Insidious Harassment

Criminalisation, Solidarity, and Migration in France and Morocco

Hagan, M.; Bachelet, S.

DOI
10.1111/anti.13019

Publication date
2024

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Antipode

A Radical Journal of Geography
ANTIPODE

Insidious Harassment: Criminalisation, Solidarity, and Migration in France and Morocco

Maria Hagan

Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands, m.h.hagan@uva.nl

Sébastien Bachelet

Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK, sebastien.bachelet@manchester.ac.uk

Abstract: Amidst well-documented hostile migration policies, this article explores how logics of criminalisation seep into the lives of activists and citizens, providing assistance, relief, advocacy, and other forms of support to migrant people. As presences considered legal and legitimate, solidarity actors inhabit distinct subjectivities from those of people migrating informally, yet state authorities interpret their acts as problematic and subject them to intrusive modes of policing. Drawing on critical border studies and feminist geography, this article homes in on less spectacular modes of criminalisation that target them in the intimacy of their everyday lives, threatening their sense of security through opaque surveillance, attacks on their emotions, employment prospects and family life. Drawing on ethnographic research carried out among these groups in Morocco and northern France, we conceptualise this mode of criminalisation as *insidious harassment*, examining the entanglement of geopolitics, emotions, and the intimate at these migration pressure points. Without decentring migrants as the primary targets of violent bordering, it broadens our understanding of these regimes by drawing attention to the ways in which they viscerally target those who work to protect the rights of migrant people.

Résumé: Alors que les politiques migratoires hostiles sont bien documentées, cet article aborde la manière dont des logiques de criminalisation s'infiltrent dans la vie des activistes et des citoyens qui apportent assistance, secours, plaidoyer et autres formes de soutien aux personnes en migration. Considérés comme des présences légales et légitimes, les acteurs de la solidarité portent des subjectivités différentes de celles des personnes qui migrent informellement. Néanmoins, les autorités étatiques considèrent que leurs actes sont problématiques, et les soumettent à des modes de contrôle policer intrusifs. S'appuyant sur des études critiques sur les frontières et des travaux de géographes féministes, cet article met l'accent sur des modes de criminalisation qui ciblent les personnes solidaires dans l'intimité de leur vie quotidienne, menaçant leur sentiment de sécurité par une surveillance opaque, des atteintes à leurs émotions, à leurs perspectives d'emploi et à leur vie de famille. En nous appuyant sur une recherche ethnographique menée auprès de personnes solidaires au Maroc et dans le nord de la France, nous conceptualisons ce mode de criminalisation comme un harcèlement sournois, examinant l'enchevêtrement de la géopolitique, des émotions, et de l'intime en ces points de pression migratoire. Sans décentrer les personnes en migration comme cibles principales des frontières violentes, nous élargissons notre compréhension de ces régimes en attirant l'attention sur la manière dont ils ciblent viscéralement celleux qui travaillent pour protéger les droits des personnes migrantes.

Antipode Vol. 56 No. 4 2024 ISSN 0066-4812, pp. 1308–1328 doi: 10.1111/anti.13019

Keywords: criminalisation, solidarity, migration, France, Morocco
Mots clés: criminalisation, solidarité, migration, France, Maroc

> I think of it as insidious harassment, *unclear* harassment. It's not official nor clear-cut. It's … opaque. Everything is unclear, everything feels deceitful—illegal even. And the problem is that it can become really nasty. (Céleste, Calais, July 2022)[1]

> The authorities rarely take a head-on approach because it doesn't look good in the press. Arresting people arbitrarily, putting you in prison, making you disappear … They prefer to do things in a roundabout way … It's very opaque. (Nisrine, Casablanca, May 2022)

Introduction

Debates on solidarity and its criminalisation have multiplied since the mid-2010s "migration crisis". Migrant people are so forcefully policed that any acts of solidarity towards them—from distributing food and water to providing information and shelter—are politicised (Dadusc and Mudu 2022; Tazzioli and Walters 2019). Crackdowns on citizen solidarity have increased (Carrera et al. 2019; Du Jardin 2022), with high-profile trials of participants of NGO search-and-rescue operations in the Mediterranean (Carola Rackete and Pia Klemp), of people engaging in solidarity in places like Greece (Sarah Mardini and Seán Binder), Italy (mayor Domenico Lucano) and at the Morocco–Spain (Helena Maleno) and Italy–France borders (Cédric Herrou, the Briançon 7). Echoing the portrayal of migrant people as invading criminals (Dadusc and Mudu 2022), these trials illustrate how the criminalisation of solidarity has become a cardinal governance strategy for nation-states amidst the "war on migration" (Aris Escarcena 2021). While largely absent from debates, the criminalisation of solidarity also occurs beyond Europe: hostile practices reprimanding the mobility of migrant people and the solidarity of *bona fide* citizens are enmeshed in transnational processes. This article focuses on criminalisation through a mode of policing we describe as *insidious harassment*, whereby (alongside more eruptive acts of force) states deploy unspectacular, everyday forms of violence to try and discipline solidarity actors. We use the term "solidarity actors" to encapsulate a variety of individuals whose solidarity is motivated by diverse political and moral convictions. These include (non-state) humanitarians, historical and grassroots associations, people acting out of religious conviction, in the name of anarchism and more. While it is not the remit of this article to unpack the distinctions between these different profiles, it is important to acknowledge this diversity.

Bordering entrenches a distinction between citizens and non-citizens. Acts of solidarity, however, undermine racialised discourses of otherness by striving to "enfranchise [migrants] socially, if not politically" (Allsopp 2012:6). Through "acts of citizenship" (Isin and Nielsen 2008)—and acts of "*anti*-citizenship" which *refuse*

to "reinforce citizenship as a mechanism of bordering" (Van Isacker 2019:611)—solidarity actors beget the participation of migrant people in the political community regulated by the state (Rygiel 2011; Tyerman 2021). This *autonomy* of solidarity disrupts the militarisation of borders (Dadusc and Mudu 2022). It is a moral, emotional, and political stance emergent from the gap between the law and what one perceives as moral and ethical (Lendaro 2018:179). It is a solidarity considered "intolerable" (Fekete 2009) and "disloyal" (Carrera et al. 2019) by the state. This article examines how the criminalisation of migration extends to diverse forms of attack on solidarity actors, whose protection by the state depends on their willingness to be "good citizens".

