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WELCOME WORK: HOSPITALITY AND THE MEDIATION

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For Francis & Myrna Lachenal
whose hospitality allowed for this project to begin

For Mom, Dad and Andrew
whose unwavering support allowed for it to be finished

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This thesis would not have been possible without the incredible hospitality, generosity, and support of Myrna and Francis Lachenal, who contributed to this project at every feasible level, whole-heartedly. Marc and Yann Lachenal, the Fornerone family—Mae, Denis, Christelle and Théo—Pedro and Betty Merritt, and Cherry Pie Bona did the same; I thank them for their care, thoughtfulness, and support. One of the last questions that Uncle Francis asked me came during write-up, over a long-distance call: *Que deviens-tu?* "What have you become?" I hope that this work, despite its limitations and belated completion, answers some of my Uncle's question. I am still imagining the conversations that might have taken place between him, Aunt Myrna and I, at the dinner-table in Meinier, were he still here. That table is where this project started; I dedicate this work to their hospitality, and to Francis' memory.

This work is also lovingly dedicated to Juliet Yeung, Henry Yeung, and Andrew Nee—they continue to believe in me when I am unable to do so myself. They know this project inside-out—not only through what they have heard from me, or through the ways they have sustained the project's completion, but through their own lives and struggles. This work honours them and is the fruit of their dedication and love.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Schooling, Hospitality

In the October 8, 2018 edition of *The New Yorker*, Alice Gregory describes the Institut Villa Pierrefeu—the "last Swiss finishing school." Situated in the funicular-accessible mountainside village of Glion, in the canton Vaud, the finishing school is housed in a traditional chalet structure whose rooms, described as furnished with opulent rugs and gilded frames, offer panoramic views overlooking Lake Geneva and the Alps. Like other Swiss finishing schools of its kind, the Institut Villa Pierrefeu is a profoundly aspirational site of pedagogy, a training-ground for an elite transnational class of entrepreneurial women seeking mastery in the codes and rituals of etiquette in ways suggestive of "elegance and good breeding," as Gregory puts it. Instruction in the aristocracy of good taste (Bourdieu 1984) has international appeal; clients travel to the Institute from regions of Europe, North America and the developing world. Unsurprisingly, courses do not come cheaply; an average 6-week summer course costs roughly $30,000 USD. Alongside chocolate, precision time-pieces, and alpine views, "etiquette" is a luxury commodity that Switzerland is particularly well-known for.

As Gregory's participant-observer foray into finishing school workings reveals, a majority of the Institute's training sessions center on the performance of hospitality. A woman's "elegance and good breeding," Gregory describes, is most readily evident and discernible in the realm of hosting—by the hostess' ease and efficiency in the role of domestic ambassador and receiver of guests, whether diplomats, duchesses, or other titled persons. In the scenes that Gregory depicts, clients are coached into the hosting role by butlers, design experts, and the school's own headmistress, Viviane Neri. In small groups, they learn the proper way to polish

marble, address a royal, host a cocktail party, and effortlessly manage, at said party, a champagne flute, napkin, and appetizer-plate in a single hand.

However, the most critical lesson of hospitality, the reader learns, is that it consists in an ongoing discipline, direction, and management of an array of labouring others—coatroom and door attendants, valets, security guards, kitchen- and wait-staff, in a word, the "help." In this vein, a British butler urges the women, in one session, to make explicit to their maids how they want the beds to be made up; he goes on to advise that the best way to vet a prospective maid is to ask for her preferred brand of vacuum cleaner. Through the varied snippets of conversation Gregory conveys, it becomes clear that these subjects of managerial will are understood, in various senses, as "foreign" and other. In a subsequent session, Headmistress Neri subtly hints at workers' social, ethnic, and linguistic difference: she cautions her clients against the use of a printed schedule when directing hired help during an important event. "Hired help might be illiterate," Gregory cites Neri, "so one should be certain to instruct staff verbally." During a hosting practical "exam," a luncheon-reenactment where a group of clients were assigned varied roles during a multi-course meal, the women who played the "servants" donned white aprons and gloves; when not pouring drinks, as Gregory describes, they stood quietly by the sideboard with folded hands. The "servant," in other words, lies midway between hostess and guest. Through migrant labour, the hospitable will of the hostess is reflected and enacted; the relationship between guest and host is itself mediated by the management of migrant presences. This mediation relies, notably, on the server's overall unobtrusiveness, their background labouring at the service of a broader narrative of hospitality.

Consider a second classroom setting where, this time, the presence of the migrant is foregrounded in public contestation over the proper comportment of "guests" in Switzerland. In

May 2016, in an elementary school in Therwil, a small village in the rural half-canton of Basel Landschaft, two Muslim students from Syria (brothers, aged 14 and 16) expressed that they wished to refrain from shaking their female teacher's hand, a common greeting in Swiss classrooms, on the grounds that Islam did not allow physical contact, beyond close family members, between persons of the opposite sex. While the school had initially exempted the brothers from handshakes with their teachers, male and female, the exemption became public and "ignited national outrage" ("Muslim Boys at a Swiss School Must Shake Teachers' Hands, Even Female Ones," New York Times, May 26, 2016). The cantonal authorities of Basel-Landschaft were swift to take action. The Department of Education, Culture, and Sport argued that schools could, indeed, oblige students to shake hands with their teachers. Hand-shaking was not a question of religious freedom, authorities argued, but of politeness and respect, citing the gesture as crucial for students' social and professional futures, as well as an important sign of adherence to norms of gender equality. In upholding this equality, the cantonal authority ruled that the boys' parents potentially be dealt with a fine of 5,000 CHF and it suspended their naturalization application, arguing that the "integration of foreigners" and the fostering of equality were public goods that trumped private interest.

Nationwide, vehement criticism of the boys' conduct was heard from actors across the political spectrum. Justice Minister and Democrat, Simonetta Sommaruga, remarked on an evening current affairs program: "Cela ne va pas du tout lorsqu'un enfant ne serre pas la main d'un enseignant… Ce n'est pas ainsi que je conçois l'intégration et ce refus ne peut pas être accepté au nom de la liberté de croyance ("it is not at all okay when a child doesn't shake hands with a teacher... This is not how I conceive of integration and this refusal cannot be accepted in the name of religious freedom," my translation). Sandra Sollberger, national councilor and

member of the right-wing Swiss People's Party, cited these very words when she issued a motion, just two months following the incident, to legally enforce classroom handshakes between pupils and teachers on the national level. In it, she argued that the brothers' refusal was a wrongful invocation of the country's laws on religious freedom and nothing more than "the sign of a lack of respect" (*le signe d'un manque de respect*) towards Swiss norms, and towards women in particular. Simply put, in the eyes of Sollberger and many Swiss, the boys' handshake-refusal was proof that they did not desire to "integrate."

While Sollberger's plea for etiquette-enforcement was rejected by the Swiss Federal Council in 2017, the individual Swiss cantons maintained their autonomy on the matter. Basel-Landschaft established a policy that made teacher-student handshakes obligatory, with community service hours as potential penalty for non-compliance with the comportment code. Other municipalities followed suit. In August of 2018, Lausanne authorities blocked the citizenship application of a Maghrebi Muslim couple for not shaking hands with the opposite-sexed members of the naturalization commission who interviewed them. The refusal was framed as indicative of an "overall discriminatory comportment" (*un comportement général discriminant*) and "bigotry" that flouted values of gender-equality. In the words of Lausanne Mayor, Grégoire Junod, "On a considéré que la question de l'intégration n'était pas acquise"—"we determined that integration was not attained" ("Lausanne refuse de naturaliser un couple pour bigoterie," Le Temps, August 17, 2018, my translation).

I juxtapose these accounts because, I suggest, these two scenes of pedagogy point to parallel concepts of migrants, "foreigners," and hospitality in Switzerland—the tense coexistence of which this dissertation explores. On one hand, the migrant is conceived as a necessary but "background" presence, a labouring subject of managerial will recruited to service and reproduce

an idea—indeed, the national "brand"—of Swiss hospitality vis-à-vis a global audience. Migrant labour, in other words, helps to constitute a Swiss ethos and expertise of welcome and reception that, as Gregory's article suggests, continues to be a profitable national export. On the other hand, migrants, framed as mobile "guest" subjects, are also figured in disruptive terms as protagonists in broader narratives of civilizational clash; they are foregrounded and spotlighted heavily in Swiss anxieties about an endangered European liberalism. In this endangerment narrative, primarily Muslim but broadly "non-European" immigrants are imagined as importing, into the heart of Western Europe, various forms of "illiberal" comportment, of which headscarves and handshakes—and their imputed challenges to gender equality—have become emblematic.

The ironies and contradictions revealed by this juxtaposed set of stances towards migrants are multiple. While Swiss authorities heavily penalize migrant families and children around a code of conduct in the name of challenging inequality, Swiss finishing school experts commodify the etiquette of gender inequality, actively exporting it abroad; while local authorities publically proclaim victory over the forces of discrimination, their punitive denial of citizenship to legally entitled candidates remains absent from public discussions of "bigotry;" the value of gender equality, in other words, is selectively mobilized and invoked to justify state practices of racial and religious discrimination. The Swiss—ostensibly the world's foremost experts in hospitality—have a number of inhospitalities to account for.

The lens of in/hospitality, saliently, sheds light on Switzerland's federal Integration policy which imagines the integration concept in terms of the relationship between host and stranger/guest; its attendant set of mutual obligations portray "integration" as a profoundly tense and ambivalent social field, with multiple actors. The clearest attempt to legislate hospitable

relations is codified in Switzerland's *Foreign Nationals Act* which has defined the legal parameters of "integration" in the country since 2005. This federal policy calls for "the coexistence of foreign and Swiss populations on the basis of constitutional values, mutual tolerance, and respect" (Article 4). This invocation of respectful coexistence places "integration" in policy registers of "diversity-talk"—in discussions around fostering inclusivity, access, and equal opportunity for migrant populations. Invoking "integration" thus discursively constructs the Swiss state as a "good host" vis-à-vis its foreigner population. At the same time, however, integration law articulates the duties and responsibilities of foreign guest/stranger populations on Swiss territory, and in largely contractual terms. Article 4 of the *Foreign Nationals Act* reads, "It is necessary for foreigners to familiarize themselves with the Swiss way of life and society, in particular, to learn a national language." Knowledge of "the Swiss way of life" and a national language have come to condition migrants' access to social goods, services, state support, and naturalization, with the Swiss cantons often requesting document-verification that a migrant is in language classes before renewing residence permits or continuing social aid. Undergirding this policy principle is the view that the im/migrant, as guest, must "earn" access to Swiss territory and social goods by voluntarily developing and displaying the cultural and linguistic competences demanded by the host country. In this social world, the decision to reward or to revoke lies at the discretion of state and citizenry. And, as we have seen in the example above, state agents work in concert with ordinary citizens—school-teachers—to problematize, manage, and govern migrants' comportment, communicative practices, conduct and cross-border mobility. Ordinary actors—teachers and related migration mediators—occupy a critical role in "integration" policy's field of mobility management.

Analytically, this dissertation aims to contribute to two conversations. This dissertation, first, goes against the grain of current policy-led literature which tends to frame im/migrant "integration" in terms measures, variables, and indicators, recapitulating the logics of state governance by positing mobility purely in terms of state-migrant relationships. This thesis interrogates the now-dominant policy pre-supposition that "integration," often defined in terms of linguistic and cultural competences, reflects the individual "will" and responsibility of the migrant. An outcome of this individual, "responsibilized" view of integration is the policy practice that renders inclusion into national space contingent on displaying the "signs" of integration; the proliferation and administration of language and cultural testing across Western Europe, Australia, and North America attests to a near global investment in the view that "integration" can be de-contextualized, objectified and evaluated (whether in the form of a handshake or a test score), and that such signs ought to form the basis of legal decision-making. This view occludes attention to how the very concept of "integration" rests on pre-supposed constructions of difference which are semiotically produced by states and citizens alike, and actively create the conditions in which the "signs" and subjects of integration become legible. Further, these constructed differences are "useful" or productive for constituting moral-ethical value and positionings for both states and subjects. In order to understand how difference is produced and informs practices of migrant "integration," then, analysis must go beyond de-politicized policy evaluations and indicators, or attention to the migrant-state relationship alone, to ask *what integration does* and, in particular, *who does integration.* Attending to these questions means examining the interstices of "integration" policy and practice—the multiple agents of mobility mediation, and their situated practices of reception, teaching, and migrant socialization. These practices and persons, I argue, actively articulate the "host" state with the

migrant, conceived as stranger/guest. This middle realm of mediation is a critical but often overlooked terrain of social practice that conditions how migrants become legible to the state and its discretionary criteria, and thus shapes migrants' possibilities for cross-border mobility.

In tandem with the policy critique above, a second intervention of this dissertation is to contribute to anthropological analyses of hospitality by complicating the guest/stranger-host dichotomy. This dissertation posits a "third" that mediates and triangulates the often binarily-imagined guest-host relation—the relationship between the Swiss state/citizenry and migrants—shaping the ways "guests" and "strangers" bear proximity to "hosts." This interstitial, middle realm, I argue, is one of "socialization" broadly conceived, its agents an array of teachers, mediators, and mediating forms of knowledge which socialize and subjectivize migrants. This mediating arena of socialization is not limited to institutional pedagogies for migrant-learning; it also encompasses ordinary competences and forms of common sense around what "integration" is and what an "integrated" migrant looks like. These competences of language, culture, communication, and comportment, thought to provide migrants' access to cross-border mobility, are brokered and mediated by a host of everyday actors across an array of ordinary milieux. Language classrooms, museums and art galleries, and health classes constitute some of the production sites of hospitable aspiration and practice (indeed, as Viviane Neri, headmistress of the aforementioned Institut Villa Pierrefeu, asserted: "Everywhere is a classroom"). This socialization is largely voluntarily performed and bears often bureaucratically-binding entailments; in brokering knowledge and skills, teachers, mediators, and mediating migrant institutions are implicated in actively producing presences, mobilities, and "local" jurisdictional borders. Perhaps most interestingly, these mediating agents are interstitial not only in their role, but often in their identities as well; a majority of the mobility brokers considered in this

dissertation root their "expertise" of integration in their own lived experiences—many grew up in Switzerland or France in migrant households and bear vivid memories of personal instances of exclusion and stigmatization vis-à-vis the host country. As "stranger hosts," then, they constitute integration policy's intercalary figures; neither fully "host" nor fully "stranger," their role in migrant socialization and mediation is enacted from a position of solidarity. In this dissertation, I call this locality-rendering interstitial labour, performed by persons positioned "in between" state and migrant, *welcome work*. *Welcome work* is analytically salient for being a site of mobility mediation whereby, in essence, migrants are enabled to socialize each other.

As a form of "lateral" migrant socialization, examining the logics of *welcome work* is, I argue, critical for understanding how practices of hospitality—and the hospitable and solidary imagination, more broadly—constitute a key site at which states and political units negotiate the tension between ethical and economic exigencies and practice. This tension, salient in im/migrant "host countries," became particularly relevant during my period of field-research (2012–13)—a context of economic crisis and unemployment in Western and Southern Europe during which, in Switzerland, a policy-led ideal of "borderless" European space (the free-circulation of goods, people, and skills) existed in stark tension with the country's increased tightening and enforcement of entry, settlement, and naturalization laws around a concept of "integration." This tension might be framed as that between ethics and politics (Derrida 2000)—conceiving of the state as the site of universal hospitality vs. the (neoliberal) state as economic unit of mobility management. In this context of crisis, "integration" bore an important duality. It was the regulatory dimension underlying ideologies of "free circulation," providing a concept that legitimized the Swiss state's management or filtering of cross-border flows. At the same time, as this dissertation discusses, "integration" was more than a policy of border-management

but was also a site of profound ethical and moral aspiration whereby ordinary actors on the migration-frontline articulated an ethics of hospitality. In mobilizing the hospitable imagination in this way, they used their practices of "hosting" to define themselves and the ethical-moral contours of the Swiss/Genevan state. As Chan (2019) writes, hospitality has the power to define the reputation of the host.

