Youth Partnership

Partnership between the European Commission and the Council of Europe in the field of youth

DIGITAL DE-BUNKING

Repositioning boundaries to promote creative approaches to asylum seeker and refugee integration

ABSTRACT

This article explores the role that youth action can play in integrating asylum seekers and refugees into European host communities. Using the Swiss case, the author stresses the need to pay closer attention to how states can take exceptional measures to undermine sustainable long-term strategies for inclusion. The author explores the effects that discourses of fear, securitization and boundary-making have on the social, economic and digital life of asylum seekers and refugees. In times of proliferating anxieties over national security, the foreign Other is often perceived to be a quintessential threat to the state and its nationals. In Switzerland, this necessitates placing temporarily admitted asylum seekers in underground war bunkers, obscuring them from public view to maintain the perception of order among the public. The conclusion provides two recommendations: the first is to generate starting points to inquiry related to integration outside of a state-centric, securitising prism. Secondly, members of civil society should identify and reposition social boundaries in ways that facilitate creative ameliorative interventions. The use of mobile technologies can play an auxiliary role in facilitating horizontal co-integration, providing further insight for finding cutting edge strategies to better the condition of asylum seekers and refugees in Europe.

Kwaku Adomako

December, 2016
(Updated January 2018)

Contents

Introduction 1
A State of Siege and a State of Exceptional Security 2
Securing National Identity by Boundary Making 4
Switzerland: Security and Boundary making in Social and Economic Life 6
The Superstructure of Letters: Inverted Boundary Making through Documentation *6*
Expanding the Boundary to Contract Social and Domestic Life *9*
Digital Disruption and Intervention: Challenges ICTs Pose to Integration 10
Migration Initiative: Repositioning for Social Co-Integration 12
Overview *12*
De-Bunking the Field *13*
Conclusion 15
Bibliography 17

Introduction

The European Union and Council of Europe (EU-CoE) Youth Partnership tasked researchers and youth work practitioners to "find ways to understand the role of youth work in integrating young refugees in Europe."[1] The agenda of the expert seminar, held on November 23 to 24, 2016, was predicated on "…cross-sector integrated responses in the short, medium and long term" of the "integration of migrants and refugees." I will take the opportunity to extend the reach of this study to include the experiences of both refugees that have attained the status and rights, as outlined by the UNHCR Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees[2], and asylum seekers that have not attained refugee status.[3] I emphasise in this paper that barriers to integration are not neutral, and stress the need to think outside of a state-centric framework, which prioritises security as the lens through which to construct policies and carry out practices related to (im)migration. In this paper, I will examine the relationship between *fear*, *security* and *boundary making*, and their role in constructing a climate inconducive to asylum seeker integration. I will then unpack the way that this relationship unfolds in the Swiss context and the youth action generated in response to it.[4] I will specifically focus on the Migration Initiative, launched by students at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID)[5] located in Geneva, Switzerland.

By writing this paper, I aim to provide answers to the following questions: *what are ways to counteract processes of exclusion that maintain social and economic gaps between asylum*

---

[1] Title of conference held on November 23 and 24, 2016.

[2] "Such rights include access to the courts, to primary education, to work, and the provision for documentation, including a refugee travel document in passport form" (UNHCR 2011).

[3] Aside from refugees and asylum seekers, this study will not focus on the experiences of migrants that have crossed borders or attained migratory/residential statuses through regular conventional means. Actors that have done so will be referred to as members of the host community. This *comprises local and international students* or *local* and *international young professionals* whose relative privileged statuses allow them to participate in the integrative work that this essay will describe.

[4] The youth action described in this article will refer to measures taken by young actors to ameliorate the conditions of asylum seekers and refugees in ways they feel are meaningful and/or impactful.

[5] L'Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement.

seekers and refugees and their host communities. What challenges and opportunities might telecommunication technologies present to impede or facilitate this process? I suggest that a horizontal or *co-integrative* approach is useful to address social and economic challenges that refugees and asylum seekers confront in Europe. Furthermore, in order to test and scale innovative short, medium and long-term strategies, it is essential to first counteract the climate of fear and consider strategies outside of the vantage point of the state. Lastly, mobile technologies can play an auxiliary role in facilitating horizontal integration; they can offer further insight into cutting edge strategies that ameliorate the condition of asylum seekers and refugees in Europe.

My goals for this paper are thus to unpack barriers to – and strategies for – the social inclusion of asylum seekers. I further hope that this study generates broader discussions about the limits imposed, and possibilities present, for asylum seeker integration by information and communication technology (ICT).

