their irreducibility to a stable and single collective entity, and how they may not look like a recognisable political movement. This is unlike political movements organised around the categories of ‘the class’, ‘the precariat’ or ‘the multitude’. And yet, by saying this, we are not hinting at the disappearance of collective subjects. On the contrary, alongside the return of the global politics of nationalism, these categories have in many ways returned, and assumed a new intensity as part of an era of populism. What marks these new and emerging movements is that they are operating in a context where the established forms of being political, or at least the structures, promises and institutions of liberal democracy, are in deep crisis. Whilst populists gather and act in the name of ‘the people’ against the elites, in response to a disenchantment with ‘politics as usual’ (Panizza, 2005), these movements gather in the name of another people, which is not defined by homogeneity. Being emergent, they are situated in a particular relationship to the dominant culture and prevailing political structures. As Raymond Williams explained, the emergent points to certain ‘experiences, meanings or values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture’ (1977: 22). The emergent is ‘lived and practised on the basis of the residue’, and it does not seek to reproduce itself or incorporate itself in the powerful culture (1977: 22). Accordingly, a key element of the collective movements that we are seeing around us is that they are emerging in response to a crisis of politics, but they do so without relying on the framing of politics as usual.

### **International political sociology and emerging political spaces**

The conceptual approach that we chart in this volume draws on debates in the field of International Political Sociology (IPS). This is a plural collection of approaches, an interdisciplinary ‘collective space’ (Lisle, 2016) principally focused around the study of International Relations and Global Politics. However, it draws on and intersects with debates in Sociology, Geography, Anthropology and Science and Technology Studies. IPS has emerged out of three bodies of work that can be highlighted. Firstly, it builds upon the significant disciplinary interventions that poststructuralist and feminist scholars in International Relations (IR) made during the 1990s, as they sought to expand and rework what *counted* in the study of this field (see for example Enloe, 1990; Peterson, 1992; Sylvester, 2002). This included stretching and reimagining what deserved and should be studied of ‘international politics’, bringing in the seemingly mundane field of everyday life, as well as issues, sites and practices historically considered less important, including

social movements, the environment, gender and race. Secondly, it draws on the contributions of postcolonial, poststructural and postmodern scholarship in IR and the mutually connecting interest in the legacies of the work of scholars including Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989; Grovogui, 1996; Walker, 1992). This mutual interest crystallises around acknowledging how power and resistance are entangled, and how efforts at subverting power can contribute to new forms of violence and suppression – a foundationally important point for IPS scholarship. This work, over the period of the 1990s and 2000s, included significant engagements with race, postcolonialism and imperialism (Anievas, Manchanda, and Shilliam, 2015; Shilliam, 2020). Thirdly, the open collective drawn towards IPS approaches have more recently gathered around a journal called *International Political Sociology*, one of the International Studies Association's official journals, now published by Oxford University Press. The first issue, published in March 2007, notes how scholars responding to problems 'international in scale and character' were looking for a gathering place that the discipline of international relations was not providing (Bigo and Walker, 2007).

Current IPS scholarship mainly focuses on the shortcomings of state-centred analysis as well as the problems in conceptualising resistance and power in oppositional terms. It also asks us to reframe what 'world politics is taken to be' (Walker, 2016: 112). This has included recent efforts to unsettle the methodological nationalism at the core of international relations and migration research, by 'fracturing' state categories (Ansems de Vries et al., 2017; Huysmans and Nogueira, 2016, 2021). Whilst we appreciate the call to 'fracture', a situated analysis of the present political conjuncture might also lead us to consider the urgency of asking how to stitch things together again: to engage in articulating more expansive claims perhaps, or to engage in transformative practices that converge towards the formation of new political collectives. Indeed, in a time when right-wing and populist parties are setting the terms of the narrative, on topics from migration to climate change, it is paramount to draw attention to constituent struggles that might lead to alternative collective subject formations. Accordingly, the contributions to this volume all draw on theory and practice to consider a politics of justice that exceeds normative and legal frames (Balibar, Mezzadra, and Samaddar, 2011), building on IPS's seminal critique of a monolithic understanding of politics and collective subjects.