For the migrant mediators examined here, hospitality vis-à-vis Switzerland's migrant population was practiced according to a staunchly voluntarist ethics—what the Genevan Swiss call *bénévolat*, volunteering. Over the course of many weeks and months, various mediators instructed, advised, assisted, accompanied and counseled new migrants on their settlement in Switzerland during a period of ever-tightening border policies, performing this work largely unremunerated. By virtue of its non-remunerative status, welcome work in this vein was and could be converted into ethical-moral substance for those who performed it and, arguably, for the Swiss state. This dissertation thus argues that welcome work is where and *how* everyday actors attempted to reconcile the often glaring contradictions between the ethical and economic dimensions of migrant "integration."

The Swiss canton of Geneva, where transnational mobility pervades all arenas of local social and economic life, was an ideal site for an analysis of "integration." The migrants and migration mediators that I encountered often lauded Geneva as "the city of human rights"—a statement that reflected migrants' own hopes for mobility and settlement, while indexing the cosmopolitan aspirations of a place known internationally for its "host" status, as home to the global headquarters of various NGOs and multinational corporations. Administratively, Geneva is the Swiss canton with the highest number of "foreigners"; non-Swiss passport holders

constitute 40% of the canton's documented resident population (OCSTAT 2020).[1] This percentage does not count the numerous cross-border workers, or *frontaliers*—French residents who commute daily into Geneva—who contribute to the canton and city's regional economy. Nor does it count Geneva's undocumented workforce and population, estimated at roughly 13,000 persons (17% of Switzerland's undocumented population).[2] Official and popular discourses situate this particular cosmopolitanism in a philosophical and political genealogy leading back to the republicanism of Rousseau and, prior, to the canton's nearly 300-year history as an independent Calvinist state—commonly dubbed "Protestant Rome"—which opened its borders to France's Huguenot refugees during the 17th century. Geneva adopted a framework of official secularism in 1907 which guaranteed "freedom of religion" in the canton by privatizing the funding of religious groups and activities. In more recent decades of national voting and debate on secularism in Switzerland, Genevan voters have tended to differ from the xenophobic voting tendencies evident elsewhere in the country. In 2009, for instance, Geneva, was one of only 3 Swiss cantons who voted to oppose the federal ban on the construction of minarets in Switzerland.[3] In a canton where official talk of cultural "assimilation" is passé and where cross-border movement is profoundly formative of the local, the understanding and practice of "integration"—the rendering and management of social difference, the view towards some concept of social coexistence—is an ongoing concern.

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[1] Notably, this "foreigner" category includes both immigrant populations as well as the Swiss-born children of migrant parents who are not automatically granted Swiss citizenship.

[2] This is an estimate according to a study conducted for the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration (see B, S, S. Wolkswirtschaftliche Beratung 2015).

[3] Subsequent discussions of the minaret ban in Geneva upheld the canton's opposition to the federal decision. In 2013, I attended a meeting of local state officials and religious leaders, held at the Islamic Centre of Geneva, which reaffirmed the need to combat what participants called the racism that this national ban represented.

The "Integration" Concept: A Contested Field

The Swiss and Genevan uptake of the "integration" concept reflects a broader, near global pivot towards "integration" as a dominant strategy for mobility management. Across Europe, North America, and Australia, in recent decades, a steadily growing mainstream discourse has been circulating, heralding the end or "failure" of multiculturalism on an increasingly global scale. The swift political rise of the far right Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei,* or SVP*)* in the 1990s—best known for its starkly graphic anti-immigrant billboards and its mobilization of direct democratic channels to launch anti-Muslim initiatives such as the 2009 minaret ban—was echoed, for instance, by Jean-Marie Le Pen's call for national preference in France; Pauline Hanson's 1996 argument for "abolishing the policy of multiculturalism" in Australia; Angela Merkel's 2010 statement that Germany's *multikulti*[4] ethos had "failed utterly"; and David Cameron's 2011 statement on the failure of Britain's "state multiculturalism" and the need for stronger "national values." Indeed, the current politics of Brexit and the walled imaginaries of Trumpism can be seen as varied and quite recent populist iterations of a long-running backlash against multiculturalist aspirations. In the context of the global refugee crisis, this backlash has intensified with heated public arguments invoking national, European, and "Western" values under threat and arguing for their defense. And this is not merely the view of a vociferous minority: nightly newsreels display images of national territory under siege by undifferentiated migratory flows, threatening demographic and cultural "swamping"; public anxieties abound of so-called "parallel societies" thriving in linguistic and cultural isolation and constituting the putative seedbeds of migrant/Islamic radicalization. In migration policy circles,

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[4] Commenting on Merkel's statement (*Multikulti ist absolut gescheitert*)*,* Piller (2010) notes that *multikulti* is not to be confused with "official multiculturalism," but rather indexes and invokes Conservative disparagement. It is a pejorative characterization of multiculturalism as, in Piller's terms, "flower power with diversity."

there are concerns about immigration systems unable to cope with the "influx," and attempts to perform legal credibility through quotas and renewed efforts to distinguish "rightful" refugees from "economic migrants." These are some of the keywords in a now global lexicon of counter-multiculturalist backlash.

In this discursive context, the concept of "integration" emerged to constitute a new and dominant immigration policy paradigm that transformed the social, legal, and economic inclusion of migrants, and has been multiply mobilized across the political spectrum, constituting what some scholars have termed a veritable "integration trend" (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010, 19) throughout Europe and North America. This trend has been characterized by both an internal split and a productive vagueness which reveals "integration" as a strategically deployable shifter (Urciuoli 2008). As Vertovec and Wessendorf articulate, "integration" was, on the one hand, advanced by counter-multiculturalist proponents as serving as a "corrective" to the imputed failures of multiculturalist policies and social formations (namely, multiculturalism's supposed over-permissiveness with regard to linguistic and cultural learning, and its inability to foster social cohesion or overcome radicalization). The term is routinely invoked, then, to argue in favour of tightening entry, settlement, and naturalization criteria in the immigration and asylum policies of various national governments in ways often associated with a politics of the right. On the other hand, however, "integration" also appears prominently in typically left-leaning or multiculturalist vocabularies promoting social diversity, equity, and migrant/human rights. Integration commonly appears in discourses espousing rhetorics of migrant "activation" which aim to cultivate, in migrants and citizens, intercultural capacities, aptitudes, and workplace skills. This ethos is evident at the European level, where the promotion of "linguistic integration" (Council of Europe 2014), for instance, entails a positive emphasis on the democratization of

educational opportunity—on tailor-made skills training for newcomers, ongoing needs-assessment, and the use of incentives rather than punishments for language-learning. Here, the stated aim of "integration" is to advance the peaceful coexistence of varied social, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, over and against arguments for cultural or linguistic homogeneity. As I discuss below for the Swiss case, part of what gave "integration" its currency in Swiss discourse was its explicit framing, in both legal and public arenas, as a clear break with the assimilationist policies of the past—policies that were not "multicultural" but which called for the migrant's linguistic and cultural assimilation into the Swiss multi-ethnic, multi-lingual state. In contrast, "integration" was framed as a pivot towards a new politics of inclusiveness, mutual understanding, and diversity—a periodization that much of this dissertation aims to examine and question.

Whether framed as revitalizing the multicultural society or as the antidote to its failures, the politics and policies of integration are enabling a new governmentality vis-à-vis Europe's mobile subjects; the "trend" has licensed and legitimated new forms of management, verification, assessment, and surveillance. The desire and demand that migrants "integrate" on both national and European levels is increasingly legally enforced through gate-keeping tools and metrics, through state-mandated cultural education programs and language classes, and the administration of tests which make entry and settlement contingent on displaying linguistic and cultural knowledge as evidence of "integration" (Pochon-Berger and Lenz 2014 provide a recent synthesis). While various political actors may contest the extent of such practices—which tests to administer, which criteria are sufficient—there exists a current consensus that "integration" in some form and by some means is necessary, marking a discursive convergence and investment in

the concept that arguably troubles traditional distinctions between a politics of the right and left (Brubaker 2017; Holmes 2000).

I suggest that this convergence points to the broader stakes of the "integration" project—in particular, its prominence in discourses of cultural and civilizational defense. A key axis of differentiation in current discourses of integration, the civilizational distinction between the "West and the rest" revives Orientalist arguments (Said 1979), and is most clearly articulated in transatlantic anti-Islamic discourses and public anxieties about the endangerment of Europe's white, Christian/secular heritage (Bunzl 2005; Scott 2007; Stolcke 1995). Discourses of civilizational defense combine rhetorics of reaction (Hirschman 1991) with depictions of migrants and refugees as economic usurpers (Holmes 2000; Vigouroux 2019); as sources of Islamist radicalization, crime and terror; and as threats to the liberal values of secularism, gender equality, sexual freedom, and freedom of speech (Brubaker 2017; Fassin 2006, 2010; Scott 2007; Van der Veer 2006). In current populist argument, the defense of a concept of Western civilization may be overshadowed, as in Trumpism and Brexit, by the primacy of national interest, often framed by an opposition between "the people" and an "elite" political class depicted as lacking in authenticity, bridled by political correctness, and condescending towards everyday people, if not actively working against their interests; to varying degrees, however, present-day populist arguments re-stage the nation in civilizational terms (Brubaker 2017, 1211).

That talk of "integration" is regularly invoked and implicated across the spectrum of political debate points to a profound set of ethical tensions and value contradictions at the heart of the concept. Civilizational distinctions arguably endure, whether migrant difference is understood as essentially incompatible with the West and to be kept out of Euro-American space, as in arguments for bans or restrictions on asylum and immigration, or whether difference is seen

as an assimilable and even revitalizing form of otherness, as in what Hage (2000) calls "good" multiculturalist discourse.[5] In fact, a profound contradiction underlying current mobilizations of integration discourse is its invocation of liberal democratic values—the avowed commitment to tolerance (Brown 2006), sexual freedom, gender equality, and freedom of speech, as well as the belief in the self-correcting powers of public reason and debate (Povinelli 2001)—towards markedly illiberal aims. As scholarship has shown, the logics and practice of liberal democratic governance enable their own forms of exclusion and repression (Povinelli 2001, 2002; Coutin, Richland and Fortin 2014) making it critical to ask how "illiberal invocations of liberalism" (Brubaker 2017, 1193) are recuperated as advancing a shared nonviolent horizon—how practices of expulsion, deportation, confinement, revocability, enforced assimilation, and produced precarity, all too present in the migration regimes of liberal democratic states, are rendered consistent with the peaceful workings of public reason, or how, as Povinelli articulates, "the incommensurateness of liberal ideology and practice is made to appear commensurate" (2001, 328).

This dissertation takes the above questioning as a major incitement, and looks specifically at "integration" as a salient and often vexed domain where everyday actors attempt to commensurate and reconcile the bordering practices of the neoliberal state with ethical value and a vision of hospitality—where, in other words, conditions of economic crisis, migrant unemployment, border closure, and worker contingency exist in tandem with and inform a local, voluntarist ethics of welcome. The voluntarism I explore is that of a left-leaning, non-profit

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[5] To attend to the defense of a supranational European, secular/Christian civilization, of course, does not necessarily overlook the role and presence of racializing logics, nor the ways concepts of civilizational "clash" are mobilized to articulate specifically nationalist ideologies and interests. Indeed, as Hage (2000) points out, both civilizational and racializing imaginaries are mobilized, enacted and given expression on specifically national scales, by actors endowed (or who feel themselves endowed) with the responsibility of managing national space.

institution in Geneva—a migrant community center and language school where unpaid teachers work to orient, instruct, and socially "integrate" the city's newest migrants and thereby revive the image of a cosmopolitan, hospitable Geneva.

As this dissertation explores, engaging in "welcome work" entails reflexively negotiating the tension between regulation and reception, an everyday facet of teaching faced by the volunteers I encountered. Through their lessons about language, comportment, conduct, and "culture," instructors arguably participated in the state-mandated "civilization" of Switzerland's national, cultural, and linguistic others under a federal integration policy; their pedagogical practice thus articulated with broader Euro-American regulatory rhetorics of civilizational and cultural incompatibility.[6] Further, in a context where (often undocumented) migrants faced labour-market uncertainties, such civilizational anxieties were, tellingly, often articulated according to national discourses of "skill"—the pedagogical management of difference through "integration" was often seen as a mode of skills-building that addressed the need of making migrants socially mobile and marketable. As brokers of both regulation and reception, however, instructors had to reconcile civilizational/market logics with what I argue was an equally present moral-ethical will to welcome. Although the forms of linguistic-cultural standardization that they performed often mirrored the state's civilizational divides, teachers also positioned themselves as staunch allies in solidarity with migrants—agents actively working towards the greater acceptance, understanding, and valorization of cultural diversity in Switzerland and Europe over and against growing anti-immigrant sentiment. Indeed, in their work, they functioned as the "connective tissues" linking migrants to local-scale social services, aid-organizations, and state-

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[6] I use "culture" and "civilization" interchangeably, without forgetting the insight of Elias (2000) which points to their divergent genealogies—the ways the Romantic concept of *Kultur* developed as a departure and refusal of the French *Civilisation.*

institutions. They served as both informational hubs and relays for newcomers; they mediated as language-instructors, translating and "decoding," as one school administrator put it, aspects of Swiss social life. The community center and its instructors were thus key nodes in an infrastructure of migrant mobility (Lindquist et al. 2012). As frontline "receivers," then, welcome workers were doing two key things: they were mediating national and civilizational borders, but were also constituting themselves—and Switzerland—in moral-ethical terms.

Part of the significance of this self-understanding lies, arguably, in the moral-ethical management of intolerance. By this, I mean that one of the achievements of intermediary "welcome work" is to recuperate, for newcomers and a broader audience, the image of a hospitable Switzerland. In interview, many teachers clearly opposed the anti-migrant turn in Swiss policy—they were critical of the rise of far right actors in Switzerland and across Europe, and often vocally opposed the various anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim policies that had been voted into national legislation (such as the 2009 ban on the construction of minarets in the country, as well as the legal enforcement of burqa bans in the cantons of Ticino and St. Gallen in 2013 and 2018 respectively)[7]. In this respect, the identities of the volunteer welcome workers themselves is salient; many of the welcome workers in this dissertation were "integrated" migrants, or possessed immigrant family histories in Switzerland, and drew on their lived experiences to constitute and claim expertise. This expertise-by-experience gave many volunteers a unique positioning and vantage point—simultaneously "inside" and "outside" of Swiss society (and symbolic "guests" turned "hosts"), many volunteers were ambivalent about how the state defined and deployed the concept of "integration." They enacted and constituted an

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[7] The bans received support from two-thirds of voters in both cantons. In 2018, the Swiss Federal Council opposed a grassroots campaign in support of a nationwide burqa ban. Activists belonging to the group "Yes to a Mask Ban" (of which many members were instrumental in the 2009 minaret law) were successful in collecting the 100,000 signatures required of national referenda. The question will be the topic of a national vote in 2020 (Miller 2017).

ethics of hospitality in ways that both reinforced but also questioned Swiss-European border closures.