Little attention has been paid to the everyday, *un*spectacular yet widespread forms of criminalisation deployed by states to discourage citizens from engaging in solidarity (Carrera et al. 2019; López-Sala and Barbero 2021). This article reveals how certain states seek to *collapse* the experiences of "disobedient" citizens with those of migrant people by targeting them with similar forms of emotional, administrative, and spatial punishment. The state of "permanent injury" (Davies et al. 2017:1269) inflicted on migrant people suspected of seeking transit through Morocco and France encapsulates a "politics of exhaustion" (Welander 2021; Welander and Ansems de Vries 2016), which strives to foster living conditions so unbearable that people are driven to "auto-expulsion" (Fassin et al. 2014). While migrant people's experiences are more violent than those of solidarity actors, states seek to exhaust them into retreat by harassing them. We conceptualise this as *insidious harassment*, arguing that it is part of states' arsenal of migration control strategies. This article scrutinises how insidious harassment is deployed, and how it impacts solidarity actors in the intimacies of their everyday lives.

This analysis draws on comparative ethnographic research carried out in northern France and Morocco in summer 2022.[2] Research involved two months of ethnographic fieldwork at the northern French border as well as 26 interviews with solidarity actors (17 women, 9 men; 9 locals, 9 from elsewhere in France, 5 British, and 3 from elsewhere in Europe or the US) from 18 different associations (and some independent solidarity actors, activists, and citizen hosts).[3] Research in Morocco involved two months of ethnographic fieldwork, two focus groups in Rabat with solidarity actors based across the country (e.g. Rabat, Tangier, Nador, Laayoune, etc.), and 35 individual interviews with solidarity actors from 20 organisations (17 women, 18 men; 7 Europeans [mostly French], 12 Western-Central Africans, and 16 North Africans [mostly Moroccan]) located in Rabat, Casablanca, and Nador, but active across the country.[4]

Morocco and France have different profiles in terms of their politics and commitment to democratic processes, yet they share the role of gatekeeper towards a neighbouring state when it comes to migration governance. Morocco has collaborated with the EU on migration control since the 1990s (El Qadim 2015), while "juxtaposed border controls" mean British border control takes place in northern France (Bosworth 2022). Morocco and France occupy similar strategic positions, face similar border control pressures, and engage in similar migration deterrence practices (Hagan 2022). Yet, the implications of being criminalised as a solidarity

actor are potentially more threatening in Morocco (where judiciary independence is less established) than in France (where legal mechanisms offer greater protection). However, a closer look at both sites highlights striking similarities in the means used to restrict spaces for dissent and solidarity with migrant people through insidious harassment.

Race, gender, class, citizenship, administrative (immigration) status, and other markers significantly influence the different forms that this intimidation takes. As we explore further elsewhere (Bachelet and Hagan forthcoming), the differential repression of solidarity actors is informed by historical systems of domination (e.g. colonialism, slavery) that continue to shape bordering efforts to contain migrant people and impede those who provide assistance and support. Comparing the French and Moroccan cases reveals similar state efforts to render engaging in social contestation fearsome, and to curate environments where the line between acts of solidarity and illegal practices is whittled down. Amidst acrimonious moral debates about migration, exploring how insidious harassment is inflicted in both Morocco and France undermines the widely held notion that European countries stand on a moral high ground, emphasising the transnational nature of inexplicit bordering techniques.

The first section of this article elaborates our conceptualisation of insidious harassment as an integral part of the criminalisation of solidarity and migration more broadly, drawing on critical border studies and feminist geography. The second section situates our discussion within broader contextual developments in Morocco and France, where spaces of civil contestation are shrinking. The third section draws on our interviews to reveal how insidious harassment deploys fear and uncertainty by targeting solidarity actors intimately through surveillance, opaque attacks on their emotions, employment prospects and family life. In a fourth section we focus on the effects of insidious harassment, before drawing some conclusions regarding the impact of these repressive climates on solidarity actors and their emotional relationship to the state.

Conceptualising Insidious Harassment

This article takes a phenomenological approach to examine solidarity actors' emotional geographies. We combine scholarship from critical border studies and feminist geography to unpack the observation that while solidarity actors work to create (literal and emotional) spaces of solidarity and care for and with migrant people in hostile spaces, the authorities seek to undermine these spaces by injecting fear and uncertainty into their intimate lives. We argue that state actors target these emotional spheres through insidious harassment, in tandem with more overt strategies.

States divide people into citizens and non-citizens by maintaining "distinct lived realities for different subjects" (Tyerman 2021:104). Willen's (2019:48) phenomenological study of illegality amongst migrant people in Israel calls for a focus on its "sensory, embodied, and existential effects". This approach sheds light on how criminalisation targeting those deemed illegal generates humiliations and anxieties overlooked by studies focusing on the juridical and socio-political dimensions of

illegality. We explore how people who engage in solidarity are criminalised in a way that *collapses* their experiences with those of migrant people. They are targeted with forms of emotional and administrative punishment that we conceptualise as *insidious harassment*. The narrow space of inclusion for migrants (and their descendants) is conditional on their behaving as "good immigrants" (Hackl 2022). Similarly, solidarity actors are targeted by forms of repression from the state when they fail to behave as "good citizens": challenging state bordering efforts and the enforcement of categories of subjects through unlawful or unauthorised acts.

Insidious harassment sits on a continuum of criminalising mechanisms (López-Sala and Barbero 2021) targeting solidarity actors. Moving away from clear, direct, and sometimes spectacular legal attempts to criminalise specific acts of solidarity (Aris Escarcena 2021), insidious harassment ranges from targeting solidarity actors indirectly, through extraneous or opportunistic legal and administrative processes, to invasive and informal practices that unsettle the private sphere (e.g. emotions, family life). Depending on national and local contexts (e.g. proximity to borders), insidious harassment can take many forms and affect solidarity actors differently depending on their gender, race, citizenship, and class (among other social markers). Yet, in this article, we stress how the notion of the "insidious" encapsulates a broad range of opaque, punitive, and everyday practices that seek to undermine disruptive spaces and practices of solidarity and dissent.

The concept of insidious harassment contributes to critical border scholarship, which examines how hostile migration politics and violent bordering regimes foster hostile environments through the curation of "spaces of suffering" (Stierl 2018:708; see also De León 2015) and the relentless deployment of a "politics of exhaustion" (Welander and Ansems de Vries 2016). Solidarity actors create spaces (both literal and emotional) of recognition, solidarity, and care amidst hostile environments. The obstruction and criminalisation of those who support migrant people is one of many interlinked processes that feeds into a broader politics of exhausting migrant people (ibid.). However, while migrant people are the primary victims of the obstruction of these support networks, this article focuses on how a politics of exhaustion is deployed against solidarity actors and how it affects *them*. A clear mirroring emerges between the logic of exhausting migrant people so they self-expulse (Fassin et al. 2014) and the goal of exhausting solidarity actors so they abandon their struggle. This article identifies insidious harassment as a set of opaque strategies through which this politics of exhaustion is deployed. The opacity of insidious harassment masks the source of harm, stretching the boundaries of legality and ethics. As argued by Welander (2021:40), a politics of exhaustion "may be more easily enacted and justified than more drastic and overtly unlawful measures".

