November
2023

NODE REPORT

SOLROUTES

Rifugio Fraternità Massi

Oulx, Susa Valley

R. Ghaffari

Funded by the European Union (ERC, SOLROUTES, 101053836). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or European Research Council. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

Università di Genova | DISFOR DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE DELLA FORMAZIONE

European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

laboratorio di sociologia visuale
Università di Genova

Grant ERC AdG 101053836

1. The ‘Alpine route’ and the border machine

The purpose of this report is to present an overview of the scientific research conducted between February and June 2023 in Oulx, which was one of the initial nodes identified within the SolRoutes project. The fieldwork was specifically carried out at the Massi shelter, which provides hospitality and aid to people on the move (PoM) who are attempting to cross the French border illegally.
The aim of the experience was multifaceted: to test the project's methodologies through practical application, to gain first-hand experience in border zones similar to those where future research will occur, to cultivate relationships within the couple (composed by a PhD student and a post-doctoral researcher), to practice note-taking after each fieldwork session, to emphasize comparison, cross-analysis, and teamwork through collective discussions following fieldwork, and to experiment with the co-production of culturally relevant objects based on research. As we will see, not all of these objectives have been fully achieved. However, examining what has not worked and the underlying reasons is crucial for the future development of the research project.

Oulx is a small Italian municipality of approximately 3.000 individuals located in the Susa Valley, in the Italian French border, whose affluence derives mainly from the winter tourism business. This specific geographical context bear relevance on several points. First, it is a vital part of the so-called ‘Alpine route’: the expression is commonly used to refer to multiple mountain trails which cross the Italian French border-zone consisting of the upper Susa Valley on the Italian side, and the Briançonnais territory on the French slope. Oulx is currently one of the most key point of exit from Italy that allows the passage to France, so it involves ‘secondary movements’ across internal borders of the E.U. This route emerged in the circumstances following the so-called 2015 ‘long summer of migration’ (Hess and Kasparek 2017) as a result of the control intensification in the southern and coastal stretch of the same border, between the towns of Ventimiglia and Menton, with respect to which the Alpine passages represented an alternative and porous transit point (Torre 2023). The routes has gained further popularity after 2017 due to the increasing activism of Italian volunteers at the Bardonecchia train station (the last Italian train station before the border), determining a shift of the migratory route from the Col de l’Échelle (especially dangerous in winter) to the Col du Montgenèvre (open to car traffic also during the winter, and less dangerous) (Vergnano 2020). To date, it is estimated that over 18.000 people have crossed the border illegally in this section of the Alpine arch (Tous Migrants 2022), with growing attention from, and spectacularization by, the Italian and French media. Illicit border-crossings in the Alps are the outcome of the reinstatement of systematic

controls by the French authorities on their southern frontiers. Border checks were initially established in 2015 on the occasion of the Paris climate conference (COP 21), and extended in the name of the fight against terrorism and measures linked to the Covid-19 pandemic, following a securitization process that explicitly identifies migration as a threat to public order and collective health (Anderlini, Filippi, and Giliberti 2022). According to French law 2018-778, the 'non-admission' procedure on national territory can be applied to all people stopped in an area that extends for ten kilometers beyond the border line; if they do not possess all the required documentation, they are rejected on Italian territory on the basis of the bilateral agreement of Chambéry of 1997 (Donadio 2021). The PAF (*Police aux frontiéres*) offices in the towns of Menton and Montgenèvre on the French side are used to transmit and carry out readmission applications to the Italian authorities. Since 2016, more than 12,000 pushback operations (refoulements) to Italy have been carried out by the mobile teams of the Gendarmerie and by the soldiers of *Operation Sentinelle* in Montgenèvre (Tous Migrants 2022). Therefore, the militarization process of this borderland reflects the aim to reaffirm French sovereignty in the management of migrant mobility through the re-emergence of the border, and counters Italy's *laissez-passer* practices and its non-compliance with the Dublin Regulation (Ciabarri 2020).