A State of Siege and a State of Exceptional Security

The critical theory that I will use understand the use of security to justify process of exclusion (of which youth work is tasked with redressing) is heavily based on Hassan Hage's recently published article "État de siège: A dying domesticating colonialism?" (2015) and Didier Bigo's 2002 article entitled "Security and Migration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease."

To begin, Hage writes against the ways that the highly-mediatised influx of migration from African and Middle-Eastern countries to Europe is not only popularly framed as a "besiegement," but sometimes even as reverse-colonialism (2015:39). He further states that this contributes to a normalised "state of exception," a theory borrowed from Giorgio Agemben. The *state of exception* is a "mode of governmentality that hovers on the borderline between legality and force" (Hage 2015:38). When in a state of exception, the sovereign (and in the contemporary

European sense, the state, its institutions and the personnel that run them) "operates inside and outside of the judicial order" (Agemben 1998: 17). When in "crisis" the security personnel (police, border patrol, the army, etc.) exercise the state's successful monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force (Weber 1918:400) in ways noticeably outside of the norm. This successful normalisation of *exceptional* measures to security can be "symptomatic" of the political climate of fear (Hage 2015:38).

Similarly, Bigo argues that the popularity of the security prism to immigration is the result of a continuum of perceived threats (2002). To paraphrase, these perceived threats are based on our conception of the state as the only "body or container" of organised society (2002: 65).
He further elaborates:

> *"The state justifies itself as the only political order possible as soon as it is accepted that sovereignty, law and order, and a single body are the prerequisite for peace and homogeneity. It justifies the "national" identity that the state has achieved through a territorialisation of its order, by a cutting up of its borders (67). …Migration (is hence) always understood through the categories of the national and the state, as a danger to the 'homogeneity of the people'"* (ibid).

The word "migrants" changes in meaning in the securitisation context: It transforms from a category of person who travels from one place to another to a danger to the notion of homogeneity and hence a danger to peace. Bigo further elaborates that the securitising form of governmentality is a way for experts to mask institutions' failures to maintain a monopoly over protection and security (65). For this article, the *intent* behind an evidently heavy-handed securitising lens, through which migration is approached, is not as convincing or useful an investigation as the ontological *effects* that this lens produces. Whether the government has failed is neither here nor there. My aim, however, is to open the floor for people to question the normative reflex to think of migration from the vantage point of states. Sovereignty and security,

in Bigo's analysis, are relinquished of their status as starting points to inquiry. Instead, they become objects of analysis that help understand the *work* behind maintaining them as starting points to migration in the collective imagination of European nations-states, their constituents and constituencies.

Securing National Identity by Boundary Making

In this section, I aim to unpack the concept of "*boundary making"* and underscore its relationship to the unquestioned, security discourses that colour exclusionary state approaches to migration management. Boundary making is a term popularised in part by theorist Andreas Wimmer (2008, 2013). It represents "the first attempt to systematically explain the…character and consequences of ethnic boundaries" (Wimmer 2008: 973). Strategies to establish, reify and shift boundaries consist of *expansion* (going beyond the territorialisation of national identity through discursive projects like "African-ness or European-ness), *contraction* (e.g. ethnic localism) *inversion* (the hierarchal ordering of ethnic groups) *blurring* (e.g. using stand-in techniques like visa agreements to covertly maintain ethnic boundaries) and *repositioning* (actors' attempts to move between and laterally within established boundaries (Andreas 2008: 987-989).

Boundary making is nothing new. Theorists over the stretch of decades have been trying to understand the ways that distinctions between individuals that are based on phenotypical and social markers shape experiences of reality. The breadth of theories making significant genealogical contributions to boundary making far exceed the scope of this paper. Noteworthy, however is Max Weber's notion of "open and closed relationships" (Weber 1978:342-355) via "group formation processes" (Wimmer 2013:4). [6] Open and closed relationships denote the economic usefulness that one "group of competitors" may find through excluding others based

[6] Wimmer refers to this process as "social closure" (2013:4).

on "identifiable characteristics" like race, language, religion or social origin, descent, residence, etc. (Weber 1978: 342). Another is Gieryn's study of *boundary-work* (Andreas 2013:4; Gieryn 1983: 781-795) which he defines as "the ideological style found in scientists' attempts to create a public image for science by contrasting it favourably to non-scientific intellectual or technical activities" (1983:781).