Attending to "integration's" tensions, ambivalences, and contradictions in this way bears important implications for how we understand and analyze hospitality. Namely, examining how various interstitial mediators broker migrant mobility begins to deconstruct and complicate what is often a dyadically-theorized relationship of mutual obligation between "guest" and "host," while attending, too, to the social processes by which guest-host binaries come to be laminated or superimposed onto the migrant-citizen distinction. Official "integration" policy, itself, for instance, performs much of this work; the Swiss state readily invokes a policy imaginary of mutual obligation between "Swiss" and "foreigner" populations. In this policy context, it is critical not to analytically reproduce state framings of "guest" and "host" roles but to examine how such categories are both constituted and articulated by other agencies and actors. In other words, this dissertation treats "guest" and "host" not only as fluid social categories but aims to understand how their very encounter relies on a third element—here, a group of local brokers whose often liminal position and mediating, morally-charged labour places citizen and migrant in proximity in particular ways. The chapters that follow thus explore the various interstitial sites, persons, practices, and forms of knowledge that mediate the migrant-citizen relationship. These include ideologies of French language-instruction; gendered concepts of literacy and education; understandings of "culture" and the arts as vectors for egalitarian values; and educational discourses linking language skills to employability and social mobility.

At the same time, as Herzfeld (1987) writes of hospitality as a shifter, more broadly, the work of "integration" itself mediates several levels of identity—the "local" unit of the city of Geneva, the encompassing Genevan canton, the Swiss nation, as well as "Europeanness" (and

the broader calls to securitize and defend European borders). It is thus a key aim of this dissertation to demonstrate how modes of welcome and mobility management become key sites for (re)producing uniquely "local" scales and forms of social life. How do volunteer workers—as "domestic humanitarians"—constitute and recuperate the image of a sympathetic, cosmopolitan sociality during a period of economic crisis and border closure? How does their hospitable labour manage mobility to render this form Genevan (and Swiss) self-recognition?

Hospitality and the (Un)kindness of Strangers: Articulating Guest and Host

Scholarship has long reflected on "hospitality," in its philosophical and sociological dimensions, as an ambivalent relationship between guests and hosts that is implicated in the reproduction of social order at multiple scales of sovereignty. Derrida's *Of Hospitality* (2000) points to the irresolvable tension that lies between what can be identified as the law and the laws of hospitality—between an ethics of hospitality, conceived in terms of the unconditional Kantian imperative to welcome and, on the other hand, the political or juridical dimensions of hospitality that enforce relations of duty, responsibility, rights and obligation, and thereby condition the scope of welcome. For Derrida, the border and the threshold—as territorial-spatial markers of delimitation—embody the inherent contradiction of hospitality: such limit points constitute the condition of possibility for the host's welcome, while re-instating the mastery and sovereignty of host over guest, with the attendant power to regulate the conditions of the guest's presence. Derrida draws on Benveniste (1973) who underscores, in the etymology of *hospitality*, a fundamental duality which distinguishes between the favourable and the hostile "stranger"— guest and enemy. He describes a Roman antiquity whereby the potential hostility of the stranger (*hostis*) was neutralized by instituting relations of reciprocity which served to equalize guest and

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host, and supposed "an agreement or compact" (77) of mutual benefit. Hospitality, Benveniste writes, is "founded on the idea that a man is bound to another… by the obligation to compensate a gift or service from which he has benefited" (77)—a structured mutuality that presupposed and reinforced the sovereign power of the host. Also writing before Derrida, Julian Pitt-Rivers arguably drew the distinction between politics and ethics in terms of the difference between "law" and "grace." Grace replaces the expectation of reciprocity with "the invention of the free gift, which can occur only in a transcendent and encompassing field of hospitality" (Shryock and Da Col 2017, xxvi).[8] At the same time, Pitt-Rivers ([1977] 2017) described hospitality as an uneasy mutuality: the "law of hospitality is founded upon ambivalence" (178). The relationship of mutual honour and obligation it occasioned, in his view, actively precluded the equality of guest and host.[9] He characterized hospitality as an arena rife with possibilities for moral infringement—guests who insult, affront, criticize, overstay their welcome, repudiate generosity, fail to comply or otherwise attempt to usurp the host, and hosts who show hostility, reluctance, resentment, or else dishonour or neglect those in their domain. This theme of ambivalence resonates with Georg Simmel's classic writing on stranger relations ([1908] 1971), whereby the stranger embodies and synthesizes relations of both nearness and farness—a proximity and distance in constant "reciprocal tension" (149) productive of social relations.

More recent theorizing on hospitality has framed it as an essential feature of certain societies—i.e. as a more encompassing framing for relations of shame-honour in circum-

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[8] Shryock (2012) recapitulates Pitt-Rivers' view on grace as "something over and above what is due, economically, legally, or morally; it is neither foreseeable, predictable by reasoning, nor subject to guarantee. It... can only be exchanged against its own kind" (22).

[9] In particular, Pitt-Rivers (2017) describes the dialogic nature of hospitable relations, the necessity of turn-taking in the offering of honours: "Host and guest can at no point *within the context of a single occasion* be allowed to be equal, since equality invites rivalry. Therefore, their reciprocity resides not in an identity, but in an alteration of roles" (173). Hospitality, in other words, is hostility held in abeyance.

Mediterranean society, constitutive of identity at several scales (Herzfeld 1987; Shryock 2012). In this vein, Herzfeld (1987) identifies hospitality as a "shifter" that constitutes "an essential homology between several levels of collective identity—village, ethnic group, district, nation. What goes for the family home also goes, at least by metaphorical extension, for the national territory" (76). Even more recently, hospitality has been explored as a prominent "cultural formation" of East and Inner Asia, existing in a lexicon alongside the related concepts of conviviality, commensality, accumulating, and hoarding (Chau and Da Col 2019). At stake, across these classic and current theorizations of hospitality and stranger relations is not merely the question of how "hosting" manifests and enacts sovereignty, or how latent guest-host hostilities are held in check, but the view that the ambivalent relations of hospitality are profoundly generative; they give rise to their own distinct relational domains while (re)producing several scales of social formation. Hospitality, as Shryock (2012) writes bears "scalar elasticity" (23).

My dissertation builds upon these classic and current reflections on hospitality and the guest-host relationship, critically engaging with it in two ways. First, I examine the guest-host relationship as a multiplicity in mediation rather than in purely binary terms. This analysis entails, partly, looking at the guest/stranger-host distinction as a fluid set of roles (Molz and Gibson 2016)—the ways "guests," in one context, can be recruited to become "hosts" in another. Further still, however, my analysis attends to the social construction of gradations of host-hood and guest-hood (and thus personhood), varying in their rights, responsibilities, duties, and in the extent of welcome extended. The guest-host binary can, in other words, be further fractured or parsed apart; it is fractally recursive in its logics (Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal and Irvine 2019),

proliferating, in the idioms of hospitality, further and finer distinctions of role and person.[10] In several sections of this dissertation, I analyze the social distinctions enabled by practices of *welcome work* as semiotically constructed, linked to specific qualities, and as ideological—that is "locally and historically specific framings, suffused with the political and moral interests of the social positions and projects in which they are embedded" (Gal and Irvine 2019, 2). Examining how the imagination of hospitality enables distinctions beyond the guest-host binary places, in analytic relief, the interstitial and mediated space that enables the proximity of those categories. What agencies, in other words, place guest and host in relationship? In addressing this, I thus question the broad categories suggested by state logics and discourses—the (ideological) equation of "guest" with migrant, "host" with citizen. As discussed, this lamination is implicit in Integration policy distinctions between the "resident Swiss" and the "foreign population"— entreated to demonstrate "openness" and "willingness," respectively, to the integration project— as well as historical Swiss discourses and policies which constructed the category of the "guest worker" (and legally institutionalized their contingency).

My second analytic contribution is to look at how the mediation of *welcome work* entails negotiating the often contradicting metrics of economic and ethical forms of value, analyzing "hospitality" and "integration" as sites of reconciliation, or commensuration. As a site of both national border management and ethical-moral reflection, "integration" sutures together economic and ethical logics in various ways. This reconciling is evident, as this dissertation will discuss, in legal selection criteria that distinguish between welcome and unwelcome immigrants

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[10] One "guest" figure, immanent in the social distinctions of hospitality is that of the parasite—the figure who, following Serres (1982), not only lives off of the host, but inside the host, indefinitely. For Serres, the parasite can also be conceived in communicative terms; he defined the parasitic as that which obstructed, interrupted, or distorted the clear transmission of a message between sender and receiver, akin to noise or static in a system of relay. Such forms of noise, Serres argued, could give rise to new social relations, orders, and forms of knowledge.

(and thus in everyday talk about the "kinds" of migrants who are seen as un/deserving of reception and hospitable laboring); in policy ideologies which construct various strangers' economic utility to the nation in terms of their imputed linguistic and civilizational distance from Europe; and in the personal accounts of volunteer workers (*bénévoles*), who invoke a Genevan hospitable ethics when discussing the ways their unremunerated labour (language teaching, accompaniment, etc.) benefits migrants on the job market, and thus the local economy. In this last context, as Espeland and Stevens (1998) raise, the specific positing of incommensurables— here, between welcome and remuneration—is a key site for rendering subjectivities and various scales of identity. It is a key site where the "economics" of mobility brokerage is mediated by voluntarism in the creation of ethical substance (and with it, the imagination of a hospitable Geneva).

Attending to the "space between" guest and host reveals a set of mediating actors, ethics, and semiotic processes—a social domain of brokerage in its own right where, I argue, liminal figures manage cross-border mobility. It is thus critical not merely to study "up" (Nader 1974) or "down," to evoke existing spatial metaphors in migration research, but "in between"—to study the interstices where social and transnational mobility is mediated, and migrants and the state are articulated by locally situated persons.[11] Part of the analytic salience of mobility brokers lies, as I have mentioned, in their embodiment of in-betweenness: many migration mediators are not "Swiss" citizens themselves (some do not even reside in Switzerland), or else are naturalized

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[11] Pitt-Rivers shed light, in this vein, on the importance of mediators in the practice of hospitality. On the locally situated "patron" in antiquity, who served as a catalyst for the stranger's incorporation, he wrote: "In contrast to a member of the community whose status is identifiable by reference to its norms and is recognized by everyone, the stranger is incorporated only through a personal bond with an established member; he has, as it were, no direct jural relationship with anyone else, no place within the system, no status save that of stranger" (2017, 166). Pitt-Rivers goes on to define the position of the "guest" in purely interstitial terms: "The status of guest therefore stands midway between that of hostile stranger and that of community member" (166).

Swiss who continue to identify with immigrant family histories; and many are elderly or retired persons, performing welcome work in part response to experiences of social marginalization. This liminality is often the site of conscious awareness and cultivation on the part of welcome workers; it places them in daily proximity with the tensions, ambivalences, and contradictions of practicing an ethics of hospitality in an increasingly xenophobic national context where anti-immigrant sentiment too easily dovetails and reflects neoliberal border policies. As the following chapters explore, the micro-negotiations of hospitality demanded of welcome workers included the need to negotiate framings of personal agency in a social world where neoliberal policy registers increasingly deferred "responsibility" for integration onto the most vulnerable migrant populations; the quandary of how and what to teach a classroom of underemployed newcomers embedded in a local economy largely reliant on the precarization of their labour, and the illegalization of their presences; and the tension between "doing" integration in terms of assimilationist aims and practices (anxious, as teachers were, about how their students would be received by the Swiss) or enacting a model of cultural pluralism in the classroom. The negotiation of such tensions and contradictions encompasses the broader and enduring problem of how to be ethical—and how to conduct what I address here as an ethics of welcome, in particular—in a national context characterized by the unequal, often unethical, and increasingly inhospitable handling of human lives.

In analyzing integration as an ethical-moral domain, I draw on anthropological scholarship that examines the situated and immanent nature of ethical practice (Das 2006; Fassin 2014; Keane 2017; Laidlaw 2002; Lambek 2010, 2015a, 2015b, 2017). The logics, concerns, conditions (and conditioning) of hospitality are immanent to social life in ways that bring integration practices and pedagogies beyond classroom walls. In the work of receiving new

migrants, mediators touched upon questions of how to walk, how to read and produce texts, how to appreciate works of art, what counts as language, communication, and proper conduct. I build upon Lambek's (2015, 2017) writing on the immanence of the ethical to social life which treats ethics "not as a distinct field of action but as a dimension intrinsic to action" (2015, 33). This is not to suggest that all action tends towards the good, or is guided by moral prescription. Rather, attending to the immanence of ethical practice entails

> the simple but profound fact that our actions and words are susceptible to judgment according to whether and how they fit established criteria... [The ethical] is not in the first instance what is done right or what ought to be done, but the conceptual possibility of doing right and of discriminating right from wrong, or better from worse. (2015, 7)

I have chosen to ethnographically track this field of immanent ethical discernment by attending to how practices of integration construct contrasting social categories, with their associated qualities, ascriptions of value, and discursive positioning. Indeed, the dialogic nature of hospitality itself makes it amenable to the analysis of various discursive roles—the ways guest-host relations, for instance, map onto those of teacher-student, and so forth. To do this, I engage, in particular, the semiotically-theorized concept of *qualia*, or abstract qualities, as signifiers of value, in their embodied, experienced, and sensed dimensions. As Munn (1986) reveals, such qualisigns are transposable across various sensed modalities, conferring value on a range of categories, practices, and personae. Such self-evident and sensed social valuations are inextricably linked to speakers' stances and their moral evaluations of self and other (Gal 2013). Swiss public discourse, for instance, commonly differentiated immigrants according to their putative qualities of cultural "nearness" or "distance" from Switzerland (Chapter 2), as well as their imputed "openness" or "closure" to the integration process itself (Chapter 4). As the chapters ahead explore, such distinctions suffused the rendering and experience of various

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material media—they were diagrammed in culturalized mappings of the world, mediated how forms of cultural literacy and aesthetic consumption were taught, and provided the terms by which people judged how different migrants dressed, spoke, and so forth. Immanent in such *qualia* were local moral evaluations of migrants, as guests. In other words, did migrants reciprocate Swiss hospitality by remaining "open" to the learning demanded of them? Or could lapses in learning and engagement be attributed to the putatively "closed" cultural universes migrants inhabited? (revealing the ways in which migrants were "culturalized" by such discourses). The same set of qualities were salient to the self-positioning of hosts. "Openness" (*ouverture*) to integration was expected of the migrant, in part, because it was a quality invoked in characterizations not only of welcome workers and the institutions they volunteered for, but of the very "idea" of Genevan cosmopolitanism—an idea with an enduring history in the canton. Because "openness"—a concept codified in Swiss Integration policy itself (see below)—was putatively offered, it was expected in return.

The social expectation that migrants become "open" learners and collaborators in various pedagogies of integration is also, in part, shaped by the nature of welcome work itself, as I examine it here—namely, it was often performed on an entirely voluntary basis. With the exception of paid administrators and other salaried personnel, welcome was performed without pay, and volunteering (*bénévolat*) was framed by many workers themselves as incommensurate with cash remuneration. This local ethics of solidarity was galvanized, in 2013, during my research, by a global economic crisis that brought significant numbers of unemployed EU migrants and job-seekers to Geneva; various interventions of welcome work, as a result, were often concerned with migrants' employability and labour market insertion. The management of

migrant mobility and unemployment was directly implicated in the imagination and reproduction of cosmopolitan sociality and relations (Malkki 2015).