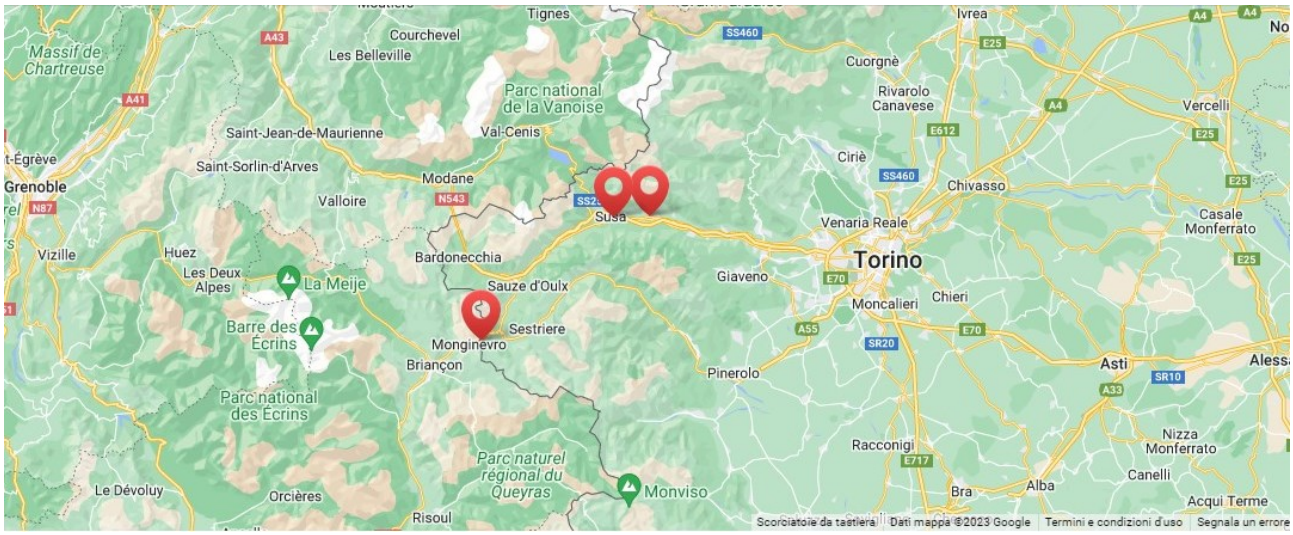

Figure 1. The Susa valley. Source: Susa Committee of the Red Cross

Since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Alpine route has become an extension of the so-called 'Balkan route'. After a significant decrease of transits due to the restrictions implemented by the Italian government in 2020, in the summer "an important change in

the composition and origin of the flows" (MEDU 2020, 6) occurred. Indeed, it is possible to observe the movement of migrant people and groups who, after entering Italy from the eastern border and passing through the nodes of Milan and Turin, arrive in the area of Oulx and Bardonecchia with the aim of reaching France and other central and northern European countries. Although prevailing nationalities have long been those of Iran and Afghanistan, more recently many also come from North African countries such as Morocco and Algeria via Turkey, that they reach by plane with a regular permit. Furthermore, particularly since the first months of 2021, a growing number of migrants have left Turkish shores by sea, landing directly in Southern Italy. In this post-pandemic phase, only a small number of people, mostly of African origin, have arrived on this stretch of the border arch after crossing the central Mediterranean sea, mostly heading towards Ventimiglia. As reported by several PoM met during the fieldwork at the Massi shelter, their trajectory is not linear but fragmented: the routes are often followed in a counter-intuitive and creative ways, through anti-geographical or zigzag journeys that are influenced by the concrete obstacles in the field, as exemplified by the figure n.1.