The notions of *closed relationships* in an economic sense and *boundary-work* in a professional sense are of significant theoretical weight when evaluating the economic and social effects of state governance of migration. Paying mind to the unchecked expansion, contraction, inversion and blurring of boundaries *through exceptional security* helps unveil normalising processes that bring what Hage calls the "global apartheid order" (2015: 43-44) to the national sphere. In the Swiss case, the ability of boundary making to produce radically different, yet concurrent experiences of "quality of life" and "mobility" coincides neatly with Hage's definition of apartheid (43).[7] This ultimately limits the rights of newcomers based on ethnicity and class, especially those ensnared in the asylum process.

The boundary making concept may also explain secondary residual effects that systemic exclusion has on the public perception of refugees and asylum seekers, This perception ultimately undermines the ability for youth work practitioners, or youth activists to bring about successful short, medium and long-term newcomer integration into host communities.

In the following section, I will underscore the role that fear driven narratives of newcomers play in boundary making in Switzerland. This facilitates the state's ability to justify taking exceptional measures to national security via migration management. This consequently makes the question of youth work's role in integration an exceedingly difficult one to answer.

[7] Apartheid according to Hage "is above all, an institutionalisation of two realities structured by race and class within a single space" (2015:43).

Switzerland: Security and Boundary making in Social and Economic Life

The Superstructure of Letters: Inverted Boundary Making through Documentation

In Switzerland, the regime of residential permits provides not only conditional modes of legality, but an asymmetrical distribution of rights and privileges to newcomers on a vertical basis. In other words, it results in *boundary inversion*. The regime also conceals ethnic dimensions of institutional vertical organising. This has overt effects that undermine integration.

The "F" permit is intended for the "temporary protection" of asylum seekers that the state may argue do not clearly fit into the category of refugee as outlined in the 1951 convention. Temporarily admitted, these asylum seekers are paradoxically "ordered to return from Switzerland to their native countries" (SEM 2015) but are in cases where the enforcement of this order violates international law, is unreasonable due to evident dangers that are present in the applicant's home country or has technical considerations that make return unfeasible (Ibid). Furthermore, as per the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM)[8] 2015 "*Migration Report*," though 53% of asylum seekers received protection from the Swiss government as of January 1, 2014, only 25% were recognised as refugees **(figure 1).** This class of asylum seekers comprising "temporarily admitted persons,"

Cases handled in first instance 2015

Cases handled	2015	Change from 2014–2015	Change from 2014–2015 in %
Asylum granted	6377	+178	+2,9%
Recognition rate[8]	*25,1%*	*–0,5%*	*–2,0%*
Protection rate[9]	*53,1%*	*–5,2%*	*–8,9%*
Applications dismissed	8421	+2548	+43,4%
Of which related to Dublin (incl. other transfer procedures)[10]	*8123*	*+2987*	*+58,2%*
Asylum denied	10602	–1537	–12,7%
Application cancelled	2718	+214	+8,5%
Total cases handled	28118	+1403	+5,3%
Applications pending in first instance	29805	+13038	+77,8%

[8] Proportion of cases where asylum was granted in relation to all cases handled (excl. cancelled asylum applications)
[9] Proportion of all cases handled (excl. cancelled asylum applications) where asylum or temporary admission was granted in the first instance.
[10] Since implementation of the Dublin III Ordinance on 1 January 2014, certain categories of foreign nationals no longer fall within the scope of application of the Dublin III Ordinance; for these foreign nationals, requests for transfer must be made in accordance with readmission guidelines or a bilateral readmission agreement.
[11] Decisions to temporarily admit asylum seekers in the first instance form the basis for the calculation of protection

Figure 1 Source: SEM 2015: 24

[8] Secrétariat d'état aux migrations (SEM).

reside in Switzerland without the full rights of a refugee who would be granted the "B" permit. This includes the right to travel (SEMb 2015:7). This poses secondary and tertiary problems for integration that I will outline in the subsequent sections.