This book is therefore interested in how diverse mobilisations are suggesting ways of being political that are suspicious of certainty. Les Back and Jenny Edkins point to the politics of certainty as a form of pessimism – able to blanket itself in the 'curious comfort' of being right that things are terrible and that change is not possible (Back, 2021; also Edkins, 2019). Back contrasts this with a politics of 'worldly hope' that seeks to maintain the capacity to be surprised. This optimism does not shy away from the horrors of the world, but rather emerges precisely from paying attention (Lisle, 2016). It is because of the mess of the world that we mobilise, join with others and ask how things might be different. As Stuart Hall once put it, 'we are always, always working on the mess' (Gilroy and Gilmore, 2021: 426). As we press 'the marginalised or more marginal values and virtues back into the middle', we

encounter opposition, pushback, discomfort and power's desire to maintain its own power. However, the most difficult aspect of a struggle, according to Stuart Hall, is that we also wrestle with some of 'the ethical and political baggage we carry with us' (Gilroy and Gilmore, 2021: 426). Working with doubt rather than certainty, means addressing the world in its changing form, and not 'as we always thought it existed' (Edkins, 2019). This might mean working as part of unexpected alliances. The movements we are drawn to emerge as unusual, creative and sometimes contradictory and surprising examples of working on the mess of the world.

We are addressing collective movements in *emerging political spaces* to highlight that they often appear to take form quickly, assume a loose and changeable form and do not work with a firm set of coordinates outlining where they are heading. In this sense, they reverberate with the energies, desires and hard work of the environmental, feminist and queer movements of the 1960s, as well as the trade union and anti-nuclear movements of the 1980s and anti-globalisation movements of the 1990s (Amoore, 2005; della Porta, 2017). We describe them as 'movements' due to their constitutive ambivalence: that is, 'movements' refers both to collective mobilisations *and* to the emergence of new political subjectivities. These subjectivities are not simply part of but, rather, conflate with and *stem from* the experience of the movement itself. This echoes the claims made by the *Gilets Noir* [a movement of people living without formal citizenship documents (known as 'sans-papier') and that loosely build on the experience of the *Sans Papiers* collective that started in France in 1996]: when mobilising in Paris in 2019, to demand accommodations and documents, they argued that the distinctive character of the *Gilet Noirs* lies in how it is 'not a collective, it is a movement' (ACTA Zone, 2019). The use of the term 'movements' enables a rethinking of collective political subjectivities by refusing the presumption of sedentary norms. Similar to what Engin Isin calls 'mobile people', they find it impossible to constitute themselves as political subjects precisely because they are *not coextensive with a territory* (2018). They exceed a political subjectivity or group that we can more confidently name and put in its place. They therefore emerge from a turbulent political landscape and include various status of citizenship and belonging. They may include indigenous and non-indigenous people standing together, or migrants organising alongside citizen populations; in so doing, they question these categories, as well as the distinction between them.

### **Movements upon movements**

What are the key differences between present collective movements and the anti-globalisation or No Global movements that began in the late 1990s? What are the most relevant transformations that occurred in between? We can broadly retrace three main historical steps since the late 1990s. The 'first wave' was during the timeframe of 1999–2003, when the alterglobalisation and noglobal movements were centre stage. They became widely known through the demonstrations that took place at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) conference in Seattle, in 1999. What they had in common was the insistence on symbolic actions, and an explicit critique of the socio-economic inequalities produced by globalisation. Two key

books marked this period and can be considered the ‘bibles’ of the movement: *No Logo*, by Naomi Klein (2010), and *Empire*, by Michael Hardt and Toni Negri (2000). These movements used to take action during big summits (like the G8) and they organised counter-summits, such as World Social Forums (Porto Alegre, and European Social Forums Florence). This was also a period of international convergences and connections between movements: the Zapatista in Mexico, the Intifada in Palestine, the NoTav movement in Italy and Indigenous mobilisations in Bolivia against the privatisation of water were at the core of this repertoire of connected struggles across the globe. It is important to recall also that left-leaning mobilisations and governments in many countries in Latin America (Bolivia, Argentina, Venezuela), after decades of right-wing ruling parties, also contributed to shape the agenda of some of these struggles: ‘the continent of social movements’, as Gago and Mezzadra define Latin America, ‘brought to the fore anti-neoliberal claims (centered on privatisation), a specific dynamic between ‘social movements’ and ‘progressive governments’ [...] and emerging new forms of activism rooted within everyday life (particularly within ‘popular economies’) (Mezzadra and Gago, 2017). The accelerated securitisation processes that followed the events of 11 September 2001 weakened these mobilisations. However, the Arab Uprisings in 2011 can be seen as the start of a ‘second wave’ of collective mobilisations. Indeed, they triggered a domino effect across the MENA region and reached Europe and North America: in Spain, the movement of Indignados (15-M) occupied the main public squares for months to protest against austerity measures and, from there, the left-leaning party Podemos emerged; in other European countries similar occupations unfolded and culminated in big demonstrations in October 2011; whilst in the meantime, the Occupy movement, which began in Zuccotti park, New York, on 17 September 2011, spread across the United States.