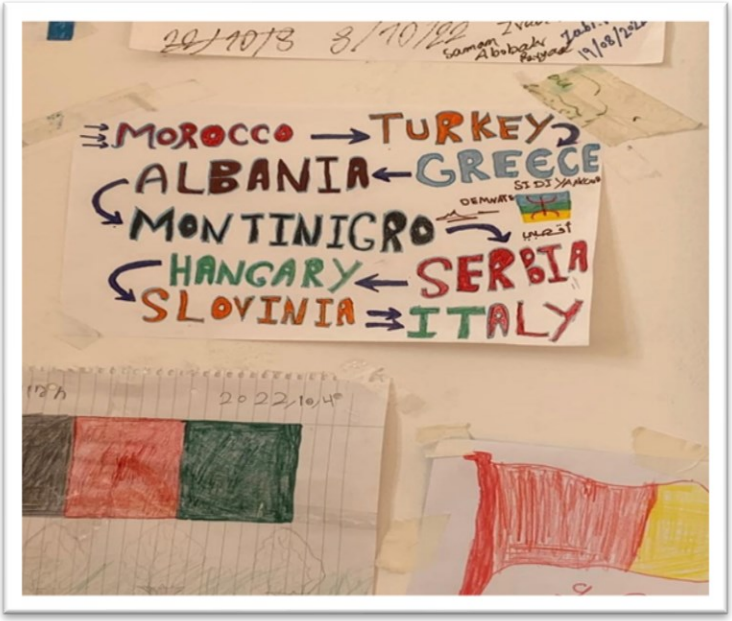

Figure 2. Picture taken at the Massi shelter in Oulx, February 2023

Against the background of the new salience of political borders in social research, scholars in critical border studies have stressed the strategic use of the natural environment in the process of discouraging and disrupting 'unauthorized' migrant journeys (Tazzioli 2019). Indeed, it is widely recognized by the migration scholarship (Heller and Pezzani 2014; Squire 2014; Del Biaggio and Heller, 2017; Schindel 2019; Del Biaggio, Giannetto, and

Noûs 2020; Duncan and Levidis 2020) that natural elements such as rivers, mountains, deserts and seas are not mere background frames, but can be mobilized and become 'weaponized' (De Leon 2015) as tool of the border machine to implement its border policies (Torre 2023). Within this framework, the natural environment can assume a hostile character actively shaped by the border management; indeed, the Italian French border can be understood as an example of necropolitical politics implemented by both Italian and French authorities in an attempt to discourage its crossing (Mbembe 2019; Vaughan-Williams 2015). More than one person has lost their life in the past few years while attempting to cross this specific border: the most famous case is that of Blessing Matthew, a 21-year-old woman originally from Nigeria who died on the night of May 6-7, 2018, following a chase with the French police (Border Forensic 2023).

Nevertheless, it is vital to stress how, as in any battleground, these same elements can contribute to facilitate crossing the border as well: not only law enforcement, but also PoM take advantage of the natural landscape, whose morphological characteristics can be mobilized in their own favor. Indeed, in a context of increasing border securitization, they continuously and creatively subvert border regimes and reinvent practices of appropriation of mobility (Scheel 2019; Tazzioli 2017). The autonomy and agency granted by the Alpine environment can thus explain why illicit travelers choose to walk through dangerous mountain trails instead of choosing apparently easier nodes of exit, such as the maritime and coastal passage. "We are not afraid of the mountains," one Iranian PoM in Oulx told us; "we are well equipped, and we can hide in the woods at night".

Furthermore, as described by Torre (2023), this battleground territory is animated by a multiplicity of actors; the authors define the crossing conditions of Alpine mobility as shaped by manifold intertwined and contentious political arenas of struggle, representing crucial fields "marked by tensions between practices of border reinforcement and border crossing" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2014, 3). The fieldwork indeed allows observing the border as a politically generative terrain of social relations as it is essentially a heterogeneous and conflictual space produced by an unruly multiplicity of actors: state and international agencies, gendarmes, *passeurs*, human traffickers, various profiteers, entrepreneurs, cooperatives, as well as volunteers, humanitarian and political activists, and fundamentally PoM themselves (Laszczkowski 2018).

2. Solidarity actors: 'Rifugio Fraternità Massi'

The Susa Valley has a longstanding history of political activism and confrontation that originated from the labor struggles of the early 1900s and the partisan resistance against the Nazi occupation during World War II. For over thirty years, it has been the site of a struggle against the planned construction of a new transborder high-speed railway (*treno alta velocità*, TAV). The movement bears similarities to the Occupy and Indignatos movements in its ability to interweave struggle and social cooperation and acts as a strong reference for demands for mobilization and countersubjectification and has developed a distinct, place-based multi-faceted critique of neoliberal governance and transnational political economy (Della Porta and Piazza 2008; Armano, Sciortino and Pittavino 2013). Its long history has led to an unusual degree of politicization among the valley's residents: according to Laszczkowski (2018), many of those now active in no-border movements are longstanding No TAV activists, though the network also thrives on the dedication of many individuals who were never actively involved with the movement.