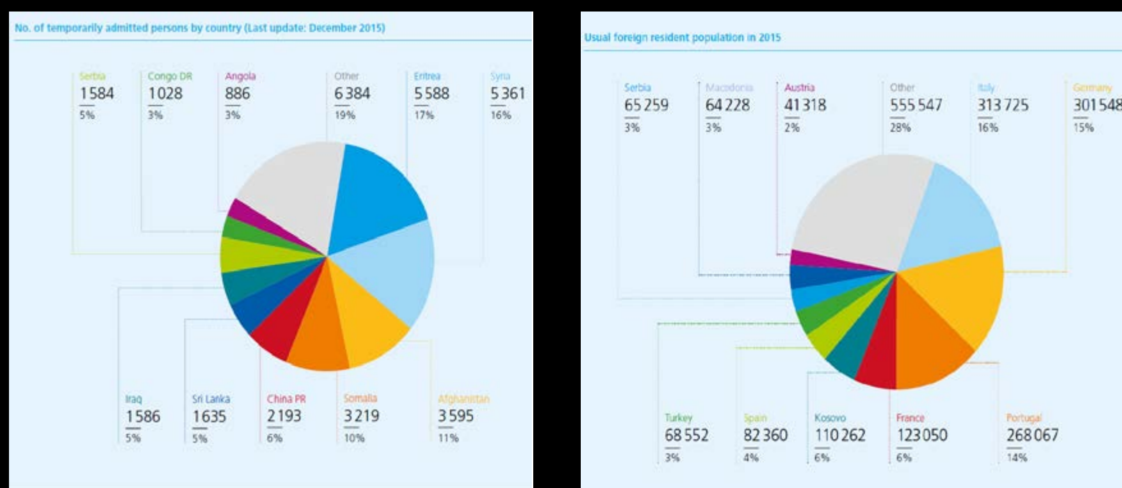
The right to stay is renewable annually with no guarantee of success and the temporarily admitted person may be sent back prior to the renewal date. The CEO of a telecommunications service provider that I interviewed argued that this undermines people's ability to work, "because employers perceive hiring people with "F" permits as risky." This contributes to *economic* exclusion. This structurally disparate economic reality may undermine the affective sense of belonging in the host country, thus contributing to *social* exclusion.

If an asylum seeker manages to procure a "B" permit s/he is transformed into a refugee and has the right to reside in Switzerland and travel for five years prior to renewal. It is after living in Switzerland for 10 years with a "B" permit (and meeting other criteria) that an individual can attain a C permit, granting her or him a set of rights highly comparable to a Swiss National (SEMb). This sets her or him on course for naturalisation, for it is after 12 years of legally residing in Switzerland that, one can apply for Swiss citizenship. This vertical pipeline that confers a corresponding range of rights, based on permit letters, inverts boundaries to structure bureaucratised social hierarchies in everyday life.

Furthermore, the regime of permits both blurs and reproduces inverted boundaries based on ethnicity. **Figure 2** is a comparison of two charts found in the SEM "Migration Report": to the left is the country distribution of "temporarily admitted persons" whereas to the right is the country distribution of the "usual foreign resident population." Aside from the "other" category, all "temporarily admitted persons" comprise of nationals of African, East-Asian and Middle Eastern countries as well as China and Serbia. Aside from the country distribution of "usual foreign residents" in the "other category," none of the people described in the SEM charts come

from Asia, Africa or the Middle-East.[9] They are surely, however, hidden in the "other category" but this still means that their visible representation in Switzerland is marginal compared to the other ten European "usual foreign residents" highlighted. The overwhelming majority of people that have temporary residential status and thus comparatively *marginal access to legal rights* are from non European countries.[10]

FIGURE 2: COMPARATIVE CHART: COUNTRY OF ORIGINS OF "PERSONS SEEKING ASYLUM" VERSUS "USUAL FOREIGN RESIDENT POPULATION



Source: SEMb 2015: 59

The bureaucratised superstructure of letters therefore not only reinforces social hierarchies but obscures the racial and ethnic dimensions of those hierarchies. It helps keep critiques of migratory governance at the level of a generalized "xenophobia." This removes discussion how messy, socially constructed (yet symbolically significant) undercurrents of whiteness, race and ethnicity inform the Xenophobia that the state has increasingly been charged with propagating (Michel 2015).

---

[9] Notably if Turkey falls under the regional category of "Western Europe and Other" based on United Nations regional groups.

[10] This does not however mean that the majority of people from African and Middle Eastern have temporary residential status and thus tenuous legal status.

In the following sections, I will unpack some consequences of expansive and contractive boundary making on the domestic and digital life of asylum seekers. I will then cite youth action on the part of the IHEID Migration Initiative as a case for the repositioning of boundaries via horizontal and digital strategies.