In contexts where insidious harassment is deployed, the state more than ever emerges as a mystifying and tenacious fiction created by "discourses and practices of power" (Aretxaga 2003:398), that is felt and (re)produced in various sites of everyday life (Navaro-Yashin 2002). It is omnipresent and elusive in its creation of "punishable categories of people" (Nagengast 1994:122). Through insidious harassment, states foster fear as a "chronic condition" (Green 1994:227), seeking to curb solidarity actors' sense of autonomy. It attempts to weaken a person

emotionally by disrupting their sense of security. The work of feminist geographers is valuable for unpacking how insidious harassment works: Pain (2009) invites us to think of fear in terms of "emotional geopolitics", as an emotion that relates to risk and may be deployed as a political tool. It is important to examine the different scales at which fear operates, how it is constructed and experienced (ibid.; see also Green 1994). Insidious harassment targets people's intimate emotions, feeding solidarity actors' sense of risk and insecurity. The intimidation deployed by the state is not just physical but alive and immersive, seeping into the intimate and emotional (Anderson 2010; Green 1994; Pain 2009).

A focus on insidious harassment offers perspective on underexplored aspects of the criminalisation of solidarity, like the moral questions it evokes in solidarity actors, and how it impacts their emotions towards the state. This article is less concerned with the legal specifics that govern civil society action at these sites than with unpacking the emotional landscapes they impose on dissenting citizens. It is at this level that, despite context-specific peculiarities, the strategies deployed in northern France and Morocco appear as remarkably comparable amidst restrictions on civil society's room for dissent.

Shrinking Space for Civil Protest

In France, state attacks on solidarity play out within a wider political context marked by social tensions, (racist) police violence, and crackdowns on dissent with a long (post)colonial history (Diallo 2023; Rigouste 2021). While the right to protest is constitutionally enshrined, recent years have seen it restricted (Hayem 2018:10). Following the 2015 terrorist attacks, the state imposed a state of emergency expanding the lawful scope for the use of force for almost two years, after which several exceptional powers were incorporated into common French law despite contravening the European Convention on Human Rights (Hayem 2018; Lendaro 2018). The years following the 2019 *gilets jaunes* protests prompted state attempts to repress social contestation through legislative measures reinforcing the authorities' ability to "maintain public order". Under President Macron, political attempts to disband or gag outspoken associations working on controversial issues (environment, human rights, migration) have multiplied (e.g. Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, Roya Citoyenne, Utopia 56). These developments reveal a clear trend towards reinforcing state power in the face of social discontent, despite criticism from human rights bodies (Human Rights Watch 2022a). Looking at migration specifically, for many years the scope of solidarity work in France was threatened by Article L622-1 of the 1938 "Code de l'entrée et du séjour des étrangers et du droit d'asile" (CESEDA), designed to target people abusing migrant people as well as smugglers and traffickers (Délinquants Solidaires 2019). But the law was often used to intimidate those acting in solidarity with migrant people, who coined the expression "*délit de solidarité*" ("crime of solidarity"). In 2018, following pressure from civil society, the French Constitutional Council ruled that the "principle of fraternity confers the freedom to help others, for humanitarian purposes, regardless of the legality of their presence on national territory". Yet, solidarity actors are still criminalised.

Since the demolition of the Calais "Jungle" in 2016, the French state has been determined to prevent migrant people from living in the border zone (Hagan 2022; Van Isacker 2019) and to undermine solidarity actors striving to counter state efforts to make the border zone unliveable. At the northern French border (as in Morocco), the authorities attempt to reduce the legitimacy of rights-focused initiatives in favour of state-selected (docile) humanitarian structures. The state—namely the Ministry of the Interior—fosters a repressive climate, criminalising everyday acts of solidarity (e.g. food, water and electricity delivery, hospital runs, safety-at-sea information, etc.). While this has become an issue across France, and especially at its borders (where criminalisation plays out differently according to local politics), Calais is a particularly vivid example, often described as a "testing ground" for repressive policing. Solidarity actors face obstacles in the shape of food distribution bans on certain streets, the placement of rocks to prevent them from accessing certain sites, attempts to shut down day centres, safehouses and kitchens, the deployment of health and safety inspection authorities, and abusive fining.

In Morocco, migration is one of many contentious social issues in a wider landscape of civil society repression (Mohsen-Finan 2007; Rhani 2021). Freedom of expression is compromised in the country, which has used the courts to convict critical media outlets, journalists, social media commentators, and activists who have made revelations about the state (Human Rights Watch 2022b). It is a context in which press freedom and rights activism are threatened, as revealed in the brutal repression of Rif region Hirak protesters (De Smet and El Kahlaoui 2021; Rhani et al. 2022), or the crackdown on investigative journalists defending protests and exposing state corruption such as Omar Radi (Human Rights Watch 2022b:1–2), sentenced to six years in prison on questionable charges of espionage, assault, and rape. This illustrates the threatening conditions in which human rights defenders operate. Moroccan authorities have cracked down on civil society organisations through frontal and more indirect attacks: administrative hurdles to obtain documents to legalise an association's existence, pressures on banks, scrutiny over foreign funds, pressure on funding bodies linked to foreign governments, etc.

Regarding migration, Moroccan authorities promote integration while engaging in fierce repression. Reports of violence against migrant people undermine the image the state has sought to reflect since the 1990s, as a reformist, human rights-respecting country (Bachelet 2019; GADEM 2018). Morocco went through a period of high investment in migration initiatives in the mid-2010s, but only *certain types* of initiatives, creating the illusion of a healthy and democratic associative landscape (Gazzotti 2021). Few associations explicitly state their involvement in defending human rights, and those which do (including associations set up by migrant people) experience administrative hurdles. Most prefer to target humanitarian issues such as access to health care for undocumented people, or are incentivised to do so through state funding opportunities (Carrera et al. 2019). Adopting a "soft" approach promises better relations with the authorities, but may hinder impact and independence, leaving little room for effective opposition. To protect themselves from state pressure, outspoken groups carefully "play a

balancing act". As one solidarity actor put it, it is necessary to "be hard-hitting to capture public attention, but without sowing disorder, not to come off as troublemakers". Solidarity actors in Morocco are acutely aware that beyond insidious forms of violence, the authorities can deploy devastating frontal attacks, for example targeting individuals with spurious accusations of disrupting public order, or forcing the closure of an organisation (e.g. Racines).