My analysis is thus necessarily in conversation with recent scholarship that examines how practices of voluntarism, humanitarianism, and their cosmopolitan/compassionate modes of citizen engagement are embedded in market logics. This work explores the governmental entailments of what can be termed sympathetic sociality, or socialities cemented by moral bonds of duty, solidarity, intimacy, and trust (Muehlebach 2012). As Muehlebach examines, such affect-laden forms of relatedness are not external to the market, but are encompassed by, and supportive of, neoliberal logics. In particular, the moralization of voluntary labour sutures unremunerated work to models of ethical citizenship—a recuperation of solidarity-based sociality that complements and fills in for the active retrenchment of the welfare state. As Barbara Cruikshank (1999) likewise examines, such ethical citizens—or participatory "empowered" citizens, in her terms—must be made and mobilized via "technologies of citizenship," or the "discourses, programs, and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government" (1999, 1).[12] The insight of both analyses is to locate voluntarist agencies and affects—as well as their rendering and recruitment—as neither prior nor external to politics. Forms of sympathetic solidarity are, rather, intrinsic to the workings of neoliberal governance, of which the "will to empower" is both effect and instrument. And, as Ticktin (2006) and Fassin (2005) explore, the state's effort to maximize sympathy, in the case of French migration and asylum policy, coexists with its maximization of

[12] Cruikshank tracks the work of "empowerment" in diverse domains: community action programs designed to mobilize the poor in the context of the U.S. War on Poverty, and various invocations of "self-esteem" and "community." Muehlebach (2012) likewise writes on the scalar shift occasioned by post-welfare policy: where the welfare state constructed the nation as the site of social cohesion, post-welfare voluntarism prioritizes the localized "community." Whether indexed in terms of "community" or "locality," these posit a face-to-face public "flooded with affective relations" (43).

security—a value contradiction in which humanitarian aid participates in state modes of "compassionate repression" (Fassin 2005, 362) vis-à-vis migrant and refugee subjects.

Practices of socialization—as sites of both solidary ethics and skills transmission—are key sites for examining how everyday actors navigate and reconcile forms of ethical and economic value. This dissertation thus necessarily engages and extends an existing ethnographic literature that examines how everyday citizens and members of civil society mediate mobility and mobile trajectories through practices which socialize, discipline, and manage migrant subjects. While the formal schooling of migrants—and, in particular, the language-instruction of youth—is a privileged site of pedagogy and interaction that has been richly explored (see Blommaert 2010 on Belgian Dutch immersion classes; Heller 2001, 1996 on linguistic minorities in Ontario; and Mondada and Gajo 2001 on transitional classes for migrant youth in Switzerland), my analysis looks broadly at practices of migrant socialization. That is, I ask how classroom practices and discursive forms are not micro-scale instantiations of broader dynamics, but are rather constitutive of, and coextensive with, non-institutional spaces and encounters, rendering the public sphere continuous with the classroom context. In this vein, I draw on work that has explored how, for instance, neighborhood associations mobilize to discipline immigrants via aesthetic norms, performing as custodians of "good taste" vis-à-vis immigrant sensibilities (Ong 1996); social workers normalize refugee subjects according to models of good citizenship, autonomy, "Americanness" (Ong 2003); religious agencies translate and regulate migrants according to dominant psychiatric, moral, and legal categories of recognition (Giordano 2008, 2014); and, indeed, how ordinary citizens consent to enact supra-national processes by managing migrants in the marketplace and the domestic sphere (Fikes 2009 on Portugal's EU accession). At analytic stake, then, is not merely the wide disciplinary continuum on which citizens may

stand in as teachers for migrants, refugees, and other mobile subjects—and thus the neutral and depoliticized status given to reproductive social practices (Fikes 2009, 14)—but the forms of social entitlement they index. This dissertation examines instances of what Hage (2000) terms "governmental belonging"—the forms of entitlement by which everyday people feel they possess the right to participate in managing the nation "such that it remains one's home" (46). Critically, as Hage examines, the performance of modes of governmental belonging transverses the political spectrum; it is a managerial disposition taken up by "bad White nationalists" and "good multiculturalists" alike.[13]

The performative aspects of such belonging, as the chapters ahead explore, includes not only the role of teaching and socializing, but the ability to actively mediate the incorporation of individuals who have been legally relegated to indefinite stranger-hood—persons whose presence has been "illegalized" or placed at the margins of state practices of hospitality. I thus also engage a body of scholarship that has examined practices of migrant il/legalization by attending to the varied spatio-temporal logics, practices, and legal doctrines that actively constitute extralegal spaces and subjects—a chronotope of illegality. Collectively, this research reflects on the performative and discretionary dimensions of state sovereignty.[14] This includes what Coutin, Richland and Fortin (2014) term "routine exceptionality," which creates spaces of legal suspension and allows for the habitual exercise of discretionary, extralegal criteria—will,

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[13] "Governmental belonging" is not equivalent to formal or state power, and is not limited by citizenship, but "can merely be the feeling that one is legitimately entitled in the course of everyday life to make a governmental/managerial statement about the nation... [It is] the power to have a legitimate view regarding who should 'feel at home' in the nation and how, and who should be in and who should be out, as well as what constitutes 'too many'" (Hage 2000, 46). Critically, it is also a motive for activism.

[14] As Coutin (2000) describes, the non-existence of the "illegal" migrant is actively produced through court hearings, verifications of eligibility for work and settlement, the curtailment of everyday movement, practices of inspection, detention and deportation, and the temporal metrics by which states define periods of presence and absence.

grace, judgment. The movement, as they write, "between rule and exception, law and the extralegal, sovereignty and dependency, absence and presence, promise and revocation" (101) in the government of both indigenous and migrant subjects reveals the tenuousness and ever-present revocability of legal recognition, as well as the production, through deferral, of enduring states of vulnerability. Examining undocumented migration, De Genova (2002) explores the presence of the extralegal in terms of "the legal production of migrant 'illegality'" (2002, 440). Where undocumented migrations are "preeminently labor migrations" (422), it is critical to keep in view how a politics of legal revocability makes the promise or horizon of "legalization" a key mechanism for disciplining migrant labor. This dissertation reflects on this facet of illegalization more closely in Chapter 6, where I examine how the everyday precarity of living "undocumented" (*sans papiers*) is produced and maintained through temporal and spatial/jurisdictional practices. These draw on concepts of integration to effect varied logics: indefinite deferral, bureaucratic misdirection, disincentivization, and discretionary decision-making. In tandem, I attend to how undocumented persons draw on discourses of integration as symbolic resources to frame their embeddedness in state logics of illegalization. Chapter 5 in particular examines how an undocumented migrant who found himself made legally and economically precarious by "responsibilizing" integration policy agendas, mobilized a counter-narrative of "trust"—an understanding that constructed a "de-responsibilized" subject and a distributed model of agency that allowed him to ward off a lived sense of legal and economic foreclosure, and retain openness and responsiveness vis-à-vis sources of possibility, employment, and opportunity. As Chapter 6 explores, this cultivation of possibility is one that directly confronts state practices of bureaucratic misdirection, disincentivization, and other forms of curtailment. This "ethics of timing" (Chu 2019, 2017)—including the state's deferral and lack

of "timeliness" in response to migrant appeals—is important to understanding "integration" and its discretionary logics of revocability. As Chu (2010) reveals, negotiating illicit mobilities and status relies on mastery, skill, and expertise in evidentiary regimes and state logics of verification, especially in ways that rely on the performativity of paperwork and conventionalized genres of self-disclosure (see also Giordano 2014). For the migrants I encountered, maneuvering the givens and constraints posed by the "integration" framework included finding ways to acknowledge their agentive limits, yet perdure. So, while migrants became meticulous self-administrators—they compiled dossiers, mastered modes of bureaucratic self-presentation, enrolled in courses of language-study that indexed the "will to integrate," and generally put care towards presenting themselves in socially (Swiss) acceptable ways—they also prayed, questioned "responsibilizing" logics of language in the classroom and beyond, and evoked the terms of "trust," all too aware of the opacity of state logics.

As mentioned, a salient domain of migrant socialization in Switzerland, as elsewhere, is the terrain of migrant language education. The policy framework of "integration" implicates ideologies of communication and standard language directly in pedagogical practices and border-maintenance on both national and regional scales. Current official Swiss discourses frame language as the "key" to successful integration, reflecting the public and policy view that language competences are both the metric and the means of a migrant's incorporation (Flubacher 2014). That is, migrants are not only to be "integrated" by learning a Swiss national language, but the extent of that integration is to be verified, measured, and objectified according to standardized levels and tests of competence, such as those issuing from the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

I thus analyze the governmental entailments of hospitality in conversation with a rich literature in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics that has explored the discursive and linguistic standardization of various mobile subjects. While processes of globalization have undoubtedly destabilized national sovereignties in Western Europe (Auslander 2000), they have conversely reinforced the 19th century, Romantic conception of the nation-state which prescribed that linguistic and ethnic borders be coterminous with territorial political community—the Herderian vision that "social and political cohesion demand one language, one metadiscursive order, one voice" (Bauman and Briggs 2000, 201). Processes of European integration have thus neither supplanted nor eclipsed the "dogma of homogeneism" (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998) at the level of national policies. These presupposes that the world is comprised of mutually exclusive, monoglot nations, and that a shared linguistic universe is the ontological basis of a cohesive national community.[15] Standard language ideology, further, commonly maps temporal positionings onto speakers, identifying those who speak "standard" as properly modern subjects—an evaluation which, in turn, shapes the self-understanding of non-standard speakers (Gal 2006). The view that standard language competences serve as indices of modernity and/or civilizational compatibility arguably underlies the current proliferation of language-testing practices in the citizenship and immigration regimes of numerous nation-states—a stance commonly euphemized by discourses of "skill" (a point to which I return below).[16]

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[15] Nation-state centric logics are no less evident in explicitly internationalist organizations, such as the United Nations, where a universalist human rights framework for minority-language protection further reinforces images of national linguistic homogeneity (Duchêne 2008), nor are they absent from well-known analyses of the emergence and phenomenology of nationalism (Silverstein 2000 on Anderson's *Imagined Communities*).

[16] Among other contexts, cultural/linguistic testing practices have been critically analyzed in Australia (McNamara 2009; Slade and Möllering 2010; Piller and Lising 2014), Austria (Perchinig 2010; Wodak 2012), Belgium (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009), Germany (Möllering 2010; Piller 2001; Stevenson and Schanze 2009), Israel (Shohamy and Kanza 2009), Luxembourg (Horner 2009), Norway (Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen 2013), the Netherlands (Extra and Spotti 2009), and the UK (Blackledge 2009a, 2009b). Pochon-Berger and Lenz (2014) provide a broad synthesis of existing literature and debates on language testing and integration.

Ideologies of standardization are no less salient in contexts of official multilingualism, but pervade multilingual orders. The official Swiss model of multilingual—quadrilingual—statehood institutes political units, cantons, whose internal cohesion is imagined in terms of their linguistic, ethnic, and territorial boundedness; standard language ideology, in other words, recurs intra-nationally.[17] I thus analyze how the work of welcoming and socializing migrants in Geneva relies heavily on understandings of what it means to be a French-speaker. By this, I mean the ways welcome workers constructed and instructed the French language, and enacted and reproduced a particular language ideology—a "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989, 255)—which framed "French" as *the* language of integration in Geneva. One consequence of such a view, reproduced at both official and ordinary scales, was that the "non-French" competences migrants possessed were either erased or considered less salient to their social incorporation. As Gal (2012) explores, the current EU promotion of multilingualism as an icon of cosmopolitan flexibility reproduces linguistic hierarchies which valorize some configurations of multilingual competence (i.e. norms around European trilingualism) while provincializing or erasing others. Chapters 2 and 6 thus explore the provincialization and erasure of migrant multilingual repertoires through the account of a "trilingual" immigrant who struggled to make

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[17] There are certainly Swiss regions where bilingualism is officially recognized by, for instance, a city's dual designation (municipalities such as Fribourg/Freiburg and Biel/Bienne). Like imaginaries of the Swiss *Röstigraben,* however, such designations tend to characterize political space not in terms of the multilingual competences of inhabitants, but in terms of proximate yet discrete monolingual territories.

her varied competences (in Farsi, German, and French) legible to the canton's framework of "integration."[18]

Finally, I see processes of linguistic and communicative standardization as salient to how migrants are incorporated into neoliberal economies and social orders, as labouring subjects. Chapter 2 examines how 19th century Romantic nationalist arguments concerning ethno-political homogeneity, in particular, are revived, repackaged, and reformulated according to emergent discourses of "skill." Critically, scholarship has long demonstrated that sites of skills transmission—both within and outside of formal educational settings—are key milieus of reproduction, resistance against, and accommodation to systems of political economy (Willis 1981; Marcus 1986). I thus analyze how national language competences are framed and taught as a particular kind of skillset, with particular projected outcomes; migrants who possess or acquire national language skills are framed as corresponding best to the needs of the national economy, as having better access to local labour markets and social mobility (revealing an overriding concern with immigrants as human capital), and are characterized as showing autonomy, responsibility, and promoting greater "social cohesion" vis-à-vis the Swiss. As a strategically deployable shifter (Urciuoli 2008), then, the concept of "skills" is framed as neutral and value-free (Allan 2013), and participates in the commodification of communicative and multilingual competences and identities (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Duchêne 2009). The emphasis on their

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[18] While I do not address it at length here, it is critical to add that Swiss multilingual models implicate non-standard "dialects." Switzerland's Alemannic varieties are known and celebrated in the country for their regional variation and resistance to standardization, making "Swiss German" a highly variegated non-standard composite—witness the terms used to refer to it, *Schwyzertütsch, Schwyzerdütsch, Schwiizertüütsch,* or *Mundart*. National discourses, however, continue to frame the linguistic diversity introduced by migrant/minority languages as the cause of potential conflict and social fragmentation. This raises the question of how different sources of variation are hierarchically positioned in the national imagination. Further, as Flubacher (2013) explores, in Alemannic regions, ideologies of diglossia serve to separate migrant and local speakers: migrants are taught High German (*Hochdeutsch* or *Schriftdeutsch*) and are excluded from learning local "dialect" in ways that further reinforce migrants' linguistic, economic, and social marginalization.

transmission corresponds to the view, in neoliberal economies, that social problems and market uncertainties are best addressed through training, that entrepreneurial rationalities must be made, inculcated, instilled, and that both selves and social orders must be actively produced (Gershon 2011). I thus engage with existing research that has explored how various interstitial agents and agencies linguistically and communicatively "script" migrant speech and self-presentation for local labour markets (Lorente 2018 on labour recruitment agencies); employ skills training to create a flexible immigrant labour force (Allan 2013, 2016 on "soft skills" training; Piller and Lising 2014); and employ the logics of speculation to determine which migrants constitute sites of sound "investment" for further skills training (Flubacher et al. 2016). And, as Blommaert (2009, 2010) critically examines, the assessment of language skills and repertoires, according to monolingual, literacy-based constructions of competence, is routinely performed to foreclose migrant access and admission to national space.

This dissertation extends the scholarly conversations above, and argues that examining voluntarist agencies and their role in mobility management, sheds light on another salient question concerning the practice of "integration"—that of how the imagination of hospitality, and its models for relatedness, figures into the ways everyday people make sense of, and moralize, political economic practices of border management in ways that render welcome work an important site of ethical-political self-formation. The practice of transforming strangers into "guests" is a key site at which institutions, individuals, and polities alike constitute their moral-political identities. This encounter of reception is where a certain understanding of "Geneva" is imagined, enacted, and certainly reproduced—where Genevan Republican sensibilities are instilled (Chapter 4), and where the very jurisdictional and local-scale contours of the polity itself are drawn (Chapter 6).