Within this frame of solidarity and mobilization, various forms of active reception have sprung up on both the French and the Italian side to provide emergency assistance to those who attempt to cross the border or are turned back by the French authorities, (Giliberti and Filippi 2021) as part of the network of trans-European alliances described by Queirolo Palmas and Rahola (2020) as 'underground railroad'. Since the spring of 2016, on the French side of the border, groups of locale villagers and local associations started mobilizing in public demonstrations to denounce the violence of police pushbacks, after the news that a Malian young man had his feet amputated in the local hospital due to severe exposure. Similarly, on the Italian side, in the Susa Valley, a network of local villagers started rallying in the autumn of 2017, after knowing that two men were seriously injured as the result of a fall in a 40-meters deep crevasse, to escape a police pursuit in the mountains (Vergnano 2020). *Briser les Frontières* (Shatter the Borders), a loose informal network connecting French and Italian activists, arose spontaneously in the final months of 2017, building on previous personal contacts between concerned individuals on either side of the border (Laszczkowski 2018).

There are currently more than one solidarity networks in the Italian side, different from each other in terms of their political/humanitarian approach, discourse, practices, and modes of action, from professional Alpine rescuers, to the Waldensians (traditionally present in this part of the Alps), to various (generally left-wing) groups of political activists, to

many individual residents with no particular group affinity[1]. This report focuses on the 'Rifugio Fraternità Massi' (Fraternity Massi Shelter), established in 2018 and funded by private religious foundations. The shelter delivers a variety of services to PoM, from providing meals to overnight shelter to legal and medical assistance. The number of people and their nationality varies incessantly according to the political and material situation on the borders. During our fieldworks, we worked at the shelter performing a variety of tasks together with the operators and volunteers: our errands included helping with meal preparation and distribution, delivering clothes and accessories each morning to people who intended to attempt the passage through the mountains, accompanying them to catch the bus providing them with all the necessary information, and spending free time with them. The individuals that cross this space belong to different categories: the shelter has officially employed social workers, translators, doctors and lawyers; it is managed with the support of more than fifty volunteers who, on a rotating basis, contribute the work of the paid operators; volunteers are Catholics, scouts, private social sector workers, activists and No TAV members. Most of them are middle-aged women, following an established pattern in voluntary associations and activism. In terms of practices, they claim that the humanitarian practice of saving lives in the mountains is their primary objective.

We came to notice quite quickly how being a paid operator clearly determines certain power dynamics: operators are supposed to concretely managing the shelter, preparing food, and welcoming the PoM explaining them the rules of the place. They are physically and spatially distantiated by the rest of the people: they 'have to wear' their hoodies with 'staff' written on the back, as one of them explain to us; they usually eat after the PoM and have access to different rules: while drinking alcohol is forbidden to guests, operators are free to share it in the kitchen. The kitchen, indeed, is another space where only volunteers and staff are allowed. The access to spaces is established by the status: only staff can open and close the main entrance gate and use the elevator's key. The operators' relation with PoM varies enormously according to the single person as time passes, we understood that discretionality is the key principle guiding their work. For example, one volunteer told us:

> There are operators who are great and others I cannot stand… they simply are not willing to be nice. Once I saw this operator arbitrary denying access to all people from Morocco because some Moroccan guys had had a fight the night before […] I became a volunteer after I had realized what happens in these mountains I have always frequented with my husband for tourism.

[1] For an in-depth analysis of the solidarity network in Susa Valley see Torre, 2023; Filippi, Giliberti and Queriolo Palmas, 2021.

As Jacques Lagroye (2003) notes," the relationship with the institution is primarily the relationship with the one who impersonates a role in an institution", and this dynamic of power has been evident on several occasions of confrontation.