Notably, the Occupy movement was inspired by the Arab Uprisings that started with the Tunisian revolution and the fall of Ben Ali, on January 14, 2011, and with the occupation of Tahir Square in Cairo (Egypt) on January 25. This ‘second wave’ of collective movements earmarked the centrality of digital technologies and social media in organising mobilisations, occasionally escaping state censorship and inventing new forms of protest, in which physical and digital presence coalesced. The conjuncture of anti-racist mobilisations against police brutality, triggered by Black Lives Matter, and of environmental movements (Extinction Rebellion, Fridays for Future) can be seen as a ‘third wave’, building on the political legacy of previous mobilisations. These started from very specific demands and built-up expansive claims. For example, the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020, prompted by the murder of George Floyd by police officers on 25 May, took place in cities across the world, but also morphed into community education groups, reading groups and new initiatives to address the new and enduring legacies of racism in the arts, on television and in schools. While all the movements that have taken place since the late 1990s might be deemed anti-capitalist, the way in which they articulate their claims nevertheless differ. In the case of the NoGlobal movement, the challenge to capitalist modes of production was quite straightforward; during the Occupy-Arab Uprisings-Indignados moment, the main focus was austerity.

Meanwhile, the current mobilisations are tackling capitalism from angles that have not always been placed at the forefront (climate change, colonialism).

These movements have therefore included seasoned activists but also brought new people and new generations to the streets, and to work on the histories of racism and colonialism in their institutions and places of work. The goals of these movements are often both very immediate— to protest injustice now— but also deferred, in that there is no one solution that is easily accessed. Sometimes, these movements involve simply the affective, immediate compulsion to revolt. At other times, they evolve into more formalised attempts at sustaining solidarities and bringing about change – although no political act carries a guarantee as to what might come of it (Arendt, 1998). Nevertheless, we are mindful that the term ‘collective movements’ may suggest something more purposeful than what is understood by the people involved in them. That is, people gather, get together and press for change under conditions of domination, but they may not understand their own role as that of political actors acting with *purpose* and *intention* (Hughes, 2020). This is why attending to the affective dimensions of these movements allows us to address how they might *also* involve chance, experimentation, speculation or a snap decision to go along. They are *emergent* in the sense that they do not abide by clear coordinates in framing their own identity or that of the opposition; however, their energy, the demand for change and the call they present to the world suggests a form of being political that demands further study. In this volume, we are interested in forms of resistance that may not take the form of organised, purposeful revolt. This might include forms of being together that involve loose, informal and unspectacular communities. We explore forms of resistance that complicate the typical understandings of this term.

Geography plays a key role in these collective movements: the occupation, re-invention and production of (public) space has been at the core of these highly heterogenous mobilisations. Far from being a mere container of collective movements, the process of becoming political involves claiming, reconfiguring, contesting and gathering in space. Such gathering may involve ‘showing up, standing, breathing, moving, standing still, speech and silence’— all aspects and forms of a ‘sudden assembly’, argues Judith Butler (2015: 18). As such, space is central to the possibility of joining with others, but also for the act of witnessing people assembling. At the same time, ‘geography is not enough’ (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013): the temporality and genealogy of these emergent collective movements is also important. We consider temporality here in a twofold sense. On the one hand, it is about how the collective memory of past mobilisations informs current struggles. This has been described as movements building upon movements (El-Shaarawi and Razsa, 2019). On the other hand, it refers to the political legacy that collective movements will leave, beyond their temporariness. This is a point that feminist scholarship on racism, slavery and abolitionism has repeatedly insisted upon (Davis, 2016) and that we revisit in this book. For example, the construction of transnational solidarities and transversal alliances ‘acknowledge the intersections of these stories’ of struggles and the ways in which these stories are crosshatched and overlaid’ (Davis, 2016). Combining reflections on the production of space with

questions about collective memory and temporality allows new insights into the apparently ephemeral and fleeting dimensions of many movements and struggles.