Hospitality also provides a set of symbolic resources with which variously situated agents can interrogate, reconfigure, and otherwise question dominant social structures, roles, and relations. Attending to processes of self-positioning requires decoupling the categories of "host" from those of citizen/immobility—and likewise, the category of "guest" from migrant/mobility—to look at how guest and host serve as fluid role structures that may be multiply mobilized in practices of self-positioning (Molz and Gibson 2017). Indeed, to claim the status of "guest" or "host" for oneself reflects the process of second order indexicality (Silverstein 2003)—the mobilization of sign-relations to position and constitute oneself as a subject. This form of indexicality pervades what, under neoliberal conditions, Muehlebach calls the "humanitarianisation of the public sphere" (2012, 46). Malkki (2015) likewise explores the self-making aspect of giving in her study of Finnish Red Cross workers and humanitarian donors, characterizing it as a "relation of self to self" (4), if not a form of Foucauldian care of the self (10). In helping distant and imagined "needy" others, she argues, Finnish humanitarians and aid workers fulfill their own needs for conviviality and imaginative sociality. Understanding migrant integration as driven by a "humanitarian sensibility" (26), then, entails not only locating humanitarian aspirations in thoroughly domestic contexts, but attending to the co-presence of need and ethical obligation—the ways that givers are reliant upon, and are constituted in and by, acts of giving.[19]

At an historical moment that has seen, across numerous national contexts, the official discrediting of "multicultural" policies and models,[20] the practice of "integration" is a site at

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[19] Malkki (2015) characterizes the domestic conditions among her Finnish professional and retiree interlocutors—invisibility, loneliness, and other forms of disengagement—that give rise to the need for humanitarian involvement and imagination.

[20] The question remains, of course, of the extent to which these nation-states ever embraced "multiculturalism" to begin with.

which understandings of in/hospitality are worked through and contested. At the current juncture, it is critical to ask not only what aspirational ethics of plurality might follow in multiculturalism's (apparent) wake, but how hospitality is negotiated in the everyday by the mediating agencies and actors faced with reconciling state political economies of *in*hospitality with long-held, self-defining liberal principles of welcome.

Integration, Assimilation, and the "Foreigner" in Switzerland:
A Brief Popular and Policy History

The emergence of the "integration" concept in Swiss migration policy of recent decades is the result of a historically dynamic field of public and policy debate that reflects shifting discursive constructions of the "foreigner." The contested status and definition of the "foreigner" itself reflects an enduring and more than century-long tension in the formation of Swiss migration law—the tension between public xenophobia, expressed via initiatives that aim to preserve "Swiss identity" over and against a feared "overforeignization," and economic development, reliant on the active recruitment of immigrant workers (Piguet 2006). This contest between cultural demographic-preservation and economic flexibility—between the closed borders promoted by populist nationalism and the permeable borders desired by actors in various economic sectors—renders Swiss migration policy a terrain of ongoing and dynamic compromise between competing claims and scales of interest. It is in the context of this tension that the "key terms" of Swiss migration policy must be understood—terms, as I discuss, that place *foreigner, assimilation,* and *integration* in a common genealogy.

Switzerland is an officially quadrilingual confederation which recognizes French, High German, Italian, and Rumansch (Dürmüller 1997). Like other aspects of Swiss governance, this quadrilingualism is structured by a federal model of subsidiarity, also at the heart of EU design

(Holmes 2000), which prescribes governance at the lowest possible level of administration, with the 26 Swiss cantons (Ger. *Kanton*, Fr. *canton*, It. *cantone*) accorded considerable autonomy from federal levels (Centlivres et al. 1991; Steinberg 1976). Cantons are further administratively subdivided into municipalities (Ger. *Gemeinden,* Fr. *communes,* It. *comuni*) which form the basic "cellular" unit of Swiss politics.[21] It is the municipalities that confer citizenship—one is only a Swiss "national" in relation to one's administrative location in a particular commune—and, in the past, the commune held responsibility for the care of its indigent citizens, both those territorially present and those who had relocated (Lambek 2007). The principle of subsidiarity is, further, enacted through a model of direct democracy which enables ordinary citizens' direct political participation on questions of regional and national import. In the domain of immigration, the direct democratic tradition enables constitutional change through "popular initiatives" (which allow public actors to amend or propose legislation by referenda), and the ability, in some communes, to vote for or against the naturalization of particular candidates. As scholars agree, Swiss direct democratic channels have given populist and anti-immigrant actors a salient tool in the public enforcement of their interests (Helbling 2008; Piguet 2006; Skenderovic 2009).

For this degree of local autonomy, Swiss political actors and outside observers alike commonly contrast the Swiss model of heterogeneous nationhood (Helbling 2008) to the ethnic *Kulturnation*. Switzerland is often constructed in popular and scholarly literature as a *Willensnation*, whose principle of cohesion is constructed in terms of the voluntary union of various ethnolinguistic communities. This description is often articulated with celebratory

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[21] Windisch (2000) summarizes this politically prescribed relationship between "the three C's" of Switzerland's tripartite federalism: "what the *commune* can do, the *canton* must not; what the *canton* can do, the *Confederation* must not" (46, emphasis added).

national discourses on "Swiss exceptionalism." Swiss Diplomat Paul Widmer's (2007) *Die Schweiz als Sonderfall* ("Switzerland as Exception") is one popularized example of the ideological construction of diversity in the Swiss context; he advances the idea that Switzerland's constitutive heterogeneity makes it well-suited for the incorporation of migrant populations.[22] Widmer's construction of an exceptional Swiss "diversity-readiness" exists in tension with, and overlooks, the ways immigration policy has long-rendered national borders selectively permeable according to political and economic interests. Swiss immigration historians and political scientists have long explored how Swiss economic prosperity has relied heavily on an imported labour force through what were, historically, practices of rotational labour recruitment (Afonso 2004; Arlettaz and Arlettaz 2004; Bory 1987; Piguet 2004, 2006; Steinberg 1976). While a national policy of labour emigration prevailed until the late mid-19th century whereby emigration was advanced as a solution to poverty (Hurni 1988)—a policy of which the figure of the "homesick" Swiss mercenary soldier was emblematic—towards the end of the 19th century, national policy shifted towards an active politics of labor-recruitment to enable industrial development. Between 1890 and 1914, the population grew with the recruitment of mainly German and Northern Italian labourers, employed by Swiss breweries, printing-presses, hotels, steel mills, and textile operations, and who created the alpine tunnels

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[22] This ideological construction of national unity-in-difference erases the salience of intranational borders in concepts of the foreign. The "deepest" of these cleavages is the so-called "ditch" (*Röstigraben*) which putatively separates Switzerland's French- and Alemmanic-speakers along cultural, linguistic, and political lines (Zierhofer 2005). Rendered as a geographic-territorial divide, splittable on each side—as in bilingual "borderline" cantons— the *Röstigraben* is a Swiss ideology of differentiation which constructs Swiss French/Alemannic speakers as mutual strangers, their encounter the site of misunderstanding in need of bridging and conciliation. Commenting on why the cellular structure of Swiss politics yields a set of both external and internal strangers, Bendix (1992) writes: "the confederation was intended as a means of defense against outside aggression, not as a means of internal centralization" (772).

that enabled the expansion of the national railway system (Afonso 2004; Arlettaz and Arlettaz 2004).

With the 1860 establishment of the Swiss Federal Statistics Bureau in Bern, and the production and use of census data, demographic anxieties emerged about whether the country could economically sustain its foreign workforce (Arlettaz and Arlettaz 2004, 44). Statistical science enabled the emergence, in the first decade of the 20th century, of public, demographically-driven xenophobic discourses on the threat of *Überfremdung* (Fr. *la surpopulation étrangère*), a term variously translated as "overforeignization," "foreign overpopulation," or "an excess of foreigners." The terms emphasized the "foreign" labourer as an agent of both cultural and economic endangerment; despite the necessity of "foreign" labour to the national economy, *Überfremdung* rhetoric warned of the "high cost" of supporting foreign workers on Swiss soil, the threat of an impoverished Swiss working-class made to compete, the loss of Swiss identity, and the disastrous outcomes of rendering Switzerland, in the words of anti-immigrant spokespersons, "Europe's hospice" (49). Such rhetoric emerged, not coincidentally, in the wake of the national welfare reforms of 1890 which made illness and accident insurance a federal concern for the first time and allowed individual cantons and communes to decide on the extent of their social welfare provisions for citizens, residents, and migrant labourers. The establishment of the welfare state, in other words, coincided with and informed the Swiss *Überfremdung* concept and its debates—at stake was how citizenship and its material entitlements were to be delimited, with non-Swiss workers largely excluded from the country's early welfare framework. Commonly, the answer to the worker in need was a policy of

deportation.[23] The Swiss concept of "integration" is thus informed by historical anxieties about the "foreigner" as cultural invader and economic usurper, and is shadowed by a past and present politics of deportation and migrant revocability.

The 20th century interwar years saw this framework dramatically transformed, with numerous restrictions placed on entry, naturalization, and asylum. Shifts in Swiss legal frameworks on naturalization and citizenship further reflected "foreigner" anxieties, foregrounding a shifting policy concept of "assimilation." 19th century Swiss immigration law had initially constructed the incorporation of European laborers into Switzerland according to a discourse that framed naturalization as the *means* to the worker's cultural, economic, and linguistic assimilation into Switzerland (Conférence Tripartite sur les Agglomérations 2009, 4). As Studer (2001) documents, 1917 brought the establishment of the Swiss *Fremdenpolizei* ("foreigner police") as well as a legal shift whereby "assimilation" was newly considered a pre-condition for Swiss naturalization, rather than its outcome. By 1919, the Federal Justice and Police Department was established, promoting the "defense" of Swiss identity (Ferrero 1999, 3). This period of legal shifts culminated in Switzerland's interwar 1934 federal law on the residence and settlement of foreigners (Fr. *Loi fédérale sur le séjour et l'établissement des étrangers,* or *LSEE*) which problematized *Überfremdung* as an explicit target. At stake in the Swiss assimilation concept was the view that citizenship depended not merely on territorial settlement, but on localized, familial ties to the national community. This familial framework

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[23] This applied to both "Swiss" and non-Swiss "foreigners." In their comparison of the welfare histories of the cantons of Vaud and Neuchatel, Tabin et al. (2009) reveal that only two administrative categories of person were historically eligible for the welfare provisions managed by the Swiss communes: the commune's own "citizens" (Gr. *Bürger,* Fr. *bourgeois*) and, in some cases, its "residents" (Swiss citizens from other communes or cantons). The communes' approach to non-Swiss migrant labourers in need (as well as non-citizen Swiss "residents," in many cases) was to provide short-term aid prior to deportation. As the authors write, citing the case of a late 19th century French labourer: "To those…neither residents nor citizens of the commune, one gave a helping hand—board and lodging for a few days before expulsion" (325).

was salient to yet another remarkable curtailment of citizenship during the interwar years: the gendering of national belonging according to the Swiss "marriage rule," or the legislation by which Swiss women who married foreign nationals lost their citizenship and became recognized as national "aliens" (legal restoration of citizenship depended on the dissolution of the marriage).[24] Formally introduced in 1940, but practiced well before, this gendering of citizenship reflected a legal regime whereby the transmission of citizenship was—and remains, at present— structured by the descent-based principle of *jus sanguinis* (Switzerland has never employed the principle of *jus soli*).

During the Second World War, the jural concept of *Überfremdung* was once again invoked during the late-1930s and early1940s to selectively close the Swiss border. By the late 1930s, Switzerland began to restrict the entry of specifically Jewish refugees from Germany. In 1942, Swiss borders were effectively closed for 2 years (Dodd 2015); while some refugees were able to remain in the country aided by Swiss Jewish organizations and cantonal authorities (Ferrero 1999), national asylum laws ultimately framed Switzerland as a "transit state" of temporary refuge with persons turned away at French, German and Italian borders (ICE Switzerland 2002, 107). The report of the Bergier Commission—the 1990s Swiss-led investigation into the country's complicity with Germany, named after historian, Jean-François Bergier—estimated that over 20,000 refugees were denied asylum during the war years, throwing in stark question the country's long-standing moral self-positioning and identification with political neutrality and humanitarian values (118).

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[24] During this period, Swiss women had no right to vote. Further, women could not practice law until 1923, or stand for election until 1971. The "marriage rule" was abolished in 1992 (Studer 2001).

In the decades following the war, national borders were selectively reopened and the question of "assimilation" was further contested. In 1948, a labour-recruitment agreement was signed in partnership with Italy which implemented an immigration politics of labour-rotation. Mobilizing the language of hospitality, rotational recruitment policies emphasized the status of the "guest worker," or the "seasonal worker" (Gr. *Gastarbeiter,* Fr. *saisonnier,*), as a temporary sojourner whose settlement in Switzerland was reversible and transitory; during this time, migration policy actively worked against guest-workers' long-term incorporation.[25] This rotational labor regime continued past 1961, when a further agreement was made with Spain, aimed at recruiting workers for the agricultural sector. The policy "myth of return" (Windisch 2000) vis-à-vis Switzerland's migrant workers was not borne out; between 1950 and 1960, the number of "foreign," mainly Southern European, migrants in Switzerland rose steadily from 5.8% of the Swiss population to over 9% (Piguet 2004). The recruitment of precarious, underpaid workers enabled the post-war tertiarization of the Swiss workforce (Piguet 2006).

In this context, a number of direct-democratic initiatives, beginning in the 1960s, re-invoked the terms of *Überfremdung*, sparked numerous national referenda on implementing immigration quotas, and contested the viability of Switzerland's "assimilationist" national policy. In 1961, *Die Nationalen Aktion gegen Überfremdung von Volk Und Heimat* (*NA,* or the National Campaign against Foreign Overpopulation) emerged as a full-fledged political party in Zurich. The party's popular initiative "against overforeignization" (launched in 1964 and supported by 60,000 citizen signatures) demanded the introduction of quotas that would reduce

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[25] Half of Switzerland's subsequent labour-migrants arrived each year under the category of "seasonal worker." Without family-reunification entitlements, seasonal workers were authorized to reside in Switzerland for 9 consecutive months, followed by an enforced 3-month return to await the renewal of another labour contract (Bory 1987). Workers during this time who held a longer, annual residency permit faced a 10-year wait before becoming eligible to apply for permanent residence.

immigration from 15% to 10% of the Swiss population, and constructed post-war economic

development as an endangerment of the *Heimat* (Ebel and Fiala 1983; Piguet 2006).[26] In

response, the Swiss Federal Council, in apparent agreement with the presence of an

Überfremdung threat, took measures throughout the 1960s to regulate immigration with the aim

of lessening migratory flows into Switzerland—a policy strategy that placed the Council in

tension with the economic sectors most reliant on migrant-recruitment.[27] In tandem, the Council

attempted to allay populist anxieties by reaffirming the centrality of "assimilationism." A 1967

Federal Assembly on the Popular Initiative Against Overforeignization advanced the argument

that promoting the "assimilation" of workers into the Swiss legal system and labour market could

counter excessive "foreign" influences on the country; indeed, the Council had earlier considered

"going as far, if necessary, as the implementation of *jus soli*," or citizenship by birth on Swiss

soil (Swiss Federal Paper 1967).

Populist spokespersons contested the "assimilationist" framework. After the first

initiative was withdrawn, the NA launched a second popular initiative in 1969 that demanded

further, drastic restrictions on immigration, including the deportation of 200,000 permit-holding

workers in Switzerland.[28] The initiative's author, James Schwarzenbach, was well-known in the

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[26] In comparison with other populist discourses (see Brubaker 2017), Meier's populist xenophobia contrasted the condition of being "at home" (Hage 2000) as at odds with continued economic development. An anti-foreigner tract of the time reads: "We must oppose any form of excessive economic growth that places profit at the expense of the homeland. We want to feel at home in Switzerland once again" (cited in Ebel and Fiala 1983, 47).

[27] Federal policy measures included setting quotas, in 1965, on the total number of workers that employers could recruit at a given time; requiring workers to apply for residency permits before beginning employment; and barring workers from changing their canton of residence, preventing cross-cantonal recruitments. Such managerial measures did not have the desired outcome: cantonal autonomy from federal control was, and remains, a factor in why federal "quotas" are not locally implemented (Piguet 2006). As Sandoz (2016) clarifies, quotas bear a primarily symbolic value and are a tool of compromise and communication among competing interests.