More generally, we understand Massi shelter as an actor of non 'politicized humanitarianism solidarity' (Pombo 2019) or 'enabling humanitarianism' (Sinatti 2019) where micro infrapolitical gestures (Scott 1990) of radical solidarity intertwin with more patronizing dynamics. Supported by the municipal administration, it has been officially transformed into a legitimate and institutional transit space. Yet, even if short and fragmented, the fieldwork allowed us to observe the existence of grey zones inhabited by a plurality of different subjectivities where sporadic but persistent moments of transgression take places due to the involvement of the solidarity actors, and where it is possible to witness both implicit and explicit functions. One operator, as instance, once confidentially told us they are thinking about seeking other jobs because they "do not believe this place is going to last long: what we do is too much blurred." Whereas the services provided by the shelter officially fall within the scope of first assistance actions – and thus are considered legal and unproblematic, the shelter itself plays a crucial role in enabling the illicit transit through the Alpine Route. Let us look at the following case as an example.
One afternoon, we helped an Iranian woman who wanted to take a bus to cross the border choose suitable clothes from those offered by the shelter. The distribution of clothes is among the main tasks of the shelter and is a gesture of first assistance because many PoM arrive with clothing unsuitable for the harsh mountain weather conditions, causing themselves even serious injuries. The volunteers involved in the task, however, paid special attention to the choice of clothes: these not only had to be warm and comfortable, given that the trip would take place on a winter night: they also had to be adequate to conceal the woman's presence among the other travelers in the bus. By choosing stylish and new clothing, this camouflage strategy was intended to make her pass off as a tourist and not a (illegal) migrant. Camouflage obviously does not obviate the absence of valid documents to cross the border, but it can weigh heavily in the driver and border police's decision to stop and check passengers.

Figure 3. Daily distribution of clothes and accessories for attempting to cross the border. February 2023

These practices move beyond simple acts of everyday resistance, for they engage in surreptitious and incremental encroachments to further PoM's claims. Rather, for Asef Bayat (2010) they exemplify a 'poor people's nonmovement', characterized by the protracted mobilization of millions of detached and dispersed individuals and families who strive to enhance their lives in a lifelong collective effort. The daily support activities, together with the sharing of information and resources between both sides of the mountains, can be described as a 'mobile infrastructure of solidarity' (Tazzioli 2016, 610; Vergnano 2021; Xiang and Lindquist 2014) that supports PoM to negotiate their passage, to gain autonomy and decrease the power of local smuggler networks (Torre 2023). Within this frame, they can be interpreted as political, radical acts of solidarity and resistance.

3. Accomplishments, obstacles, and challenges of the fieldwork

As mentioned in the introduction, we approached the fieldwork with a number of goals in mind; though, due to a combination of elements, only some of them have been accomplished. We will start by highlighting the elements that have worked. Subsequently, we present and discuss some preliminary critical issues arisen concerning the positionality and role of the researcher in a field characterized by multiple temporalities; the challenges

encountered in successfully accessing the field and the concept of 'failure' in ethnographic research.

The fieldwork has proved central to nurture and strengthen the relationship between us as a research couple. Spending time together in an environment new for the both of us helped us to know and understand each other differently than in the classroom or in everyday life. Besides, it offered us a good chance to practice fieldnotes taking, ethnographic writing, and getting to know a border zone we were both unfamiliar with.

One of the main weaknesses of our experience has been the lack of clear and defined research goals. While we produced a number of ideas about eventual research themes and questions to investigate during our stays, we failed to concretely implement them. The issue of time and temporality played a relevant role in this regard.

In our notes we dedicated few lines to the concept of 'waithood' and the analysis of the distinctive temporalities which often flow without intertwining with each other. Unlike the other squats disseminated in the valley, Massi shelter can be compared to a kind of pit-stop: PoM are allowed to stay there for 2 night maximum, making it a space of waiting without specific activities to do, and specially no collective activities organized together. Encounters were fleeting, temporary, marked by uncertainty and transience, without concrete opportunity to establish significant relationships.

Figure 4. Guests of the shelter waiting to take the bus to the border, March 2023

This space of waithood was an empty one difficult to insert oneself in: we could only ask the permission to fill this space with them. In our field notes, we agglutinated our feelings under the word of 'boredom,' as a consequence of the difficulties of the researcher to access significant relationships in the field, of building their role and recognition within a social space. We commented in our notes:

> Every place has its own temporality when it comes to developing relations, but we could not fit into it. So, the language barrier was not the only reason for not being able to build communication. Since there was not enough interaction, I tried to get increasingly involved in the daily work in the shelter: delivering the clothes, washing, and folding the laundry, setting the tables, disturbing the food, etc. However, all these tasks usually take half an hour. An hour, tops. The rest of the time, most of the time in the shelter, we had to linger around and wait for the time to pass. So, it was frustrating and boring because I could not find my place there. I felt like an extra in the context. I was there, but with no clear function. I felt just like the one that I did not want to be: a useless researcher.
>
> The waiting for more than two hours made me wonder: for what do refugees wait? What do they wait to do on that day? What do they wait for the next day? What will they wait for in the coming years? One of the refugees, -a male in his twenties, did not want to eat but kept saying, "Let me sleep." I thought about how physically and mentally challenging it was to wait for them to go to sleep when they were so tired. We, as researchers, focus on mobility and immobility, yet there is waiting during the mobility or immobility. I should read about the politics of waiting.

The limited duration of our stays at the shelter – usually restricted to a maximum of 4 days due to work and personal commitments - further complicated the construction of meaningful connections that would allow us to apply the methodological tools we had planned. Our personal status and background – that is, our positionality – constituted another element of complexity to be dealt with. At the shelter, we had a hybrid status: we operated as a volunteers, with no constraints, yet everyone knew that we come from an academic institution and spent time there for the purpose of our work. We often had the feeling that our presence was always somehow to be re-discussed and re-negotiated according to the situation, the people, the contingency, creating a vague sense of discomfort. On multiple occasions, our identity as young women helped us in networking with people; on just as many other occasions, it made people not want to approach us. Speaking Persian and Turkish helped us to interact with several nationalities; on one occasion, a young Iranian man in reverse turned away from us, visibly upset at the idea of having a 'compatriot' in the shelter. Instead of viewing these episodes as disappointing failures, we began to look at them as something to consider on which to build our next approach to the field. Being conscious of these variables and their influence on the field and its participants allowed us to reframe our expectations and the burden we were suffering to emulate the 'perfect ethnographer.' We also comprehended how these experiences resonated with those of our colleagues in other nodes of the project, who had to face similar challenges concerning their legitimacy to access the field according to not only the field itself but especially the different actors that cross it.

There exists a wide body of literature which tackles the role of failure in ethnographic research and draw on the experiences to argue for a more sustained and in-depth conversation on the topic. The number of variables that can 'go wrong' is almost limitless: access to the field site or to the potential participants is denied; if we 'get in', our interlocutors do not show up or fail to meet our expectations; we struggle to build meaningful relationships; our findings are not original at all, but we manage them as groundbreaking anyway; we feel stressed, clueless, bored, and overwhelmed. Describing certain experiences as 'failure' might indeed be misleading due to its oft-assumed negative connotations. The significance of failure can differ considerably, as it encompasses (un)avoidable mistakes, but also situations which appeared initially as negative, but turned out to be valuable learning opportunities. In some way, our search for subversive and transgressive methods implies to assume failure as a learning experience. As we wrote in our notes after a particularly challenging stay, "Remember the first fieldwork rule: no matter how much you prepare, you can never be prepared for everything."

4. Actors, networks, and future paths of research

Despite the hindrances and difficulties above-mentioned, the fieldwork experience enabled us to establish some important relationships and lay the groundwork for future research insights.

Contacting the activists of the On Borders movement was a crucial first milestone that allowed us not only to keep human and professional relationships on the field but also to learn a lot about this context. OnBorders is a plural and multidisciplinary space for observation, research and analysis on borders, margins, and crossings. It is a project born in the wake of a 20-year-long collaboration between historians, sociologists, anthropologists, visual arts specialists, the academia and civil society, mixing research and first-person civic engagement (https://onborders.altervista.org/).

The collaboration with the organization has already proved some preliminary outcomes, synthetized as follows: during our fieldwork, a collaborative ground for mixing research, drawings, illustrations, and graphic sociology has been developed and enacted. The outcome is a graphic novel - The Jacket - coproduced with OnBorders and published by Animazione Sociale (2023, number 364), a well-known journal in the world of social workers in Italy (https://www.animazionesociale.it/it-magazine-246-rivista_animazione_sociale_364). A circulating object between the clothes depository of two refugees shelters becomes the main character of this graphic novel addressing solidarity as a driving force of mobility and border transgressions. Frantz Fanon's words of Black Skin, White Masks is the voice over of the drawings, generating another, historical, layer linked to colonization in the interpretation of this border battleground. Moreover, On Borders participated as guest at the SolRoutes kick off meeting in September 2023, contributing with the movement's expertise to the collective debate; the conversations we have had over time have made it possible to follow up on some research leads regarding the thematic caravans in the Balkan route, with potential future collaboration together.