Associations in Morocco face limitations to their ability to provide material aid to migrant people, especially in the borderlands. They are banned from distributing in forest encampments at the Moroccan borders with the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, with the goal of cutting migrant people off from essentials. Police have prevented humanitarian convoys from accessing these areas, and solidarity actors have been charged with facilitating irregular migration and/or imprisoned for offering basic assistance (phone charging and showers) to people living in the encampments around Nador. Crackdowns in this area were reinforced following the June 2022 tragedy at the border with Melilla.[5]

Attacks on civil society in France and Morocco provide the wider backdrop against which aggressive responses to solidarity actors occur. In both countries, individuals and associations are targeted differently depending on their shifting relationships with state authorities, and the latter's fluctuating degree of tolerance for them. One important difference between these contexts, however, and stressed by respondents, is the disparity in access to independent, effective, and transparent legal means to hold the state accountable and democratically resist its excesses—much scarcer and riskier in Morocco. The following section emphasises that despite differences in the forms and degrees of harassment used against solidarity actors within and across the two countries, there are also important parallels to be drawn. We stress how they insidiously seep into the lives of people criminalised for providing assistance, advocacy, and other forms of support to migrant people.

The Everyday Harassment of Solidarity Actors

Financial Pressure

Financial pressure takes several different forms. Disproportionate police-delivered fines are a particular concern for solidarity actors at the northern French border. While scholars have identified fines as a means of discouraging solidarity, the focus has been on large fines related to accusations of facilitating irregular entry to—or sojourn in—a country (Allsopp 2012), rather than smaller fines (Vergnano 2021). A local solidarity actor explained:

> They made me get out all of my car papers but didn't find anything wrong, so decided to fine me for having a towing ball on the back of my car. When I challenged them on that, they said, "OK well … you wear glasses—do you have an extra set in the car? No? Then we'll fine you for that instead." It just goes to show that fines are their way of getting back at us.

Other examples included fines for having insufficient window-cleaning liquid in a car, for alleged breach of lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic,[6] and police

making regular patrols past a solidarity actor's house to catch them for dog-fouling. This abusive and targeted exercise of "contraventional power" (Daillère 2022)—the policing of people in public space through delivering fines—seeks to deter people from activism by making it "unaffordable".

In Morocco, rather than fines, initiatives supporting migrant people face the threat of closure (with little chance of challenging decisions in court), or experience pressures being placed on their banks to freeze their accounts and stifle their activities on spurious motives. Solidarity actors employed within associations spoke of how such "indirect attacks" threatened their personal finances:

> You need to think about your future. If we are shut down for three or four months, it's a catastrophe. We have family commitments, a mortgage … We went through a difficult period and I was planning for my wedding at that time—weddings are so expensive in Morocco—and about to embark on a new phase of life. It was really worrying for me.

For people volunteering or acting as trustees within associations in the authorities' firing line, there could also be consequences for their employment *beyond* their advocacy work. After one organisation was targeted by state actors for its public criticism of Morocco's migration politics, one solidarity actor was left "shaken" when his company told him to resign from his position in the organisation's committee or lose his job. Others mentioned suspected pressure from state authorities on their employers resulting in them being denied promotion.

In northern France too, some solidarity actors found their employment compromised. Céleste, for example, a citizen host who welcomed migrant people, worked freelance at a language school linked to a prominent local official. One day, she was summoned to the town hall and told by this official that she was no longer needed: "It was a real slap in the face … and that conversation never should have happened at the town hall, it should have happened at the school. It was intentional." This dismissal compromised her family's financial security: "I didn't have a job anymore, I needed to earn a living, to feed my children … I didn't have any *proof* that I was let go because of my activism." When she then had to downsize to a smaller home, she felt convinced that her access to social housing was blocked by local authorities despite her eligibility.

Threatened Administrative Statuses

The insidious harassment of solidarity actors through administrative challenges highlights how the criminalisation of solidarity is intersectional, affecting solidarity actors differentially according to markers such as race, gender, nationality, and administrative status. In Morocco, individual administrative targeting is primarily an issue for (racialised) foreigners. An NGO worker from Central Africa explained that he could never be sure what motivated the authorities to trouble him: "Because I am Black and because of the work, but sometimes because of one or the other, it's not clear." An activist from West Africa spoke of a common suspicion amongst activists from a migrant background that administrative difficulties

relating to obtaining and renewing residency cards were compounded by their activism:

> Morocco is cunning … If they catch someone like me, then it degrades Morocco's image … Instead, they create the conditions to put you in a weak position, one from which you won't be able to speak out. For example, if you don't have the [residency] card then you know that your strength is limited.

This emphasises a key rationale for deploying *insidious* rather than explicit harassment: indirect targeting makes it harder for solidarity actors to denounce discrimination against them and tarnish a country's image as a state of rights.

Volunteers from a migration background engaging in solidarity work in northern France spoke of feeling particularly insecure, while several association coordinators expressed that participating in certain activities might be risky for volunteers from a migration background: "They often don't want to take part in activities where they might be fined because they're afraid it might lead to an ID-check which could compromise their asylum or naturalisation application." Despite having valuable skills for engaging in solidarity, volunteers in precarious administrative situations (e.g. without papers) tend to self-restrict their activities, preferring to help out at a day centre rather than going into the encampments. These fears were not unfounded: the racialised policing approach deployed in Calais means solidarity actors from a migration background are prone to being treated in the same deplorable way as other migrant people (put in detention, chased, etc.).

Administrative intimidation is not limited to solidarity actors from a non-European migrant background. A striking example is the targeting through administrative issues of two British activists involved in opening squats in Calais in 2022. They were not explicitly sent away for squatting, but on banal administrative grounds. Josh described how he was arrested and detained late one night: "They just said that my residence permit had been withdrawn because of an administrative problem, so they were giving me an OQTF [obligation to leave French territory]—it was so confusing." The authorities found a way to put him in administrative breach of his residency permit, claiming to have sent letters to his house to which he never reacted—but which he never received. This justified his detention, pending removal from France, in a rural asylum seekers' centre, baffling the centre's employees and emphasising how insidious harassment works to collapse the experiences of "disobedient" citizens and illegalised migrant people. The underlying political motivation for Josh's removal was emphasised during his trial. However, the fact that *administrative* (rather than criminal) charges were used to expel him reduce the likelihood of him becoming a widely acknowledged *spectacle* or symbol of state repression: opacity surrounding the true motive muddies the narrative of the persecuted solidarity actor.

Physical and Digital Surveillance

French and Moroccan authorities intimidate outspoken solidarity actors through physical and digital surveillance designed to monitor them and induce fear.

Geopolitics of fear are embedded in local spatial and social geographies and deployed as a political tool (Pain 2009). A Calais volunteer described often being followed by police. One afternoon, a police car followed her across town before stopping her to ask why she was present at migrant encampments and to check her car. When she objected, they said: "We *know* who you are—now open the back of the car." Such intimidating experiences were common. In Morocco, being followed by plain-clothes police was also widespread and, ironically, "very visible and sometimes hefty". A respondent described being constantly aware of and unsettled by the possibility that the police know a lot about her, including where she lives and works.