[28] The initiative demanded, further, that all cantons limit the number of resident foreigners to 10% of their population; prolong the amount of time before annual residence permits were granted; naturalize foreigners only on condition of 20 consecutive years of residence; and submit the terms of the Swiss-Italian labour accord to a referendum (Piguet 2004).

Swiss public eye for his argument that immigrants could not be "assimilated" into Switzerland

via naturalization; invoking a narrative of Swiss exceptionalism, and among his positions was the

view that the particularities of Swiss political culture could never be understood or enacted by

immigrants unaccustomed to the tradition of participatory democracy (Schwarzenbach 1974).[29]

If the 1960s and 70s saw the arguable mainstreaming of a form of xenophobic public discourse

via popular initiatives—there were no fewer than 5 anti-foreigner initiatives launched in the

1960s and 1970s alone—the 1980s and 1990s brought additional shifts on both domestic and

international scales in the domain of immigration that set the stage for the "integration" concept

and framework. There was, first, a key transformation and diversification of Switzerland's

migrant population, with increased transnational migration from the former-Yugoslavia and

Portugal. In tandem was the emergence, in the 1980s, of Swiss migrant solidarity movements—

these also made use of direct democratic channels to attempt to effect policy change. A 1981

popular initiative, for instance, called for the elimination of the inhumane "seasonal" worker

status while it argued for lifting limitations on worker settlement and family reunification. Both

the Federal Council and actors in migrant-recruiting sectors of the economy strongly opposed

this initiative, framing its aims as threats to the Swiss labour force and the country's "flexible"

seasonal recruitment framework. Piguet (2006) suggests that the period was one in which

economic discourses, actors and interests began to supersede *Überfremdung* rhetoric as the

dominant structuring principle of Swiss migration policy; as I argue in Chapter 2, however,

xenophobic discourses were not merely superseded by economic rhetorics, but were translated

and redirected into them. Alongside domestic migrant-solidarity groups, the period saw growing

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[29] The Schwarzenbach initiative was supported by 700,000 citizen signatures; it was rejected by voters in 1970 by a slim 54% majority (Piguet 2006).

pressures from international law to abolish the seasonal worker program. International law and processes of European integration thus posed a significant challenge to Swiss popular sovereignty, and the question of Swiss-EU rapprochement was an important arena of polarized national debate during the 1990s, foregrounding the tension between actors in favour of opening Swiss borders to Europe and those in favour of maintaining Switzerland's increasingly discredited rotational recruitment model.

The 1990s were salient from yet another standpoint. The questioning of exploitative Swiss worker-recruitment practices coincided, in the 1990s, with criticism and renewed investigation into Swiss banking practices—notably, the national banking establishment's historical collusion and complicity with Nazi Germany during World War II as well its ongoing implication in the offshore financing of several military dictatorships.[30] The widely publicized, international inquiry that ensued revealed that between 1939 and 1945, the Swiss state and banking establishment directly financed the Third Reich. In addition to rendering loans to Berlin, the banks stored Germany's stolen wealth and assets in Swiss vaults, laundered seized gold, and accepted it as payment for Swiss industrial exports (Ziegler 1997). This period of public inquiry laid bare the interests underlying Swiss banking secrecy laws and placed the country's moral legitimacy—its avowed politics of "neutrality"—in question and crisis. Swiss banks and the members of the Swiss citizenry who stood in defense of banking secrecy became examples, in the international public eye, of unbridled greed and moral indifference. The charge of moral indifference is also, notably, an internal critique levelled by some segments of the Swiss themselves. In an often-cited passage of the era, Geneva Professor of Sociology, Jean Ziegler, characterized the Swiss backlash against the investigation into war-time collaboration in terms of

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[30] Well into the 1990s, for instance, Zurich banks held over $500 million in assets for ousted Philippine President, Ferdinand Marcos.

a "mania for self-righteousness, guiltlessness and perpetual purity"—"an officially prescribed amnesia" (13) and the "exalting of secrecy and opacity into a moral virtue" (64).

While reflective of disparate policy arenas, critiques of Swiss migration and banking policy—the varied discrediting of Swiss rotational labour-recruitment and banking secrecy— dovetailed and converged in a broad public questioning of the ethical breaches and commitments underlying the Swiss state and its prosperity. The shifts, developments, and reforms within migration policy of the late 1990s can thus be contextualized in this broader climate of critique that positioned, broadly stated, the ethical against the economic. It was in this climate, for instance, that Switzerland's long-standing policy of "assimilation" was thrown in question by numerous political actors and direct-democratic initiatives, and came to be framed by federal actors as an inadequate answer to the demands of an increasingly diversifying society (Council of Europe 2011, 2).[31] Efforts by the Swiss state to manage and structure social diversification gave rise, in 1991, to the "Three Circle Model" of immigration which I discuss in detail in Chapter 2—a policy model both *of* and *for* immigration, to borrow Geertz's (1973) distinction, which differentiated between three global "zones" of mobility and their according personae. In it, the Swiss federal administration advanced a concept of "cultural distance" to differentiate between admissible and inadmissible immigrants—a policy of ethnic selection that was heavily criticized by both Swiss multinational corporations (interested in diversifying their personnel) and the Swiss Federal Commission against Racism (Piguet 2006). While the Three Circle Model was ultimately rejected in 1998, its replacement, a "two-circle" model, kept much of the

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[31] Swiss "assimilationism" received comedic treatment as early as the 1970s, as in Rolf Lyssy's 1978 feature film *Die Schweizermacher* ("The Swiss-makers"). A comedy in the good cop, bad cop genre, it parodies the overzealous attempts of the Zurich "immigration police" in their surveillance of a number of naturalization candidates. In an opening scene, the Chief voices the dominant assimilationist policy paradigm during a training session: "We believe that assimilation has been achieved when a foreign resident here is indistinguishable from the rest of us."

character of the original as a framework for border management: Switzerland's current two-circle immigration policy posits two "kinds" of immigrant—the EU/EFTA national, whose mobility into Switzerland is formally permitted under free-movement agreements, and the non-EU national whose residency is determined according to the discretionary criteria of qualifications, skills, as well as "integration."

Codifying "Integration"

Emerging in a context of crises—the questioning not only of the credibility of Swiss migration policy, but the moral legitimacy of the state and its practices vis-à-vis "foreigners"—the legal concept of "integration" played a key role in advancing an ostensibly novel migration politics in Switzerland. While Switzerland has never advanced an official multicultural policy, is not an EU member-state, and only began to acknowledge its status as a country of immigration as late as the 1990s (D'Amato 2010), the policy register of integration allowed for a national self-positioning that framed Switzerland as a "tolerant" nation that valorized the "foreigner" as a source of social enrichment and diversity. This discursive shift occurred during the late 1990s and early 2000s with a series of key legal transitions which codified "integration" as Switzerland's newly dominant migration policy framework. In 1998, Switzerland's then binding federal law on the residence and settlement of foreigners, the LSEE or the Federal Act of Foreign Nationals (Fr., *Loi fédérale sur le séjour et l'établissement des étrangers*) was revised to include a short Integration article (article 25a); by 1999, the federal government introduced a set of subsidies for cantons and communes towards the "social integration of foreigners" (Cattacin et al. 2007, 18). In 2005, the LSEE was replaced by Switzerland's Foreign Nationals Act, or FNA

(Fr., *Loi fédérale sur les étrangers* or LEtr),[32] and it included Switzerland's first free-standing integration policy, to be adapted independently by cantonal governments in collaboration with local NGOs and migrant organizations (Conférence Tripartite sur les Agglomerations 2009, 1). During this period of discursive shift, Swiss policy-makers explicitly periodized national migration policy, distancing it from the "assimilationist" policies of the past. Linked to the then-abolished rotational labour-recruitment programs, policies of "assimilation"—which made legal rights dependent on the migrant becoming indistinguishable from the Swiss—were framed as anachronistic and obsolete (Flubacher 2014, 54). In contrast, "integration" was promoted as a novel framework that ushered in a new era of migration politics while avoiding what Swiss policy-makers saw as the failure of British or Dutch-style "multiculturalism" to promote national cohesion (Council of Europe 2011). "Integration" was framed, in other words, as a middle way between assimilationism and multiculturalism. As policy scholars note, this discursive swapping of "integration" for "assimilation" as the dominant policy register enabled the continuity of the assimilationist paradigm under a new guise.[33] This assimilationist register still finds echoes in, for instance, Article 4 of the current Foreign Nationals Act (FNA) which defines "integration" in terms of the four following sub-goals:

> 1. The aim of integration is the co-existence of the resident Swiss and foreign population on the basis of the values of the Federal Constitution and mutual respect and tolerance.
>
> 2. Integration should enable foreign nationals who are lawfully resident in Switzerland for the longer term to participate in the economic, social and cultural life of the society.
>
> 3. Integration requires willingness on the part of the foreign nationals and openness on the part of the Swiss population.

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[32] FNA legislation was decided upon on December 16, 2005 and entered into force on January 1, 2008.

[33] As Flubacher (2014) suggests, discourses of "integration" and "assimilation" are best analyzed not as distinct concepts, but as two points on a continuum.

4. Foreign nationals are required to familiarise themselves with the social conditions and way of life in Switzerland and in particular to learn a national language.[34]

At present, "integration" bears much of the discretionary loading that "assimilation" once did, and in ways that explicitly implicate language as a new terrain of official evaluation. The view that successful integration requires learning "a national language," in particular, reveals the salient role of language in the Swiss state's discretionary bordering practices—its granting of visas, residence permits, and naturalization. Article 34 of the FNA on the "Permanent Residence Permit," for instance, states that residence "may be granted to successfully integrated persons, in particular if the persons concerned have good knowledge of a national language after an uninterrupted period of stay." Article 54 (Consideration of Integration in the case of decisions), renders language instruction a legal requirement for settlement, making "the granting of a residence or short stay permit... conditional on taking a language course or an integration course" (a criteria that applies to both individual and family reunification applications). This legal "obligation to take a course may be stipulated in an integration agreement" between individuals and the state. Critically, this same article frames a person's "degree of integration" as a key component in decisions relating, remarkably, to both individual deportation as well as bans on entry. Clearly, the "integration" concept is multiply invoked in the state practice of discretionary power. This use of "integration" as a discretionary criteria for the admission, exclusion, and revocation of migrants was promoted by the right wing Swiss People's Party (SVP) who urged a heavily assimilationist reading of the concept, with a focus on language-learning. With the party's 2003 electoral rise, Switzerland's erstwhile Minister of Justice and SVP Chairman, Christoph Blocher, advanced a definition of integration in primarily coercive terms; he focused

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[34] The English translation of the FNA (current as of July 1, 2018) can be viewed on the Swiss Federal Council website at https://www.admin.ch/opc/en/classified-compilation/20020232/index.html

on specifying the criteria that conditioned entry and settlement on Swiss territory and, in what became a nationally circulated slogan, declared language the "key to integration" (*Sprache ist der Schlüssel zur Integration*).[35] In the same year, the Swiss government planned to allot 2.6 million CHF in yearly funds to promote and prioritize language learning among migrant and immigrant populations (Swissinfo 2007), making "integration" nearly synonymous with the learning of a Swiss national language. By 2016, the Federal Council presented an Ordinance on the Swiss Citizenship Act, effectively revising the conditions and criteria of Swiss naturalization.[36] This standardization of skills-requirements, as well as the explicitly linguistic framing of "integration," is constructed as the means to the migrant's social incorporation, to enhanced employment opportunity, educational advancement, and economic mobility. The instruction of national languages is also salient to Swiss Integration policy's participatory framing as a form of "help to self-help" (Federal Office for Migration 2006). As modality of self-help, national language instruction under the integration paradigm dovetails with broader responsibilization and "activation" agendas—neoliberal policies which aim to incentivize and produce self-governing subjects through the cultivation of entrepreneurial agencies, skills, and forms of self-presentation (Allan 2016; Cruikshank 1999; Flubacher and Yeung 2016; Gershon 2011; Urciuoli 2008).

In sum, the concept of integration is complex and multivalent. It bears a discursive genealogy with concepts like "assimilation." While it was used to periodize migration policy and

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[35] See Flubacher (2013) for a detailed discussion of the emergence of the language as "key" metaphor in Switzerland. Article 6 of the Ordinance ("Attestation of Linguistic Competences") newly required that all naturalization candidates demonstrate, through locally administered tests, a baseline of spoken national language competences at level B2 of the Common European Framework for Languages, and written competences at level A2 (Swiss Federal Council 2016), while allowing individual cantons to set higher standards.

[36] The revisions entered into force in January of 2018.

mark a discursive departure from assimilationist frameworks, its utility lies in the concept's clear continuity with them as political actors seize upon and advance assimilationist understandings of "integration." Further, "integration" must be understood as embedded in a long history of anti-immigrant Swiss discourse, whereby popular xenophobic initiatives often contested the aims and interests of Swiss industry (i.e. the imposition of migration quotas contradicts free market, free-movement logics). The salience of integration lies in its mediating role, allowing for compromise between various social groups (as Sandoz 2016 has argued in the case of migration quotas). As a discourse, "integration" is thus profoundly multi-purpose: it allows migrants to be selectively included or excluded from national space on a discretionary basis; it creates a cultural-linguistic border that answers to "foreigner" anxieties while enabling various economic sectors to select and recruit their desired personnel; finally, it allows the Swiss state to posit a moral departure from frowned-up mobility regimes of the past.

Research Design

This study of integration and migration mediators builds on one year of ethnographic research in both the city and canton of Geneva, with additional months of pre-field and preparatory research visits made in 2007 and 2010. Fieldwork was conducted across a number of non-profit, migrant-centered institutions, with varying degrees of regular involvement—one a center primarily for migrant women, and another which I call "The Migrant Center." Open to both documented and undocumented persons, these non-profit organizations received varied forms of funding from the cantonal government and provided a variety of services for migrants, spanning French language-education, job-search training, health services and/or health-related referrals, and access to Geneva's cultural institutions. This multi-sited research design and method for tracking "integration" as an object of study is informed by the concept of trajectory—

the ways in which categories and concepts change over space, time and epistemic/institutional domains (Raikhel and Garriott 2013, 2015). Such design, as I have taken it up, entails being attuned to varied forms of institutional reasoning and problematization, attending to their contextual and situated nature, as well as to their historicity. While the authors advance the concept for the study of addiction, it is well-suited for an analysis of the often circulatory, mobile, and multi-modal/nodal practices of "integration." I thus not only tracked how pedagogical concepts and practices of social incorporation traveled across various institutional domains (i.e. from center to center, and from the school to a neighboring institution), but I also "followed" individual migrant trajectories beyond institutional-educational spaces to apprehend how policy concepts and registers unfolded in the course of everyday lives. This meant following the work of "integration" to other salient sites—to migrants' encounters with the Geneva bureaucracy, fine art, or on the job-search; in this dissertation, the everyday is as much of a production site (Latour 2005) of migrant integration as, say, the language classroom. The individual trajectories as I explore them here are not meant to be read as representative of particular migrant groups, but are attempts to understand agency and singular life experiences in social, economic, and historical context (Brettell 2003).

If the framework of hospitality has been generative in my thinking about questions of integration, it is not least because varied relations of institutional hospitality conditioned and inflected the course and possibilities of "access" in different contexts; my ethnographic practice was shaped, in other words, by learning to navigate what were often contrasting logics of "integration" and guest-host sociality. As Raikhel (2009) explores, differing institutional structures facilitate some forms of identification while foreclosing others, in ways that call upon both clients and ethnographers to inhabit pre-fabricated institutional roles.