Figure 3: Beneath the Department of Public Instruction of Culture and Sport in Geneva

Expanding the Boundary to Contract Social and Domestic Life

Beneath the *Département de l'instruction publique, de la culture et du sport* sits a well hidden civil protection shelter (or "bunker"). Up to 50 single or unaccompanied adult male asylum seekers and refugees presently reside there **(figure 3).** Clients at the Balexert Commercial Shopping Centre would most likely be surprised to learn that asylum seekers are stored underground, eight-minute's walking distance on *chemin des Coudriers*. Originally constructed in the Cold War era to "ensure the protection of the population" (Canton de Vaud 2015)[11] many Swiss "bunkers" are now used by the state as housing solutions for asylum seekers in a time of increased housing pressure (Themen 2014). Placing asylum seekers underground in structures intended for war has become an increasingly popular exceptional technique, which maintains sharp distinctions, as if to protect "locals" from "migrants". When underground, one can easily lose track of the time or lose sight of daily weather conditions, for the exclusively electrical lighting provides no difference between night and day. This can be a point of departure to highlight regulatory practices that construct and constrict boundaries and further contribute to exclusion, the effects of which permeate into the most intimate aspects of daily life.

As residents descend into what some have called home for several years, they are met by a front desk security officer that monitors the safety considerations of the institution. In this disparate

[11] My translation from French.

reality reserved for them, asylum seekers perform regulative rituals that the general population would most likely never confront. They must, for example, provide the security personnel their government-issued ID which is kept until they exit the compound. Non-residents are prohibited from visiting. Housed in shelters of security in a time of emergency; kept invisible and underground and prohibited from having guests, we see a process of *boundary contraction* that squeezes past the limits of national borders and public life and reaches into the intimate space of domestic life.

Digital Disruption and Intervention: Challenges ICTs Pose to Integration

A tally of the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) 2014 country comparison of estimated mobile phone subscriptions totalled at 7.6 Billion (CIA 2014). The United Nations Population Division states that the global population by 2014 was 7.3 Billion (ESA 2015). This means that there are more mobile phones than people circulating the planet.

Digital disruption is the democratisation and acceleration of information sharing technologies (Bradley and O'Toole, 2016). This is how technology disrupts the course of everyday life. In the case of governance, digital disruption undermines pre-existing regulatory capacities of the state (Schmidt and Cohen 2010) which, in turn, produces reactionary policies against the movement of information and bodies between spaces and across borders in the name of national security (ibid).

This section is about the enabling and disabling functions that ICTs have, when used in civic practices of inclusion and governmental practices of exclusion.[12] In "The Applification of Migration," McAuliffe writes that in the past, "information for refugees was largely the monopoly of states and opportunities for migrating to other regions were limited to formal

[12] It may go without saying that not all civic practices are inclusive, and not all state practices are exclusive. This essay will focus on inclusive civil practices that respond to exclusive state practices in order to produce lessons learned moving forward, as we attempt write positive chapters in the ongoing Europe migration saga.

channels" (2016). She further argues that "mobile phone technology has become the norm" and that there should be more emphasis on ICTs when trying to address issues related to migration (ibid). ICTs "may serve as a 'disruptor' and an 'enabler' at the same time" (ibid). The fact that many asylum seekers have smart phones, for example, challenges perceptions of visible economic indicators typically required to satisfy the criteria that constitute a "real" asylum seeker or refugee in the minds of many Europeans (Ibid). However, the possibilities that ICTs present to maneuver out of state control in a time of "crisis" or "besiegement" may be used to further justify security-oriented approaches to migration governance in the name of national security. This in turn contributes to the expansive, contractive and inverted practices that maintain an apartheidic hierarchy concealed by discourses of national security. This ultimately undermines integrative efforts by the youth sector.

When I spoke to the CEO of a Swiss telecommunication company, who in this Essay I will refer to as "E.", he told me that "refugees are discriminated against because they do not have the right to pay for a telephone company. One cannot get a SIM card with a refugee permit. If one person sells a prepaid SIM card to a refugee, it is an illegal act."[13] He continued:

> *"It is a human right to communicate with your loved ones and this is not respected. So, in the name of national security, refugees enjoy different human rights than we do."*

"E's" concern during our interview was well founded particularly for asylum seekers that are not recognised as refugees. The Federal Data Protection and Information Commissioner (FDPIC) stated in an annual report that this is indeed the case, based on a federal law that the Swiss government passed on 1 August, 2004:

> *"When operators sell prepaid SIM cards, they must verify the purchaser's surname, first name, address and date of birth by means of a valid passport, an ID card or any other*

[13] Interview extract.