Surveillance sometimes extended to people close to solidarity actors. Simone, who has sheltered migrant people in her home in northern France for several years, described how the police regularly knock on her neighbours' doors:

> They ask them loads of questions about how many people are coming into my house, whether there are a lot of men, what nationality they are, if any cars park outside the house, and if so whether they can take down the number plates and report back to them…

This intimidating "(preventative) surveillance" is designed to inflict "indirect pressure and intimidation" (Carrera et al. 2019:174) by instigating suspicion of solidarity actors amongst neighbours. Thanks to the positive relationships Simone maintained, these tended to protect her rather than comply with reporting requests. The sense of being closely watched intensified in Calais in the aftermath of the aforementioned expulsion of two British citizens in 2022. Luce described:

> How much [the police] know is a big secret—or how much they *care* … How strong are they? I have no idea. But then two people were kicked out of the country, and that scares me because it shows that they *are* targeting people, there *are* targeted arrests, and they *do* care about who you are.

Solidarity actors were alert to the possibility that their phones, or those of others around them, might be tapped. As we interviewed a respondent in Calais and this issue came up, she said "Hello!" into her mobile, evoking this constant sense that someone might be listening. Similarly, a Moroccan respondent shared that an elusive sense of being surveilled made people feel "paranoid": "I remember once we were discussing something, and we said, 'OK everyone into the kitchen now—let's put our phones in the microwave'." Knowing that one might be on the authorities' radar generated fear. Respondents stressed it was sometimes unclear if one's phone was really tapped, and that spreading such panic to foster "a strange atmosphere" was in the authorities' interest.

In northern France, solidarity actors have also faced digital surveillance, with at least two people receiving letters from the regional préfecture in 2018 quoting critical posts they had published on Twitter and threatening them with defamation cases (Amnesty International 2019). The leader of an association set up by migrant people in Morocco explained that they were careful with their social media posts, making sure to have evidence of their claims in anticipation of calls from the authorities:

> For a simple post, they'll call you up and tell you [that] you have to delete it … They call us because our page is followed by international migration associations, and we're reflecting a bad image of Morocco … They call and say, "Sir, do you have proof? If not, we advise you to delete the posts." They watch me all day long.

This again exemplifies the authorities' concern with being (internationally) perceived to be rights-respecting while surreptitiously squeezing human rights advocates.

Across Morocco, jokes about shopkeepers being part of a network of police informants were frequent. The sense of potentially being listened to via digital means was especially rife since the 2021 Pegasus scandal revealed that the mobile phones of several Moroccan journalists and activists had been illegally surveilled (Human Rights Watch 2022b:7). Solidarity actors felt such practices had intensified and were deployed across a wider range of activists. One person described how the threat of repression affects her and her colleagues, who experience it as increasingly intimate: "We used to talk about political arrests as something distant, but now it's [happening to] our friends, to people close to us. It's very intense."

Undermining Reputations and Personal Morals

Insidious harassment filters into the intimate lives of solidarity actors, impacting them emotionally and morally, as well as in their family lives. Although this affects both genders, women seem disproportionately impacted. A middle-aged mother described how, soon after getting involved with associations in northern France:

> I told my children that if one day Mum was taken away by the police, they must remember that Mum hasn't done anything wrong; she was just doing humanitarian work. How do you explain to your children that it's the *police* who do illegal things? … My daughter had nightmares about it for a while.

The aforementioned Simone was once threatened with the removal of her young child after (she suspects) a neighbour, perhaps prompted by police visits, reported her to child protection services. The family was subjected to months of observations that created considerable stress and upset. This illustrates how insidious harassment may be used to threaten solidarity actors in intimate domains. Several women who hosted migrant people also reported sexualised abuse, for example being described as a "migrant slut". These accounts emphasise how "political processes and everyday emotional topographies" are intimately connected (Pain 2009:466).

Similarly in Morocco, juridical issues tend to go beyond distorting acts of solidarity, instead targeting solidarity actors for so-called offences committed in their personal lives. "They're already building a case about you", one respondent described, "trying to find a failing, a vice—maybe alcohol or adultery—to be able to trip you up someday". This method of "symbolic assassination" (Afaf Bernani, quoted in Human Rights Watch 2022b:3) has been used by the Moroccan authorities since the late 2010s, when they began prosecuting their critics for crimes like espionage, money laundering, or sexual assault, framing them as

"traitors, thieves, and rapists" unworthy of support rather than as admirable dissidents. Another member of a Moroccan rights-orientated association was concerned that information about her living arrangements with her partner (to whom she was not married) could be used against her: "Are they going to come and create problems for us? You always hear stories like that in Morocco." A respondent working for a national institution in Morocco confided that the authorities' close interest in one's personal affairs can take on serious proportions: "Common law is being used more and more to diminish associative actors' capacity for action … they look for something based on common law to shut down associations and prosecute people."

Performing solidarity actors as immoral exacerbates racism and xenophobia, while legitimising hostility from local onlookers. This pulls a sense of insecurity and exhaustion closer into the everyday lives of solidarity actors. In Calais, solidarity actors reported unsettling incidents, ranging from anonymous online articles working to tarnish a local activist's reputation, to locals slashing the tyres of NGO-owned vehicles. For local solidarity actors especially, tensions build up over a long period, sometimes leading to a sense of isolation and/or mistrust of other locals. One respondent described: "I only realised much later that it really *really* affected me … You start to really be on your guard around people."

The police in northern France also seek to undermine solidarity actors by echoing wider discourses conflating solidarity actors with smugglers, and so morally challenging their action. Such punitive emotional attacks were experienced as particularly painful. A solidarity actor in Grande-Synthe recalled a police officer's words:

> "You are *killing* these people, by doing prevention work [distributing safety-at-sea leaflets] you are encouraging them to cross by boat." It's an *extremely* violent thing to be told … and there's a lot of emotion bound up in it.

Several others mentioned moments when their moral compasses were called into question by the authorities:

> In the beginning I felt guilty, I thought I must have done something wrong. But no, I *am* doing something good. Over time you question yourself a lot, you ask yourself, should I really be doing this? … You're fried, emotionally and psychologically … I told myself that I have to stop because they're destroying me.

"You Can't Unsee It": The Effects of Insidious Harassment

Solidarity actors in northern France and Morocco feel threatened by this coalescence of everyday violences which, while varying in both form and intensity depending on (national and local) contexts, are strikingly similar in terms of their goal of unsettling solidarity actors. But how does insidious harassment impact solidarity actors and what are its effects? What follows focuses first on the opacity and uncertainty of this mode of policing and the feelings of anticipation and

isolation it prompts, before emphasising how this mode of policing can also reinforce collective defiance and entrench activist subjectivities and alliances.

The experience of insidious harassment is characterised by the simultaneous awareness that one may face a punitive response to one's acts of solidarity, a sense of uncertainty regarding the type of action authorities will seek to punish, who will be targeted, what the punitive reaction from the state will be, when it might take place—and for how long. A legal coordinator in Calais described how certain practices like distributing life jackets or safety-at-sea flyers fall into a legal grey area. Solidarity actors often feel the need to limit their own action out of caution. This resonates with emotions of anticipation and uncertainty expressed by respondents in Morocco:

> It's hard to put my finger on what it's like … You're stressed but you don't really know why. I don't really know what's at stake … Do we risk going to prison? I don't think so … but then what?