I conducted the majority of my research at a community center for continuing-education which I call The Migrant Center—a centrally-located node of newcomer reception in Geneva's city-center that also serves as a referral hub for other social services and migrant-aid organizations in the canton. With students from Africa, Asia, Eastern and Southern Europe, and Latin America, the center's intergenerational migrant public reflects recent decades of transnational labour migration to Geneva.[37] Run by a small cadre of administrators and experts in FLE (*Français Langue Etrangère*, or French as a Second/Foreign Language), the school's volunteer sector operated a hybrid "French-integration" program that offered low-cost French-language courses at several levels, organized social events for students in the city and surrounding areas (French-language plays, films, and other cultural events), and ran fitness and athletics activities for little additional cost (including participation in 5K runs, alpine hiking excursions, and a weekly gym class). Additionally, the school operated an "instructor formation" program that, over several weekly meetings, trained new volunteers in French instruction and the delivery of the school's French-integration curriculum.[38] This integration program was styled after a typical academic year; classes and events began in the Fall and ended at the start of the subsequent summer. My ethnographic research at The Migrant Center entailed following a full year of the center's programming; presence during this year-long cycle allowed me to participate in the full range of activities, from registration and the first day of classes up to end-of-year meetings and events. I audited several French classes (a "beginner" and "intermediate" night

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[37] The homepage of the center's website currently states that roughly 139 nationalities are represented in the school.

[38] The center issued a certificate after completion of the training module, establishing trainees as school-certified and able to volunteer-instruct with the school thereafter. Optional additional teacher-education courses were also offered on an ongoing basis on topics such as "cultural competency" in the classroom.

class with roughly 15-20 students per class,[39] both meeting twice weekly); attended various

planned cultural outings; participated in the school's fitness program (migrant gym classes and

regional hikes); and conducted recorded and unrecorded interviews with administrators,

pedagogy experts, teacher-volunteers, and members of the migrant public. Interviews took place

both on and off school premises with requests made individually.

Critically, this immersion and research presence at the school was permitted on the

condition that I actively contribute to the center's French-integration programming by training as

a volunteer, and co-teaching a French class myself. Undergoing this formation gave me greater

proximity to administrators and instructors, several of whom held teaching or educational

degrees and, when given information about my ethnographic study, were enthusiastic about

discussing the details of their volunteer work, and often, the centrality of their own migrant

heritage to their voluntarism. The practice of co-teaching and co-lesson-planning entailed that

my research conversations and interviews often reflected a "fellow-instructor" interactional

positioning vis-à-vis the teachers in my training cohort, or else an "expert-trainee" positioning, in

which my interlocutor was training me in aspects of pedagogical practice. Pedagogy, in other

words, has been both the object and the method of this dissertation. In both instances, interviews

typically centered on the category of migrant "learners" (*apprenants*). When and where I was not

serving as an instructor, I was permitted to audit classes, and participate as a student and learner.

My own integration into this institution, then, entailed a wide margin for role fluidity; both

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[39] This is necessarily a rough estimate. While attendances were documented at the start of classes, presences differed from classroom to classroom and were often reflective of migrants' changing work schedules, levels of workday fatigue, or other commitments.

teachers and students at The Migrant Center became accustomed to seeing me switch between teacher and student/auditor roles.[40]

This role fluidity can be contrasted to my integration into an additional institution that I call "The Migrant Women's Center" (discussed in Chapter 6). A complementary but distinct organization, the Women's Center was host to its own, quite differently-designed French-language learning program, and the center's paid, non-volunteer personnel organized regular outings, orientations and luncheons,[41] and also provided key referral services for migrant women. Research at the Women's center was salient to understanding integration not only as a multi-sited but also gendered social intervention (Brettell 2003). My incorporation into the Women's Center relied not on role fluidity, but on my identification with a single role and position: I was to be positioned as a fellow-learner during research activities (i.e. auditing courses and informal "conversation circles," participating in the center's outings, and establishing individual research contact with members of its public). Because center staff requested that I keep my presence as a researcher undisclosed on the premises, I was known to my classmates simply as "the Canadian" (*la Canadienne*)—a form of identification in alignment with the dominant classroom discursive norm of self-identifying mainly through one's national origins.[42]

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[40] In the terms of hospitality, the condition of being a "guest" researcher at the school was my agreement to serve as a "host"—an agent in the delivery of the school's educational program.

[41] During these communal meals, the center would often host municipal councilors and other prominent figures in the local immigration network. Migrant women were often involved in the cooking—and thus hosting by proxy—of these meals.

[42] There was concern that disclosing my observational status in the classroom might inhibit class discussion, which was key to the success of the gendered "conversation circle" model. While no explicit invocation of "safe space" was made, I believe a similar concept informed the instructor's choice not to disclose my research activities. I subsequently disclosed my research project to all persons from whom I requested an interview.

These contrasting logics of institutional hospitality—their varying possibilities for role-identification and fluidity—weighted my ethnographic practice, and this dissertation, in certain ways. Being given access to an instructor-role at The Migrant Center facilitated discussions and interviews with teachers and administrators, especially on topics of teaching practice; in contrast, being presented as a "classmate" at the Women's Center facilitated encounters and discussions with migrant-learners that were not framed by prior student-teacher hierarchization.[43] As a result, the numbers of teachers and students interviewed differed from place to place. This thesis provides less of a side-by-side comparative cross-section of student-teacher relationships at each institution, but presents more of a composite of integration, as conceptualized and practiced in several institutions.

In addition to my institutional immersion at the above sites, I carried out additional interviews with variously situated experts in the Genevan integration field: local journalists, experts in the domains of cultural competency (in medicine and education), ethnopsychiatry, sociolinguistics, migrant youth education, and job-placement, as well as personnel at the Geneva *Bureau of Integration*. I performed further research on Swiss/Genevan policy and media texts, as they related to immigration and Integration law. I read such texts with an eye towards integration as a discursive field—how "integration" was conceptualized and problematized, and how its subjects of intervention characterized and constructed.

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[43] Indeed, at a related, third institution which also provided French-instruction, information-referral, and basic health services for primarily undocumented persons, my request to establish regular research contact with the center's staff and public was welcomed by the administrator, with the suggestion that I present myself on an entirely drop-in basis and "hang out." This framework left the details of my role and research identity up to me; it mirrored that particular center's "non-curricular," drop-in approach to service-provision—a freedom of which the administrator was proud—which eschewed any formal registration or identification of the center's regulars beyond a first name. As this particular center's website explains: "We welcome without asking questions."

Dissertation Overview

This dissertation unfolds across five additional chapters. Given the status of hospitality as a scalar shifter (Herzfeld 1987), each of the chapters and sections ahead investigate a distinct scale of "integration" and/as cross-border mobility mediation—whether the national scale of federal border policy, the local scale of a community art gallery, the pedagogical registers of expertise and instructional discourse, a beginner's French night-class, or the scale of the bureaucratic "crack" in which concepts of "integration" participate in erasing individual migrant presences. This dissertation is not merely multi-scalar or multi-sited but, due to the nature of "integration," is also multi-institutional.

Titled "Making Strangers: 'Expats' and 'Migrants' in Swiss Integration Policy," Chapter 2 explores how Swiss Integration policy constructs the difference between various kinds of strangers in its approach to integration. The chapter explores the distinction between "expats" and "migrants" in Geneva, discussing the semiotic processes by which this distinction is made in both legal discourse and ordinary talk. While "expats" index "highly skilled" European citizens, constructed as assets to the national economy and thus Switzerland's most valorized guests, the policy construction of "migrants" (here, non-EU immigrants from the Global South) problematizes their presence in Switzerland in terms of a "cultural distance" from Swiss and European values, animating longstanding civilizational tropes. This problematization constructs migrants as an at-risk population in need of "integration" through linguistic intervention and "skills" training. I address the semiotic technologies and strategies by which the "migrant" comes to constitute a coherent object of Integration policy, and argue that concepts of civilizational difference endure in ostensibly "acultural" skills and "brain gain" discourses. I thus examine how the internal tension between hospitality as *ethics* (universal and unconditional) and

as *politics* (juridical, conditional) is enacted and expressed in differential regimes of reception—one where largely Anglophone "expats" benefit from an ethics of hospitality and linguistic accommodation, and another in which "migrants" find themselves circumscribed by the political, to return to Derrida's distinction. I situate this partitioning of hospitalities and stranger relations in Switzerland's economic interests vis-à-vis Europe.

Chapter 3 is titled "The 'Culture' of Hospitality: Popular Education and French-Integration in Geneva." This chapter explores how French instructors at The Migrant Center—a Left-leaning migrant community center and language school—discursively construct their role in migrant integration and thus render an understanding of what I here call *welcome work*. I historicize the school's educational mandate with respect to 19th century initiatives of "popular education" whose mission was to instruct members of the working-class in the arts and sciences, or what is known in Geneva as "general culture" (*culture générale*). I suggest that teachers' discourses construct what I term an ethical will to welcome—a paradoxical form of hospitality which strives to make migrants upwardly mobile by endowing them with forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) yet also participates in the state regimes of migrant responsibilization.

Chapter 4, "Envisioning (E)quality: The Aesthetic Apprenticeship of 'General Culture,'" examines how lessons about cultural consumption, aesthetic appreciation, and literacy skills enact republican understandings of social and gender equality, rendering these domains salient terrains of civilizational difference-making. I trace the roots of Genevan republicanism to Rousseau's reflections on sovereignty and the social contract, and examine how republican concepts of equality are voiced in lessons on modern art appreciation and in specifically gendered pedagogies of migrant literacy. Engaging with the semiotically-theorized and multi-modal concept of *qualia*—abstract qualities in their embodied instantiations—I demonstrate that

when welcome-workers attribute various characteristics to cultural works, practices of viewing and reading, and entire migrant groups (mobilizing qualities such as "open" and "closed"), they make hierarchical distinctions between persons and practices which uphold Genevan/civilizational conceptions of equality, and those which threaten it.

The remaining chapters in the dissertation look more closely at the ways practices and ideologies of language-as-integration are mobilized by the state, by welcome workers, and by migrants themselves. How are metadiscourses about national/French language employed to mediate cross-border and social mobility? Chapter 5, "Working Subjects: Skilling for Social Mobility in French-Language Teaching" builds on Chapter 2 and explores how specifically neoliberal conceptions of "skill" and responsibility unfold and are taken up in the context of a French-language lesson for undocumented migrants. Swiss integration policy imagines language-learning as *the* principal means of making migrants active agents in their social mobility, framing migrants' acquisition of national language competences as enhancing individual self-marketing strategies on a competitive job market. I examine classroom forms of role-play through which undocumented, or precariously residing, students are invited to rehearse the social encounters critical to their livelihoods such as employment-search inquiries, requests for work, and job interviews, looking at how models of agency are contested. I suggest that the classroom offers a space for subtle critique, generative of a sociality of solidarity between students and their teachers (who understand unremunerated welcome work as constitutive of an ethical self-understanding). The second half of the chapter explores how lessons around linguistic competence and skills are taken up and become the site of reflexive engagement among undocumented students who craft counter-concepts of skill, agency, and responsibility. Through the mobility narrative of Luis, an undocumented migrant from Madrid, I explore how one student

interrogates the dominant pedagogical framework that casts language as the key to socio-legal mobility. His account of (de)responsibilization develops from the view that an absence of legal status—and the stigmatizations that accompany it—are more determining of economic and social "integration" than the successful performance of French competences.

The final chapter, Chapter 6, is titled "Mediating Misdirection: Jurisdictional Limbo and the Brokerage of Presence." It reflects on the salient role played by intra-national jurisdictional (cantonal) borders in conditioning migrant integration—a critical facet of Swiss integration policy and stranger-relations. Chapter 6 demonstrates how the administrative unit of "the canton," whose model of local sovereignty rests on mapping "language" onto territory, can create states of protracted bureaucratic limbo for migrants who fall through "cracks." I demonstrate how welcome workers and their networks of "street-level" (Lipsky1980) brokerage and mediation critically shape individuals' long-term social and legal incorporation. In doing so, the interstitial agents I term *welcome workers,* I argue, not only mediate national and intranational borders, but critically, are themselves key agents in the construction and bounding of "locality" itself.

CHAPTER TWO

Making Strangers:
"Expats" and "Migrants" in Swiss Integration Policy

In francophone Geneva, policies of language and foreigner integration enable various

dispositions of desire and indifference. For the canton's *migrants*—a word often used to index

"low-skilled" newcomers in search of employment—integration policy constructs the French

language as a site for the cultivation of a specific linguistic desire: migrants demonstrate their

voluntary "will" to integrate into Swiss society by showing the desire to acquire French-language

competences. During ethnographic field research on integration policy in 2013, I met Maryam,[44]

a student enrolled in French classes at two different centers of adult education. Both centers were

located on Geneva's Right Bank, where a significant portion of newcomers settle and where

migrant aid associations dot the landscape. I first met Maryam in a French-language conversation

circle where we convened with a group of roughly 20 other newcomers from various regions of

Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Even then, Maryam was not new to the study

of Swiss national languages. In 2003, she moved to the Swiss capital of Bern from the city of

Shiraz, Iran, with her husband, who had found employment with a Swiss airline. In Bern, she

developed fluency in High German and, after a time, felt well-acquainted with her Swiss

neighbors. During that period, Maryam and her husband held permanent residence permits (Class

C) in the canton of Bern which can generally be requested after 5 years of legal residency in

Switzerland, and are renewable every 5 years, granted that candidates are "well-integrated." This

period of stability changed irrevocably when Maryam's husband passed away in an auto

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[44] All names used hereafter are pseudonyms.

accident, 8 years after their arrival in Bern. Following the accident, Maryam relocated to Geneva, reuniting with a relative who helped her find occasional work as an aide at a daycare. Maryam subsequently became unemployed and was job-searching when I met her in 2013, her residence permit soon to expire.

In this context, language ideologies of migrant integration generated a bureaucratic impasse which rendered Maryam's legal status precarious. Because residence permits, like other matters of foreigner administration, are handled independently by each Swiss canton, Maryam was required to renew her residence permit with Geneva's, rather than Bern's, cantonal authorities. Her High German and Farsi multilingual competences, however, did not help her to demonstrate "integration" into her new francophone locale. To renew her permit, Maryam was required to evidence her active pursuit of "integration" by demonstrating the desire to continually acquire French language skills. Her efforts were monitored by the *Office cantonale de la population,* Geneva's migration office: her attendance at French classes was regularly reported, and this information informed decisions regarding Maryam's social aid and permit renewal. In conversation, Maryam told me that French was "very hard" (*sehr schwierig*). "It's even harder than learning German," she said. Her insistence on learning a second Swiss national language remained unwavering, however: "I have to learn French. I have to learn new words every day to get to know people and to work. Switzerland is in the heart of Europe. I must forget about my culture" (*Ich muss meine Kultur vergessen*). Having fallen into a bureaucratic crack occasioned by integration policy, Maryam had been waiting a total of four years to receive a definitive decision from Geneva's authorities about her residency status. Unemployed and widowed, the French classes her main occupation, she told me: "This permit is my only happiness."