> ***travel document*** *that is recognised in Switzerland. Furthermore, the type of ID presented as well as its number must be recorded"* (FDPIC 2005).

This not only disproportionately restricts undocumented migrants and asylum seekers from being able to connect to family abroad or engage in local social and economic life, but it also *explicitly* targets "F" permit holders.

The SEM released a document in 2015 entitled "*Brief overview: Recognised refugees (B permit)/Temporarily admitted refugees (F permit)/ Temporarily admitted persons (F permit)"* indicating that "Temporarily admitted persons ('F' permit holders) are not entitled to travel abroad freely" (SEM 2015: 8). Furthermore, in exchange for an "F" permit, asylum seekers are required to "deposit their passports issued by their country of origin to the SEM" (ibid), forfeiting their right to travel. In this way, "F" permit or temporarily admitted asylum seekers have no right to have a SIM card, thereby excluding them from aspects of digital life provided by mobile technologies.

Migration Initiative: Repositioning for Social Co-Integration

Overview

The Migration Initiative is a network of predominantly young activists that work to engender discussion and action on migration related issues in Europe. The initiative aims to promote the fundamental rights of migrants with a focus on asylum seekers and refugees (see **figure 4**).

Figure 4: Ongoing Initiatives

- French Classes
- French Workshops
- Roundtable discussions
- Essaim d'acceuil volunteer network
- Refugee scholarship
- Weekend trips in Switzerland
- French Classes

De-Bunking the Field

A few minutes' walk from the Coudriers bunker, the Migration Initiative holds French workshops at a community lodging centre of the *salle d'activités du foyer de Saconnex*. These workshops are not where one would expect a typical pedagogical relationship between tutor (local) and pupil (newcomer). This may simply be conjecture, but it strikes me that if people can muster the strength to leave the bunker, or find the time to travel to the fringes of Geneva to the refugee day centre, there is something other than the desire to learn and teach French that motivates respective participants. As we dine and laugh usually over sweet snacks (biscuits and chocolate) and tea, regular pedagogical structure is tossed. Aside from the structure of the schedule, where the time allotted for the community space is three hours, (for there is always another event booked to follow this one), both newcomer and resident escape the structure of daily life. In my case, if the matrix of imposed boundaries were to have been successful in its goal to structure expansive (ideological) contractive (personal) and inverted (hierarchical) distinctions, blurred by a regime of permits and levels of "regularity," it sadly would have kept these participants unbeknownst to me.

The first time I participated in the workshops, I met three of my peers from IHEID and two men from the *Coudriers* bunker. Already having a decent to high level of French, I watched the two men use French as a medium through which they had a heated discussion over what political and structural problems served as impetus for Afghans and Iranians to come to Europe. They did not share their personal stories, but kept a critical distance, finding their words, while switching between Arabic, English and French to keep the discussion afloat. They also kept my peers and me on the edge of our seats, actively interested in what they had to say, visibly eager to hear their vantage points. One of the two men, whom I will call "M," sat depicting beautiful scenery using watercolour paint while discussing Euro-Maghreb geopolitics as he saw them. To the left of him sat a stack of paintings that he had been working on while kept in limbo by his "F" permit for several years. Later that evening Gladys, one of the four founding and highly active members of the Migration Initiative, was practicing Arabic with one of the men, for whom she was formerly

facilitating the French workshop and feeding French vocabulary during this debate. In this instance, as he was teaching her Arabic, he became the volunteer and imparted part of his culture through language just as she did for him five minutes prior. I sat with the painter and marveled at his work while I learned more about his goals and shared mine. As the rolling tide of time brought us to the realisation that the space would soon transform into an *"aperitif"* in a matter of minutes, I asked "M" if I could draw with him during the next session. He told me it would be his pleasure. Through him, I revisited the passion for drawing that I had during what seems for me a past life. This time, I practiced drawing him, while we participated in the French workshop. We connected through graphite and paper, vocabulary and grammar, tea and chocolate. He insisted on teaching me his drawing techniques and I could see that resisting this repositioning of boundaries that otherwise would have kept our roles fixed, keeping me more of a "worker" than a "friend," would have undermined a reason that I suspect he comes to the centre every Monday evening. It is the power of what Gladys called the "gift and counter-gift" during a discussion we had weeks prior. She was referencing to Marcel Mauss' "total service" and "counter-service" that in some senses can be "strictly compulsory" (2002: 7) as a way of showing respect. Gladys further imparted:

> *"When you categorise, you exclude people and you hierarchize. I think this is the role of civil society…to create a space devoid of labels, and where horizontality and reciprocity are present. This is what makes you human. Reciprocity is that makes you human."*

This highlights a pivotal dimension of one key approach to social integration that the Migration Initiative takes. This is the understanding that both newcomers and mid-to-long term members of the host community stand to gain from this interaction. Gladys is learning Arabic, I am revisiting drawing, and other stressed IHEID and University of Geneva students are being physically active through the sports initiative on Tuesday. Some are seeing parts of Switzerland they would have never seen had there not been the positive incentive of discovering Switzerland (a new) with newcomers via monthly weekend trips.