Solidarity actors in Morocco also suffer from legal opacity, as a human rights defender explained:

> Laws are very opaque, which is intentional … Laws regulating sensitive domains … tend to be written in such a way that they might be interpreted in multiple ways … It's an ambiguous juridical context, which means that the state can put you in danger if they want to.

When it comes to insidious harassment, the law is weaponised to instil fear. This is exacerbated by the *temporal* dynamics of insidious harassment—uncertainty over when one might be criminalised. A respondent supporting migrant people in Ouistreham described this constant anticipation as "a sword of Damocles". A respondent in Morocco used a similar metaphor: "They can always squeeze even more, and you have no idea how far it can go … It's a sword above your head and it could fall at any moment." A lingering threat seeps into solidarity actors' everyday lives; a reaction from the authorities is constantly anticipated, its temporal pattern unpredictable. The notion of *anticipation* resonates with the argument that securitisation is animated and immersive (Anderson 2010). Within a climate of fear, solidarity actors often consciously or unconsciously self-restrict their action. With no clear "rule book", these restrictions may be excessive, but solidarity actors cannot know (López-Sala and Barbero 2021). As an association worker in Morocco described: "You aren't being prevented from working, but you know you're not in a comfortable position so you don't push the limits too far." When people sense they are possibly being watched, they are "nudged" into behaving in less risky ways. Disciplinary control is diffused into society through "carceral circles" of surveillance, spatial regulation, and social practice (Foucault 1995).

Coupled with insidious harassment, solidarity work is emotionally exhausting and takes a physical toll. One activist described how he started losing his hair after the association he worked for came into the authorities' line of fire, receiving repeated convocations and threats of arrests for "criticising Morocco". In Calais, people spoke similarly of physical exhaustion:

> We're *constantly* fighting just to keep doing the basic things we do—they're *exhausting* us. They want to break us by wearing us down … It impacts me, even in my personal life. It's a consequence of all that they do, not only to block us, but to block migrant people.

In Morocco, participants also spoke of exhaustion. One activist described: "I'm recovering little by little … People kept telling me I should leave [activism]. I was developing a form of depression. There was so much pressure." A member of an international network based in Morocco expressed similar concern:

> The context is frightening. It's a word we didn't want to use before. We live in constant stress, you never know if you're going to continue, you don't know how far it can go. You don't know if tomorrow the authorities are going to harass you.

These accounts convey how insidious harassment seeks to exhaust solidarity actors into retreat. Céleste summed up the toll that intimidation has had on her: "Clearly they want to crush me little by little; slowly but surely." That engaging in acts of solidarity may come to "crush" a person is harrowing, and the quick turnover (with some exceptions) of solidarity actors means a regular loss of momentum, institutional memory, and know-how, compounding state efforts to suppress them. In Calais, an activist described feeling that her friends constantly disappeared around her:

> Everyone had to leave because they burned out [or were deported]. And I understand these people, they were here and fighting for this cause … And then you burn out and it's time to leave.

Respondents in Morocco lamented how becoming the target of repression might prompt others to distance themselves to avoid falling into the firing line by association. At both sites, moments of collective fatigue were emotionally challenging and provoked a sense of hopelessness, especially in Morocco where legal recourse offers little hope. A human rights defender described:

> I don't think anything will change here in Morocco. We go out into the field and get the information, but still [migrant] people … face inhuman treatment. I don't see any direct impact from what we do … It affects me mentally.

However, witnessing disproportionate state violence against migrant people and experiencing insidious harassment also provoked strong feelings of defiance and commitment to resistance in many (Fekete et al. 2019; Giliberti 2018). At both sites, we encountered mistrust of the state: respondents expressed feeling that once you witness and experience state violence, you can no longer "unsee" it. The solidarity actors we met initially got involved in supporting migrant people for a wide range of reasons, and from more or less politicised stances. However, after committing to solidarity action for some time, many spoke of harbouring an overwhelming sense of having uncovered a "truth" about the workings of the state which must be resisted at all costs. Witnessing racialised state violence and experiencing harassment marks an unsettling realisation of the unequal

distribution of privileges within a political community, and a rupture in one's relationship to the state:

> Now [since working in Calais], whenever I'm confronted with police I'm always in a confrontational or defensive mindset. I realise it in my body language because I *hate* them … I think it's a realisation of the truth. It's like, previously you're blind because you have the privilege to not think that the police are against you, and then you start to see what they do to people who have less privilege than you—and also to you in some cases … This is how you get inside the struggle, and you can't get out because you've seen too much.

This profound sense of mistrust is jarring, and begins to capture why many solidarity actors are determined to fight back. A solidarity actor linked to a Catholic organisation in Calais explained: "Our position is a radical one because we are faced with a radical political strategy to which we can only respond through human rights activism." In Morocco too, participants used emotional language that conveys a determination to persist. Many solidarity actors persevere regardless of the dissuasions looming over them, especially when they know they are not alone:

> In the beginning I was afraid … I would be arrested and deported, but I'm not afraid anymore. I consider it something that can happen in my work at any time. I can't stop because of the risks—if I want to be an activist I have to defend. When you're an activist, it's your daily life. You can't be afraid.

An in-depth discussion of the tactics deployed by solidarity actors to resist their criminalisation is beyond the scope of this paper. In brief, however, our informants stressed the importance of thoroughly documenting the criminalisation targeting individuals and organisations. They spoke of platforms within and across organisations that support solidarity actors (e.g. emotional welfare, rights/legal training) and of strategic alliance-building amongst disparate groups (especially in Morocco) to resist attacks on spaces of dissent and solidarity. Indeed, new political possibilities can be conjured through "the forging of links in opposition to common enemies" (Featherstone 2012:7). Although insidious harassment often isolates solidarity actors by targeting them intimately in areas of their lives not always directly related to their activism, shared awareness of these attempts at isolation may galvanise collective intentionality (Swerts 2021) and resistance, including between migrant people and solidarity actors (bearing in mind that these categories overlap) (Rygiel 2011). Practices of solidarity are place-based but not place-bound, and collective awareness that defies boundaries and borders (e.g. MIGREUROP) can give rise to "multi-faceted political networks" (Karaliotas and Kapsali 2021:404).

It is important not to romanticise the potential for alliances between solidarity actors to instigate change, which is relative to the strength of democratic processes where they take shape, nor to downplay the risks people face in doing so. In France, despite their flaws, there are numerous accountability and legal mechanisms that solidarity actors might draw upon to denounce violence waged against them (Lochak 2016). In Morocco, however, where the state has historically been

effective at breaking up alliances through co-optation strategies, there are fewer such mechanisms available (Laachir 2013).