### **Outline of the book**

The political context that led to this book can be traced back to what has been called the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe – although the description of it as a ‘crisis’ has been critiqued by many scholars of migration for how this obscures the diffuse and enduring fact of people crossing international borders (Carastathis and Tsilimpounidi, 2020; Nyers, 2016). The problem with the descriptor of crisis is that it immediately takes us into the frame of the nation-state and inscribes migration within ‘the pervasive violence of nationalist history’ (Rediker, 2020). Yet in some ways, the period since the 2008 global financial crisis can be narrated as a series of crises: from the economic, to the humanitarian, to global health and the climate. As our opening interview, on ‘Problematizing Critique’, with Claudia Aradau, Jason Dittmer, Jef Huysmans and Debbie Lisle notes, unsettling the vocabulary of ‘crisis’ is a central part of undoing methodological nationalism, which continues to underpin scholarship on global politics and migration. And moving away from an obsession with ‘crisis’ is also necessary to the work of thinking critically (Roitman et al., 2020). In this opening interview, Aradau, Dittmer, Huysmans and Lisle challenge the persistence of the national framework and related ways of seeing like a state. They also build on extant work in IPS that has paid attention to transversal connections, operating between different movements and across states (Basaran et al., 2016), in an effort to look at world politics horizontally rather than vertically. From discussions about visual politics to mobility, slow violence to creative methods, this interview maps out what doing critical work inspired by International Political Sociology might look like.

The first section is then titled, ‘Migrant Spaces’. It invokes how migration constitutes an urgent topic that we address, but also provides an analytical lens for investigating collective movements and emergent spaces. Over the last few years, we have been confronted with a multiplication of border zones enforced by states to confine, deter and choke the people crossing borders; but what has emerged alongside is a proliferation of migrants’ spaces and migrants’ collective infrastructures of liveability. Although many of these spaces have lasted only for weeks or months, as they have been targeted by violent police evictions or because migrants’ routes have changed in the meantime – making it difficult to keep a memory of them (Altin and Minca, 2017; De Hasque and Lecadet, 2020), they have formed significant examples of collective movements.

Both Martina Tazzioli and Vicki Squire’s chapters engage border abolitionist literatures to develop new critical angles for engaging Europe’s migration crisis, and in doing so, draw much-needed attention to the connections between the study of borders, race, ethnicity and migration. As Tazzioli shows in her chapter, an abolitionist approach is especially relevant for unpacking the persistent distinction between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ migrants (see also Shilliam, 2018). She unpacks the logics of migrant confinement by examining the case of movements in

Europe that campaigned to close psychiatric hospitals, in the late 1960s and 1980s. Vicki Squire and Maurice Stierl's chapters are then both based around close-up, practice-based work with the people involved in dangerous journeys across the Mediterranean Sea. For example, Squire introduces us to people's voices, from her interviews with people attempting these crossings in Europe in 2015–2016, in Kos, Malta and Sicily, among other locations. Using the concept of 'organised abandonment' – a concept initially used by Ruth Wilson Gilmore to describe the US prison system, and how it works to abandon Black communities, she extends it to discuss the abandonment of people crossing the Mediterranean Sea today. Maurice Stierl continues the focus on people's voices, but in this case, introduces us to Amadou (a pseudonym) who volunteers at the morgue in Tangier, Morocco, to provide information to the families and friends of those who die attempting to cross the Med. Stierl also documents the work of an activist organisation, CommemorAction, who actively remember those who lose their lives at Europe's borders. Leonie Ansems de Vries, Nora Stel and Nadine Voelkner's chapter expands the frame, to compare notes from their different work researching borders in Europe, the 'Middle East' and Southeast Asia, to reflect on the persistent theme of uncertainty in migration – how 'chronic uncertainty' and exhaustion are ways of life for many populations forced to cross international borders, and also form deliberate governmental techniques and structures, which they encounter repeatedly in the course of their research. Their chapter touches on some of the affective states that provide a focus for chapters in the next section too.