The fieldwork with and among PoM lead us also to taking interest in different issues addressed in the course of these interactions: as instance, during our very first experience at the shelter we had the privilege of interviewing an Iranian woman traveling with her daughter who shared with us her testimony of an exclusively female journey along the Balkan route. We managed to keep contact with her once she reached her final destination and we established a relationship of trust and confidence that lead us to investigate

more in depth the reality of female migration, which is still an under-represented issue within the migration studies.

Two other parallel lines of inquiry concern the use of digital infrastructures by PoM during their journey. We are interested in analyzing the representations of the self that PoM construct and share through social media. One of the concepts we started discussing is of 'cosmopolitanism from below;' more recently, some authors theorize cosmopolitanism as a contestation of universalism and the claim that it concerns only wealthy white tourists, starting to shed new light on the contested relations between tourism and cosmopolitanism. Moving from the awareness that PoM are usually represented by only two dichotomic frame – the passive victims devoid of agency who are forced to a terrible experience, and the invaders ready to conquer us – we began to reflect on how we can ease the emergence of their own way of telling their travel; how to use their own gaze, through their photos and videos, to deconstruct the abovementioned representations and celebrate their travel. Furthermore, one of us started since then a digital ethnography on virtual platforms and channels used by Afghan and Iranian PoM and facilitators to share information about border crossing to Europe. This work has been inspired by the collaboration with On Border and, so far, its preliminary outcomes have been already accepted to be discussed at one international conference on interdisciplinary perspective on migration (https://www.unive.it/data/16437/1/75394).

These are just a few insights on which future research paths can be imagined and built. We are aware that implementing them means coming to terms with the main obstacle encountered in these months - the limited research time - but we have already erected a good foundation from which to start.

References

Anderlini, Jacopo, Davide Filippi, and Luca Giliberti. 2022. Borderland Italia. Regime di frontiera e autonomia delle migrazioni. Roma: DeriveApprodi

Animazione Sociale, https://www.animazionesociale.it/it-magazine-246-rivista_animazione_sociale_364

Armano, Emiliana, Gian Luca Pittavino, and Raffaele Sciortino. 2013. Occupy in Valsusa: the No TAV movement. Capitalism Nature Socialism 24.2: 14-26

Bayat, Asef. 2010. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Border Forensic. 2023. The death of Blessing Matthew – a counter-investigation on violence at the alpine frontier. https://www.borderforensics.org/investigations/blessing/

Ciabarri, Luca. 2020. L'imbroglio mediterraneo. Le migrazioni via mare e le politiche della frontiera. Milano: Raffaello Cortina

De Leon, Jason. 2015. The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail. Oakland: University of California Press

Del Biaggio, Cristina, and Charles Heller. 2017. "En montagne, comme en mer, la frontière est vio lente pour les migrants". Libération. Accessed May 24, 2022. https://www.liberation.fr/debats/ JOURNAL OF BORDERLANDS STUDIES 17 2017/12/14/charles-heller-et-cristina-del-biaggio-en-montagne-comme-en-mer-la-frontiere est-violente-pour-les-m_1616731/

Del Biaggio, Cristina, Leila Giannetto, and Camille Noûs. 2020. Refugees and Mountain. Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de géographie alpine [Online] 108, no. 2: 1–9. https://doi.org/10.4000/rga.7267

Della Porta, Donatella and Piazza, Gianni. 2008. Voices of the Valley, Voices of the Straits: How Protest Creates Communities. New York: Berghahn Books

Donadio, Giacomo. 2021. The Irregular Border: Theory and Praxis at the Border of Venitmiglia in the Schengen Age. In Debordering Europe: Migration and Control Across the Ventimiglia Region, eds. L. Amigoni, S. Aru, I. Bonnin, G. Proglio, and C. Vergnano, 109–33. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Duncan, Ifor, and Stefanos Levidis. 2020. "At the Border. Weaponizing a River." e-flux architec ture. https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/at-the-border/325751/weaponizing-a-r