Conclusion

Despite the devastating effects of insidious harassment, we encountered some reluctance among solidarity actors to discuss the violence they face, precisely because it is considered relatively benign compared with what migrant people endure. As one criminalised volunteer described in a public Facebook post: "I say [that I experienced injustice and police repression] on my fingertips, because what I lived through is minimal compared with the monstrous daily injustices that exiled people suffer."

This article exposes how violent logics of bordering not only curb the mobility of migrant people deemed undesirable, but also seep into the everyday lives of citizens who state authorities target with punitive measures. The efforts of solidarity actors to defy processes that distinguish citizens from migrant people are punished by practices that, while working to enforce such boundaries, work to collapse the experiences of solidarity actors and migrant people. Beyond sporadic forms of spectacular punishment (e.g. mediatised court cases) and the immediate targeting of solidarity in action, the harassment solidarity actors experience is mostly insidious and mundane; it is racialised and gendered and permeates their everyday lives as well as the lives of those close to them, turning their private spheres into sites of anxiety and insecurity.

Conceptualising certain strategies used to criminalise solidarity as *insidious harassment* enables us to unpack how a series of seemingly independent strands of intimidation together generate strong atmospheres of surveillance, repression, and fear. We have focused on solidarity actors' everyday experiences of criminalisation, and those we spoke to often commented on the considerable resources—especially time—mobilised to harass them on a near-daily basis. They observed that opaque forms of state violence were no doubt deployed to preserve these states' international reputation: insidious harassment is little visible, enabling states to preserve their image as rights-respecting. The everyday and multi-stranded nature of insidious harassment means it is difficult for those who do not directly experience it to grasp, rendering public debate and outrage at the criminalisation of citizens less likely. However, solidarity actors' realisation that insidious harassment is widespread might work as a catalyst:[7] laying bare the workings of various modes of harassment might enable people to better rally together against these attacks instead of allowing them to intimidate and isolate them.

A comparative focus on the similar effects of insidious harassment in France and Morocco debunks imaginaries about violence and democratic processes in these countries, highlighting how hostile migration politics entail the shrinking of the space for dissent and solidarity on both sides of the Mediterranean. Nonetheless, beyond local variations within and across the two countries, solidarity actors in France and Morocco operate under different political constraints (e.g. rule of law; judiciary independence) which afford them different degrees of protection (see also Yaye and Stierl 2023).

While this article has focused on migration-related activism, the strategies it identifies are illustrative of a playbook of repressive techniques deployed in other contexts and in relation to other controversial social and political issues. In Europe this is most visible in the ways that outspoken climate activists face intimidation by police and state authorities, and resonates with anti-activism strategies deployed against (pro-democracy, LGBT…) activists in Morocco and across the Maghreb. The conceptualisation of insidious harassment fleshed out here speaks to other struggles and may be of value for identifying and denouncing the systematic deployment of indirect and discrete forms of criminalisation targeting citizens.

Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to solidarity actors in Morocco and France who took the time to share their struggles and experiences with us. We are also thankful to Michelle Obeid and Katherine Smith for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article. This research was funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), grant number ES/T016485/1.

Data Availability Statement

The data are not publicly available due to privacy and ethical restrictions.

Endnotes

[1] All names are pseudonyms. The authors translated most interview quotations from French into English. Identifying features about respondents and organisations remain vague to protect anonymity given the sensitive research topic and risk involved in participation.

[2] The authors' longstanding research experiences at these sites also inform the analysis and facilitated the participation of a broad range of solidarity actors.

[3] Observations focused on the northern border, especially Calais where police intimidation is most intensive, but also included research in Grande-Synthe, Boulogne-sur-Mer (Pas-de-Calais) and Ouistreham (Normandy) where migrant people also subsist in makeshift encampments. One focus group was held in Calais with solidarity actors from these various locations.

[4] Research focused on Rabat and Casablanca, where numerous solidarity actors are present. Observations were also conducted in the border town of Nador, but conditions (e.g. heightened police scrutiny, researcher intimidation) proved very challenging following the June 2022 tragedy (AMDH Nador 2022).

[5] When a group of migrant people attempted to cross the border into Melilla on 24 June 2022, at least 27 people died and 64 were declared missing (AMDH Nador 2022).

[6] Despite meeting the lockdown exception criteria of providing essential support to vulnerable people, members of the Human Rights Observers and Utopia 56 were issued over 130 fines (nearing 20,000 euros) in 2020–2021 for breaching lockdown.

[7] The authors have also published a report aimed at solidarity actors facing criminalisation in France, Morocco, and beyond (Hagan and Bachelet 2023).

References

Allsopp J (2012) "Contesting *Fraternité*: Vulnerable Migrants and the Politics of Protection in Contemporary France." Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper Series No.82, University of Oxford https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/files-1/wp82-contesting-fraternite-2012.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2023)

AMDH Nador (2022) La tragedie au poste frontalier de Bario Chino: Un crime ignoble des politiques migratoires europeennes, espagnoles et marocaines. *Association Marocaine des Droits Humains—Section Nador* 20 July https://crid.asso.fr/app/uploads/2022/11/AMDH-Nador-rapport-20072022.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Amnesty International (2019) "Targeting Solidarity: Criminalization and Harassment of People Defending Refugee and Migrant Rights in Northern France." https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur21/0356/2019/en/ (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Anderson B (2010) Morale and the affective geographies of the "war on terror". *cultural geographies* 17(2):219–236
Aris Escarcena J P (2021) Punishing solidarity: The crime of solidarity at the land and sea borders of the European Union. *DPCE Online* 45(4) http://www.dpceonline.it/index.php/dpceonline/article/view/1211 (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Aretxaga B (2003) Maddening states. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32:393–410
Bachelet S (2019) "Looking for one's life": Trapped mobilities and adventure in Morocco. *Migration and Society* 2(1):40–54
Bachelet S and Hagan M (forthcoming) Migration, race, and gender: The policing of subversive solidarity actors in Morocco. *L'Année du Maghreb*
Bosworth M (2022) Immigration detention and juxtaposed border controls on the French north coast. *European Journal of Criminology* 19(4):506–522
Carrera S, Mitsilegas V, Allsopp J and Vosyliute L (2019) *Policing Humanitarianism: EU Policies Against Human Smuggling and Their Impact on Civil Society*. Oxford: Hart
Dadusc D and Mudu P (2022) Care without control: The humanitarian industrial complex and the criminalisation of solidarity. *Geopolitics* 27(4):1205–1230
Daillère A (2022) L'amende forfaitaire, arme du (non-)droit. *Champ penal / Penal Field* 26 https://doi.org/10.4000/champpenal.14012
Davies T, Isakjee A and Dhesi S (2017) Violent inaction: The necropolitical experience of refugees in Europe. *Antipode* 49(5):1263–1284
De León J (2015) *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*. Berkeley: University of California Press
Délinquants Solidaires (2019) "Délit de solidarité: Le guide." http://www.delinquantssolidaires.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/guide_A5_de%CC%81linquants_solidaires_web.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2023)
De Smet B and El Kahlaoui S (2021) Putting the margins at the centre: At the edges of protest in Morocco and Egypt. *Partecipazione e Conflitto* 14(2):621–643
Diallo R (2023) France has ignored racist police violence for decades. This uprising is the price of that denial. *The Guardian* 30 June https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/jun/30/france-racist-police-violence-riots-nahel (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Du Jardin M (2022) Solidarité en Europe: État de l'art sur la criminalisation de l'aide aux personnes en situation irrégulière. *Déviance et Société* 46(4):519–546
El Qadim N (2015) *Le gouvernement asymétrique des migrations: Maroc/Union européenne*. Paris: Editions Dalloz
Fassin E, Fouteau C, Guichard S and Windels A (2014) *Roms et riverains: Une politique municipale de la race*. Paris: La fabrique éditions
Featherstone D (2012) *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism*. London: Bloomsbury
Fekete L (2009) Europe: Crimes of solidarity. *Race & Class* 50(4):83–97
Fekete L, Webber F and Edmond-Pettitt A (2019) "When Witnesses Won't Be Silenced: Citizens' Solidarity and Criminalisation." Briefing Paper No.13, Institute of Race Relations https://www.borderline-europe.de/sites/default/files/background/2019_05_When-witnesses-wont-be-silenced-FINAL.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Foucault M (1995 [1977]) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (trans A Sheridan). New York: Vintage Books
GADEM (2018) "Coûts et blessures: Rapport sur les opérations des forces de l'ordre menées dans le nord du Maroc entre juillet et septembre 2018—Éléments factuels et analyse." Groupe antiraciste d'accompagnement et de défense des etrangers et migrants