Outside the three-hour slot on Monday night, participants maintain contact with applications like Facebook's WhatsApp ® and Messenger. ® Since with these applications, users do not need SIM cards[14] asylum seekers can cultivate relationships digitally, in ways that disrupt the mode of mobile technology exclusion enshrined in 2004 anti-terrorism legislation. Via groups that the Migration Initiative has established on Facebook and WhatsApp, soundbites of French and Arabic are exchanged for members seeking to share and learn from respective languages. Photos circulate as both a reflection on, and a record of, outings, trips, sporting events and dinners that people participated in leading up to, during and after Migration Initiative activities. In this case, the Migration Initiative has created spaces to discuss migration related issues and have genuine connections with otherwise invisibilised asylum seekers and refugees They debunk misconceptions and preconceived notions, but also encourage a number newcomers to de-bunk themselves, and fight against the socially crippling effects of being sequestered in underground civil protection shelters.

Conclusion

> *But what one does realise is that, when you try to stand up and look the world in the face like you had a right to be here, when you do that, without knowing the result of it, you have attacked the entire power structure of the Western world.*
>
> - *James Baldwin, 1969 5:02*

In this paper, I made a link between a fear-based dominant narrative and heavy-handed security-based practices of the state against asylum seekers. I used the Swiss case to argue that a securitising lens, which informs state policies and justifies repressive measures, constructs boundaries between asylum seekers, refugees and members of host communities. These boundaries are expansive, contractive and hierarchal; they are obscured by devices such as law

[14] WhatsApp does require one to have an initial phone number prior to working, usually associated with a SIM card. Once activated, the SIM card is no longer necessary.

and order, permits and national security. They impede the ability of youth workers and civic actors to make meaningful strides to integrate refugees and asylum seekers into European host communities. Thus, when trying to understand the ways that youth work can integrate young refugees and asylum seekers into Europe, practitioners and policy makers cannot provide solutions without first redressing the social and political climate within which they are operating.

Moving forward, I call for a two-pronged approach. First, practitioners and policy makers need to think outside of a state-centric securitising prism when exploring creative strategies for integration. Thinking beyond integration and using horizontal or co-integrative approaches, for example, could be explored further, or tested as hypotheses. However, as is the case in Switzerland, some states have shown manifest disinterest in ameliorating the situation of asylum seekers and refugees; they actively undermine the work of factions of the private sector, interested in finding sustainable long-term solutions. Secondly, emphasis needs to be placed on *identifying* and *repositioning* structured boundaries by displacing the fear-based narrative of migration. This is vital to redress processes of exclusion, for which the convergence of youth work practitioners, activists and researchers were meant to generate solutions on 23-24 November, 2016. ICTs might provide creative opportunities but are no solution. They can bring about a “digital disruption” by undermining pre-existing regulatory regimes of the state. That is, they can be used to enable newcomers *via* disrupting the structures that perpetuate the gaps between them and members of host communities. However, they can also be appropriated by the state to reproduce social inequalities embedded in boundary making, or apartheidic social hierarchies. We ultimately must combine the political with the practical. To provide interventions devoid of the political engagement necessary to change the climate, within which the interventions are tested, is an insufficient use of time and resources.

Bibliography

Agamben, Giorgio. *Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Homo Sacer 1. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Barth, Fredrik, ed. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries - the Social Organization of Culture Difference. Edited by Fredrik Barth.* Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1969.

Bigo, Didier. "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27, no. 1 suppl (February 2002): 63–92. doi:10.1177/03043754020270S105.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Bradley, Chris, and Clayton O'Toole. "An Incumbent's Guide to Digital Disruption By and Clayton O'Toole." *McKensey Quartely*, 2016. http://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/strategy-and-corporate-finance/our-insights/an-incumbents-guide-to-digital-disruption.