Filippi, Davide, Luca Giliberti, and Luca Queirolo Palmas. From Lampedusa to the Susa Valley: solidarity networks in two border battlegrounds. Journal of Modern Italian Studies 26.5 (2021): 608-626

Giliberti, Luca, and Davide Filippi. 2021. La solidarietà in frontiera: le reti di supporto ai migranti in transito in Val di Susa. Mondi Migranti 3: 89–112. DOI: 10.3280/MM2021-003005

Heller, Charles, and Lorenzo Pezzani. 2014. Liquid Traces: Investigating the Deaths of Migrants at the EU's Maritime Frontier. Revue européenne des migrations internationales 30, no. 3: 71–107. DOI: 10.4000/remi.7106

Hess, Sabine, and Bernd Kasparek. 2017. De- and Restablishing Schengen. The European Border Regime After the Summer of Migration. Cuadernos Europeos de Deusto 56: 47–77. https://doi.org/10.18543/ced-56-2017pp47-77

Lagroye, Jacques. 2003. La politisation. Vol. 1270. Paris: Belin

Laszczkowski, Mateusz. April 2018. 'Notes from a Blurry Border (part 2): Shatter the border!'. Allegra Lab. https://allegralaboratory.net/notes-from-a-blurry-border-part-2-shatter-the-border/

Mbembe, Achille. 2019. Necropolitics. Durham and London: Duke University Press

MEDU. 2020. Rapporto sulla situazione umanitaria dei migranti in transito lungo la frontiera nord-ovest tra Italia e Francia. https://mediciperidirittiumani.org/medu/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/LEGGI-IL-RAPPORTO-COMPLETO.pdf

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Breitt Neilson. 2014. Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor-Durham: Duke University Press

On Borders, https://onborders.altervista.org/

Pombo, Maria Dolores. 2019. Violence at the U.S./Mexican Border. The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises. Edited by Cecilia Menjívar, Marie Ruiz, and Immanuel Ness. Oxford University Press

Queirolo Palmas, Luca, and Federico Rahola. 2020. Underground Railroad. Lungo le rotte migranti. Milano: Meltemi

Scheel, Stephan. 2019. Autonomy of Migration Appropriating Mobility within Biometric Border Regimes. Oxon and New York: Routledge

Schindel, Estela. 2019. Death by 'Nature': the European Border Regime and the Spatial Production of Slow Violence. Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space 40, no. 2: 428–46. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419884948

Scott, James. 1990. Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts. New Haven: Yale University Press. DOI: 10.12987/9780300153569

Sinatti, G. 2019. Humanitarianism as Politics: Civil Support Initiatives for Migrants in Milan's Hub. Social Inclusion 47 (2): 139–148. doi: 10.17645/si. v7i2.1968

Squire, Vicky. 2014. Desert 'trash'. Posthumanism, Border Struggles, and Humanitarian Politics. Political Geography 39: 11–21

Tazzioli, Martina. 2019. Governing Migrant Mobility through Mobility: Containment and Dispersal at the Internal Frontiers of Europe. Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space 38, no. 1: 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419839065

Torre, Filippo. 2023. Mountain as an Ambivalent Transit Zone: Facing the Battleground of the Alpine Border Crossing, Journal of Borderlands Studies, 10.1080/08865655.2023.2183425

Tous Migrants. 2022. L'accueil et la défense des droits des personnes exilées dans le Briançonnais et les Hautes-Alpes. Constats, initiatives, perspectives. https://tousmigrants. weebly.com/notre-texte-de-reacutefeacuterence.html

Vaughan-Williams, Nick. 2015. Europe's Border Crisis: Biopolitical Security and Beyond. Oxford

Vergnano, Cecilia. 2020. From Affects to Contentious Politics. Disruptive Encounters with Migrants Along a Transalpine Route. Journal of Alpine Research, 108-2. https://doi.org/10.4000/rga.7337

Vergnano, Cecilia. 2021. Supporting Migrants Mobility across Securitised Borders. Between 'non-Profit Migration Infrastructures' and Criminalization. Champ Pénal [online] 23. https://doi.org/10.4000/champpenal.12658

Xiang, Biao, and Johan Lindquist. 2014. Migration Infrastructure. International Migration 48, no. S1: S122–S148. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12141

SOLROUTES