https://www.lacimade.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/20180927_GADEM_Couts_et_blessures.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Gazzotti L (2021) *Immigration Nation: Aid, Control, and Border Politics in Morocco*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Giliberti L (2018) La militarisation de la frontière franco-italienne et le réseau de solidarité avec les migrant·e·s dans la Vallée de la Roya. *Mouvements* 93:149–155
Green L (1994) Fear as a way of life. *Cultural Anthropology* 9(2):227–256
Hackl A (2022) Good immigrants, permitted outsiders: Conditional inclusion and citizenship in comparison. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45(6):989–1010
Hagan M (2022) "Contingent Camps: An Ethnographic Study of Contested Encampment in the Northern French and Northern Moroccan Borderlands." Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge
Hagan M and Bachelet S (2023) "'We Know Who You Are': Hostile Migration Politics and the Criminalisation of Solidarity Actors in France and Morocco." https://sebastienbachelet.com/crimes-of-solidarity (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Hayem J (2018) Des violences de l'État de droit en France: Analyser pour faire face. *Journal des Anthropologues* 154/155:9–13
Human Rights Watch (2022a) "Contribution de Human Rights Watch à l'Examen Périodique Universel de la France, Octobre 2022." https://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2023/01/05/contribution-de-human-rights-watch-lexamen-periodique-universel-de-la-france (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Human Rights Watch (2022b) "'They'll Get You No Matter What': Morocco's Playbook to Crush Dissent." https://www.hrw.org/report/2022/07/28/theyll-get-you-no-matter-what/moroccos-playbook-crush-dissent (last accessed 1 December 2023)
Isin E F and Nielsen G M (eds) (2008) *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books
Karaliotas L and Kapsali M (2021) Equals in solidarity: Orfanotrofio's housing squat as a site for political subjectification across differences amid the "Greek crisis". *Antipode* 53 (2):399–421
Laachir K (2013) Contemporary Moroccan cultural production: Between dissent and co-optation. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 25(3):257–260
Lendaro A (2018) Désobéir en faveur des migrants: Répertoires d'action à la frontière franco-italienne. *Journal des Anthropologues* 152/153:171–192
Lochak D (2016) Les usages militants du droit. *La Revue des Droits de l'Homme* 10 https://doi.org/10.4000/revdh.2178
López-Sala A and Barbero I (2021) Solidarity under siege: The crimmigration of activism(s) and protest against border control in Spain. *European Journal of Criminology* 18(5):678–694
Mohsen-Finan K (2007) Mémoire et réconciliation nationale au Maroc. *Politique étrangère* 2007(2):327–338
Nagengast C (1994) Violence, terror, and the crisis of the state. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23:109–136
Navaro-Yashin Y (2002) *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
Pain R (2009) Globalized fear? Towards an emotional geopolitics. *Progress in Human Geography* 33(4):466–486
Rhani Z (2021) L'inarchivable violence: Témoignages des femmes victimes des "Années de plomb". *Hespéris-Tamuda* 56(1):105–132
Rhani Z, Nabalssi K and Benalioua M (2022) "The Rif again!": Popular uprisings and resurgent violence in post-transitional Morocco. *Journal of North African Studies* 27(2):326–361
Rigouste M (2021) *La domination policière*. Paris: La fabrique éditions
Rygiel K (2011) Bordering solidarities: Migrant activism and the politics of movement and camps at Calais. *Citizenship Studies* 15(1):1–19
Stierl M (2018) A fleet of Mediterranean border humanitarians. *Antipode* 50(3):704–724
Swerts T (2021) Politics disrupted? Collective intentionality, inaugural performativity, and institutional receptivity in undocumented migrant struggles. *Antipode* 53(2):355–378

Tazzioli M and Walters W (2019) Migration, solidarity, and the limits of Europe. *Global Discourse* 9(1):175–190

Tyerman T (2021) *Everyday Border Struggles: Segregation and Solidarity in the UK and Calais*. London: Routledge

Van Isacker T (2019) Bordering through domicide: Spatializing citizenship in Calais. *Citizenship Studies* 23(6):608–626

Vergnano C (2021) Supporting migrants mobility across securitised borders: Between "non-profit migration infrastructures" and criminalization. *Champ penal / Penal Field* 23 https://doi.org/10.4000/champpenal.12658

Welander M (2021) The politics of exhaustion and the externalization of British border control: An articulation of a strategy designed to deter, control, and exclude. *International Migration* 59(3):29–46

Welander M and Ansems de Vries L (2016) Refugees, displacement, and the European "politics of exhaustion". *OpenDemocracy* 30 September https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/mediterranean-journeys-in-hope/refugees-displacement-and-europ/ (last accessed 1 December 2023)

Willen S S (2019) *Fighting for Dignity: Migrant Lives at Israel's Margins*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Yaye M D and Stierl M (2023) Freedom of movement activism in the Sahara. *Forced Migration Review* June https://www.fmreview.org/rights-mobilisation/danyaye-stierl (last accessed 1 December 2023)