Canton of Vaud. "Abris." *Vd.ch*, 2015. http://www.vd.ch/themes/securite/protection-civile/abris/.

Central Inteligence Agency (CIA). "Country Comparison Telephones - Mobile Cellular." *The World Factbook — Central Intelligence Agency*, 2014. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2151rank.html.

ESA: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. "World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, DVD Edition.," 2015. https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/.

Federal Data Protection and Information Commissioner (FDPIC). "Registration of Prepaid SIM Cards for Mobile Telephones." Switzerland: Swiss Confederation, July 2005. https://www.edoeb.admin.ch/dokumentation/00153/00361/00364/index.html?lang=fr&print_style=yes.

Garner, Steve. *Whiteness: An Introduction*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2007.

George, Mills. "Swiss Bunkers 'Could House 50,000 Refugees.'" *The Local*, October 1, 2015. http://www.thelocal.ch/20151001/swiss-bunkers-could-house-50000-refugees-minister.

Gieryn, Thomas F. "Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists." *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 6 (December 1983): 781–95. doi:10.2307/2095325.

Goube, Josephine. “Techfugees Partnered with Startup Weekend Amman and UNICEF Jordan on Refugee Challenges.” *Techfugees*, November 20, 2016. https://techfugees.com/events/.

Hage, Ghassan. “État de Siège : A Dying Domesticating Colonialism?: État de Siège.” *American Ethnologist* 43, no. 1 (February 2016): 38–49. doi:10.1111/amet.12261.

Humanrights.ch. “Civil Defence Shelters as Accommodation for Asylum Seekers: Living in a Bunker - Humanrights.ch,” 2014. http://www.humanrights.ch/en/switzerland/internal-affairs/asylum/miscellaneous/civil-defence-shelters-accommodation-asylum-seekers-living-a-bunker.

Mauss, Marcel. “Techniques of the Body.” *Economy and Society* 2, no. 1 (February 1973): 70–88. doi:10.1080/03085147300000003.

Mauss, Marcel, Mary Douglas, and W. D Halls. *The gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, 2002. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=71492.

McAuliffe, Marie. “The Appification of Migration.” *Policy Forum*, January 20, 2016. http://www.policyforum.net/the-appification-of-migration/.

Ové, Horace. *Baldwin’s Nigger*. Inter-Action, 1969. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ryuAW_gnjYQ.

Secrétariat d’Etat aux migrations (SEM). “Brief Overview: Recognised Refugees (B Permit) / Temporarily Admitted Refugees (F Permit) / Temporarily Admitted Persons (F Permit),” 2015. https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/publiservice/publikationen/info-flue-va/info-flue-va-en.pdf.

———. “Migration Report 2015.” Bern: Swiss Confederation, Federal Department of Justice and Police; State Secretariat for Migration, 2015. https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/publiservice/berichte/migration/migrationsbericht-2015-e.pdf.

———. “Permit F (provisionally Admitted Foreigners),” 2015. https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/nicht_eu_efta/ausweis_f__vorlaeufig.html.

Summermatter, Stefania. “Limbo Status for Migrants Creates Problems.” *SWI Swissinfo.ch*, June 29, 2015. http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/society/temporary-residence_limbo-status-for-migrants-creates-problems/41516312.

Testart, Alain, Susan Emmanuel, and Lorraine Perlman. "What Is a Gift?" *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3, no. 1 (2013): 249–61.

Themen, Mehr. "Un Nouvel Abri PC Pour Les Réfugiés à Epalinges." *Tribune de Genève*, September 21, 2014. http://www.tdg.ch/suisse/nouvel-abri-pc-refugies-epalinges/story/15172308.

United Nations DGACM (Department for General Assembly and Conference Management. "Regional Groups of Member States," 2016. http://www.un.org/depts/DGACM/RegionalGroups.shtml.

Wang, Y., W. Xu, and F. Luo. "Emotional Resilience Mediates the Relationship Between Mindfulness and Emotion." *Psychological Reports* 118, no. 3 (June 1, 2016): 725–36. doi:10.1177/0033294116649707.

Weber, Max. *Politics as Vocation "Politik Als Beruf, Gesammelte Politische Schrifen*. Munich: Duncker & Humboldt, 1918. http://polisci2.ucsd.edu/foundation/documents/03Weber1918.pdf.

Weber, Max, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. Oxford University Press, 2013. http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199927371.001.0001/acprof-9780199927371.

———. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 113, no. 4 (January 2008): 970–1022. doi:10.1086/522803.