An interest in the migration of people, in responses to migration, and in the ways populations get framed as either settled or mobile, takes us to *movement* as a framework for addressing the political. But it also takes us to questions about how we are moved (or not) in response to the suffering or injustice shown to others, as the next section, on 'Affective Solidarities' discusses. Turning to affect allows us to address 'the grounding and ungrounding of emotional life in relationships', in ways that travel between humans, and which also exceed humans and include non-human materials (Pratt and Rosner, 2012: 6). It allows us to address how feelings and emotions form an inescapable aspect of politics, and necessary to the possibility of people organising together as part of a movement. This may be organised, intentional and full of purpose, but it may also be loose, haphazard and without a sense of it involving more than that moment. Angharad Closs Stephens's chapter opens this section by looking at a case affective nationalism, when hundreds of people across Wales, in the UK, went about painting the slogan 'Cofiwch Dryweryn' (Remember Tryweryn) in public spaces, and sharing it online. The slogan recalled the decision taken in 1956 to evacuate and flood a village in north Wales to create a new reservoir supplying water for the citizens of Liverpool. This chapter asks why did this event re-emerge in 2019, and how did it shape the way the present was understood and the future imagined? This chapter is followed by Martin Coward's, who reflects on the loose and spontaneous communities that emerged during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic in the UK, and how this period reconfigured social relations. Drawing on an auto-ethnography carried out in a northern city in the UK, Coward pays attention to how new sensory and affective cues recalibrated how we did/do



relate to others in everyday life. He demonstrates how this case offers significant implications for debates in visual politics: it shows how visual cues did not only act as a symbol that we make sense of in discourse, but rather actively contributed to the reconfiguration of space and togetherness.

Sam Okoth Opondo and Lorenzo Rinelli extend this sensory engagement, but return us to the case of the people dying while crossing the Mediterranean Sea. In a creatively written chapter, aimed at breaking out of the dominant framing of how precarious African migrant lives are written about, they tell the story of Nike Favor Adekune, a young Nigerian whose body was found in the Misilmeri countryside in December 2011. In doing so, they attempt to write new and emerging understandings of justice, rights and belonging. Rahul Rao closes this section by examining the timely politics of statues, and specifically, the desire to dismantle, topple, deface, or defend statues. Rao invites us to ask, why target statues? He returns to the iconoclasm of the Protestant Reformation, and a period of violence against images within churches in Europe, to unpack what is at stake in the psychic act of destroying an image.

The third section of the book, titled 'Emergent Politics', turns to multiple, situated attempts to follow different forms of collective movements on the ground. This begins with Emma Mc Cluskey's chapter, which studies the coming into being of a political community identifying as 'far right' during the time of the 2015 refugee crisis, in Sweden. Her chapter attunes us to a central theme in International Political Sociology, that is, that such 'groups' do not have fixed or pre-existing characteristics. Her ethnography shows us how communities that gathered in this period because of a shared sense of humanitarianism, also demonstrated an exclusionary and xenophobic ethos. Her chapter demonstrates that the lines between 'good' and 'bad' politics are not as clear as we may like to think. Franz Bernhardt continues with a focus on some of the everyday practices around the refugee crisis in Europe, but looks at the case of people who agreed to act as 'hosts' for refugee 'guests' in the city of Swansea, in Wales. Through interviews with both 'hosts' and 'guests' in this context, he looks at how these categories were unsettled through the experience of people living temporarily together. This chapter again engages a central IPS theme, of how these categories, hosts and guests, are made possible by the state, and are also undone by the practices of hospitality.

Madeleine Fagan's chapter turns our attention to the environmental crisis and the climate emergency. Here she returns to one of the first themes engaged in this book, and that is the problem with framing a topic as a crisis. She also addresses an affective problem, and that is, how the environmental crisis is narrated as urgent and critical, and yet, 'we do nothing'. Rather than understand this problem as a case of people not acting in the ways they are meant to do, she turns her attention to how the environmental crisis is framed and narrated to us, and how the Anthropocene is produced as a crisis as part of a 'security rationality'. She shows us that this has depoliticising effects, that militate against the emergence of collective movements. The next two chapters actively consider various responses to this and other examples of depoliticisation, as Nandita Sharma, Nicholas De Genova and Engin Isin energetically address questions about how we better understand these