Not all newcomers to Geneva are made to adopt Maryam's incentivizing relationship to French, nor its related stance of cultural amnesia. For many of the city's elite transnational Anglophone "expatriates"—employed by Geneva's numerous NGOs, diplomatic organizations, embassies, and multinational firms—French language learning is the site of a curious and palpable indifference. A contrasting orientation to French among whom the Genevans colloquially call *expats* first became clear to me while attending Geneva's 2012 Expat Exposition, an informational and networking convention which acquaints transnational elites with English services and social clubs in the region. Held on Geneva's Left Bank, the Expo grounds swarmed with visitors wending their way through a labyrinth of booths advertising English-speaking radio stations, international schools, wine tasting clubs, alpine tour groups, match-makers, and British-themed markets. Here, worry or pre-occupation with French was virtually non-existent. At one booth, a representative from an international women's club mentions that the French conversation circles sponsored by her organization are meant more for socializing than for developing fluency. While she definitively relocated to the country once her husband's contract at the Geneva headquarters of his U.S. firm was extended, they had no plans for language study anytime soon. She referred to her "terrible French" with good humour. In another encounter, the owner of a local language school, delivering a promo speech on the virtues of French language-study, addressed a British expatriate. Her would-be pupil asserted, however, that Geneva's shopkeepers are always happy to "switch over" to English for her. The manager countered that while French may not always be necessary, "learning the local language is a sign of respect when you're in a foreign country." Skeptical and unconvinced, the Expo patron left in a hurry, without response. "That's so *typical* of expats!" the owner exclaimed. In the "expat" domain, French appears as an onerous index of the "local" in a city otherwise known

for its internationalism and hospitality. As an expert in Geneva's expatriate settlement industry later explained to me, "integration is something you do if you want to."

This contrast—Maryam's vigilant dedication to language learning, the expatriate's expectation of linguistic accommodation—points to a paradox at the heart of "integration" policy, whereby those who most ardently excel in meeting the state's linguistic criteria for "integration" are also those whose integration is most closely scrutinized. This is a framework which erases or provincializes Maryam's "migrant" multilingual competences, while constructing Anglophone "expat" monolingualism as indexical of Geneva's cosmopolitanism and diversity.[45] How might we account for these contrasting dispositions to "national" languages? Critically, what policy ideologies of language, culture, and skills enable what can be described as the contrast between "migrants" and "expatriates," and their differential linguistic integration in cities like Geneva?

This chapter explores how the social categories of "migrant" and "expat" in Switzerland derive from a specific set of policy discourses in the 1990s. These mediated European political and economic shifts according to ideologies of differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000) that hinged on concepts of both "culture" and "skill." As analytic object, I focus on a particular federal policy model of and for (Geertz 1973) cultural differentiation which constructed immigrant "integration" in anticipation of Switzerland's own integration into European economic aims and aspirations. Known as the Three Circle Model, this federal schema for bordering the nation positioned various newcomers to Switzerland within different global zones of origin, differentiated by their degrees of "cultural distance" from Europe. In the wake of Switzerland's

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[45] Thanks to Julie Chu for bringing this to my attention.

2002 Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons (AFMP) with the European Union, however, this culturalized model of difference was replaced and, I argue, redirected into a discourse of "brain gain" which focused on recruiting skilled immigrants necessary to Swiss competitiveness in a globalized knowledge economy.

While the discursive transition from "culture" to "skills" suggests a shift to culturally neutral admission policies and discourses, this article argues that "culture" continues to shadow the register of "skills": policy discourse substituted "highly skilled" for "cultural proximity," while discourses on "low-skilled" newcomers re-iterated the qualities of "culturally distant" persons, constructed in terms of social risks which could be mitigated through language instruction. This paper concludes by arguing for attention to both transformations and continuities in how models of "integration" figure language: whether fashioned as a marker of cultural authenticity, or as an alienable and marketable competency on a skills-based economy, language is implicated in discourses of both pride and profit (Duchêne and Heller 2012) in ways that reveal its adaptability to seemingly irreconcilable logics of social differentiation.

Linguistic Regimentation, Stranger Relations

Scholarship within cultural and linguistic anthropology has long examined the social processes that regiment border-crossings and processes of migrant "integration." These works have variously shown how bureaucratized junctures of national exit and entry require migrants to evince evidentiary skill and expertise (Chu 2010); how aid institutions and humanitarian policies render migrants into ideal national subjects while delimiting the scope of migrant recognition (Giordano 2014; Ong 2003; Ticktin 2006); and how geopolitical shifts, such as EU accession, recruit citizens into the management of migrant difference (Fikes 2009). Holmes (2000) situates the turn towards migrant regulation and anti-immigrant sentiment in the accelerated circulation

of capital, goods, and people characteristic of "fast capitalism," and its dislocations; these revive counter-Enlightenment moral imperatives, often in ways that contravene traditional distinctions between a politics of the Left and Right (Van der Veer 2006). This growing trend in Western and Northern Europe is characterized by the mainstreaming of rhetoric around civilizational and "culture" wars—a response to crises of national sovereignty which imagines the state as a territorially and culturally-bounded national unit (Auslander 2000; Stolcke 1995).

Regimes of language figure prominently in the management of borders and mobility, as scholarship within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology has shown, shedding light on how the social, political, and economic positioning of the foreigner/stranger is mediated by language ideologies, or cultural systems of "ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989, 255). In particular, the longstanding and ubiquitious influence of the Romantic view (that nation, "people," and polity are coextensive) has been richly analyzed for how the ideal of the monoglot political community (Silverstein 2000, 1996) has shaped the immigrant verification and admission practices of modern nation-states (Blommaert 2009), and also informs frameworks for the protection of linguistic minorities in supra-national institutions such as the European Union and the United Nations (Gal 2006; Duchêne 2008).

An analytic focus on ideologies of language assumes particular salience in a European context where "cultural knowledge" testing and formal language requirements are rapidly becoming a key condition for (pre-)entry, territorial residency, and naturalization (Piller and Lising 2014; Pochon-Berger and Lenz 2014; Wodak 2012). To the extent that testing regimes are rationalized with respect to ideologies of language which oscillate between the poles of what Duchêne and Heller (2012) term "pride" and "profit"—language as index of cultural

"authenticity" vs. language as commodity, skill, or added-value in a competitive marketplace—it becomes crucial to examine how various conceptions of language correspond to various ideological constructions of "the foreigner." This article thus examines how various ideologies of language legitimize, and make self-evident, different stranger relations (Simmel 1971[1908]), and vice versa. Specifically, I attend to how recent migration and integration policies semiotically construct linguistic and social differentiation (Gal and Irvine 2000) in ways which create varying expectations and valences around language learning for "migrant" and "expatriate" social categories.

My analysis contributes to ongoing historical and critical reflection on the construction and emplacement of elite mobility. In her analysis of the "expatriate" in American legal and public discourse, Green (2009) historicizes the discursive transformations under which "expatriate" went from emphasizing national entry to departure. In the first half of the 19th century, the term encompassed the disenfranchised and landless class of U.S.-bound British emigrants, constructed as essential to American nation-building. With growing numbers of Americans abroad at the turn of the 20th century, however, the "expatriate" assumed pejorative undertones and was re-imagined as a subject of shifting allegiances and unsteady national loyalties. Present-day discourses of the "expatriate" as privileged traveler emerged fairly recently, in the mid-1960s. The "expat" constituted a key character in an emerging discourse on globalization, denoting members of an elite class sent abroad to represent multinational firms, and bearing a privileged status "complete with expense accounts and tax adjustments" (2009: 323). The "expat" has become an iconic emissary (2009: 325), constructed as a de-territorial cosmopolitan transient in celebratory narratives of unhampered global mobility. Polson's (2015) research on Anglophone expatriate circles in Paris demonstrates how elites employ strategies of

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digital emplacement via forums, chat rooms, and discussion boards to forge an abstracted "international" community which gives rise to face-to-face interactions, enabling internationals to "feel like locals." Adly (2011, 2013) likewise examines how virtual networking and state-sponsored welcome services create an "expat ethnoscape" for Geneva's multinational personnel, diplomats, and functionaries which facilitates the search for housing in an urban context of housing crisis. In Geneva, expatriate housing networks have created a parallel, high-cost, and high-turnover elite market which has deepened and exacerbated regional housing shortages, making "expat" integration the site of profound local ambivalence (Adly 2013): "expats" are both critical to Geneva's financial and diplomatic institutions, while criticized for passive, if not reluctant, social integration.

In his classic piece, Georg Simmel ([1908] 1971) argues that the sociological form of the stranger allows for a multiplicity of characterizations, synthesizing both nearness and remoteness, threat and value. My analysis thus builds on existing analyses of expatriate categories and emplacement strategies by examining the "expatriate" not in isolation, but as constitutive of a broader system of stranger relations under late capitalist conditions. As Leinonen (2012) highlights in her study of Americans in Finnish discourse, the figure of the "expat" is racialized, classed, and languaged in particular ways (envisaging a white, middle-class, Anglophone holding an advanced degree) which are relationally productive of other, often devalorized, categories of immigrant mobility. Vora (2012) likewise demonstrates how English blogs in the UAE constitute hierarchical expatriate, migrant, and citizen resident identities. Extending these reflections, I follow Fikes' (2009) assertion that an "assessment of neoliberal forms of regulation requires attention to social relationships and not specific subjects as a starting point for analysis" (2009, 10).

In the next section, I examine how concepts of intractable "cultural distance" emerged in Swiss migration policy during the 1990s in what was known as Switzerland's "Three Circle Model"—a short-lived but influential framework for national mobility management.

Picturing Proximity: Switzerland's Three Circle Model

That Maryam, at the beginning of this article, attributed her will to forget a culturalized past with her location in Europe's ostensible "heart" reflects a particular policy chronotope (Bakhtin [1937–8] 1981), revealing the inseparability of constructions of European space and culturalized persons in models of and for (Geertz 1973) bordering Switzerland. Known as the Three Circle Model (Fr. *le modèle des trois cercles,* Ger. *das Drei-Kreise-Modell*), it presented a model for mobility management via a model of cultural difference. Its categories both constituted and classified various kinds of mobile subjects, each bearing a particular territorial, economic, and cultural relationship to Switzerland.

With the signing of the 1985 Schengen Agreement, the delineation of the Schengen Area imagined a European space unmoored from internal borders in which the free circulation of products, people, and labor could constitute a unified and common market (Feldman 2012, 61). Schengen's dissolution of internal European borders reinforced the regulation of Europe's external frontier. The 1992 Treaty of the European Union (TEU) intensified the regulation of mobility across European borders, placing immigration (alongside criminal justice, law enforcement, and asylum) at the very heart the EU's third foundational legal pillar (Feldman 2012, 61). During this decade, the European Council proliferated guidelines towards a "harmonized" European migration policy and, not long after, the EU would articulate a commitment to creating "an area of justice, freedom, and security" during its 2004 Hague

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Programme (Caloz-Tschopp 2000; Feldman 2012).

In this context of policy harmonization, Switzerland's 1991 *Report of the Federal Council on Foreigner and Refugee Policy* (hereafter, the Report) anticipates the country's further integration into European processes of policy harmonization, and advances the Three Circle Model as means of regulating transnational flows into Switzerland. The Report notes that the nature of migration to Switzerland was irrevocably transformed in the 1990s, necessitating a new migration policy better suited to the challenges of a new decade (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 317). In this periodization, the economic boom, civil conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and recent geopolitical shifts throughout central and Eastern Europe had given rise to continued migratory flows into Switzerland during the 1980s, transforming its resident population (Riaño and Wastl-Walter 2006). With the discontinuation of the post-war rotational seasonal worker regimes of the 1970s—which severely limited the settlement and family reunification rights of recruited Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish labourers working in the construction, textile, machine manufacturing, and agricultural sectors after WWII—a growing number of former "guest" workers became permanent residents of Switzerland under a set of bilateral residency and settlement agreements introduced in the 1980s (2006, 9). The Report problematizes this increasing social diversification, reviving the demographic anxieties of Switzerland's post-war *Überfremdung* debates: uncontrolled immigration would threaten Swiss national identity, values, and "demographic policy" (1991, 316).[46] The Report calls for a profound reform of current migration policy in order to restore the country's upset demographic equilibrium; admission to Swiss territory would be made selective, recruitment-based, reflecting "European norms" (1991, 346) and the needs of the Swiss labor market.

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[46] All direct quotations from the Report are my own translations.

In particular, harmonizing Swiss and European policy—which "would finally result in the free movement of persons between Switzerland and the states of the EC and EFTA" (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 327)[47]—not only required making the Swiss labor market attractive and accessible to citizens of the European Community (Caloz-Tschopp 2000, 81), but also required Switzerland to systematically manage "growing migratory pressure... from the South towards the North, and the East towards the West," bringing persons from "faraway countries" (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 319) to Switzerland in search of employment. Fostering economic ties with Europe necessitated the regulation and "containment" of non-European immigration:

> If we give Europe priority, the room for maneuver will be limited in other domains of policy concerning foreigners and refugees. In all likelihood, [policy] will essentially be used to contain (*contenir*) increasing migratory pressure that presents itself in diverse ways from the South and the East. (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 346)

In this anticipatory policy climate, the Three Circle Model advanced a framework for the selective recruitment, admission, and entry of immigrants by differentiating three zones of transnational mobility into Swiss territory: an interior, middle, and external circle (Figure 1).
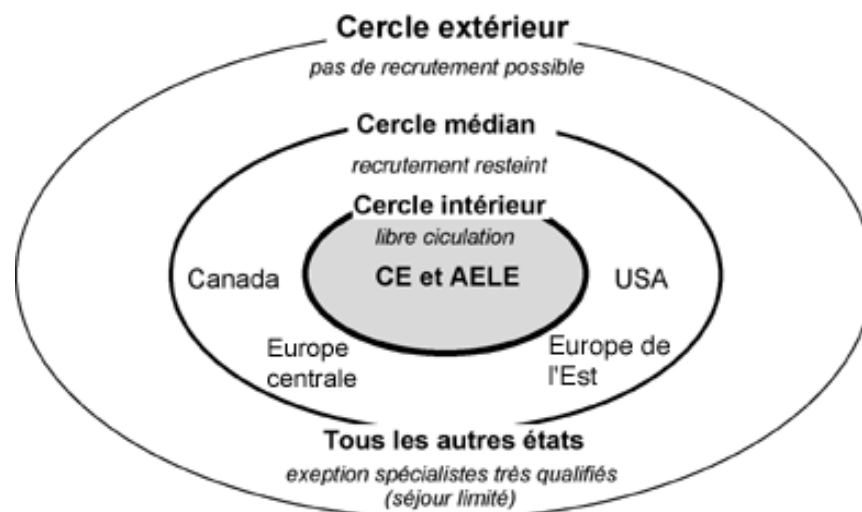
Figure 1: The Three Circle Model. SOURCE: Caloz-Tschopp (2000, 2004)

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[47] Established in 1960, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) forms a common market among four member states: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

These circles delineate a set of mutually exclusive categories: three global "zones" construct

three possibilities for mobility, and thus three categories of "immigrant":

> In the *interior circle* (free movement), which only includes EC and EFTA States, current limitations regarding foreigner policy and the labor market which affect the free movement of persons are progressively abolished.

> The *middle circle* (limited recruitment) includes countries which are part of neither the EC nor EFTA and are thus not part of the interior circle; we nonetheless hope to recruit labor there in the framework of a restrictive policy. In the current optic, the United States and Canada in particular belong to such countries. In the coming years, it will be possible to admit other states (principally from central Europe and Eastern Europe) into the middle circle. It will be important to facilitate the admission of a specially qualified workforce issuing from this circle. It should be possible to move towards administrative simplifications, to improve legal status, to assist with professional development and the integration of those concerned.

> The *external circle* (no recruitment, with the possibility of making exceptions) encompasses all other States. Nationals of the latter will only receive residence and work authorizations in exceptional cases. It will, however, be possible to relax this practice when needed in the case of highly qualified specialists wishing to carry out a stay of several years, but of a limited period in our country, while avoiding… brain drain (*la fuite des cerveaux*). (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 327–28, italics in original)

Each of the three concentrically constructed zones was linked to concrete administrative

measures to be taken over the next decade, envisaging differentiated access to both Swiss

territory and the labor-market. EU/EFTA residents of the *interior circle* were to have rights to

family reunification and the ability to change jobs or relocate within the country. They were also

to be accorded improved social insurance (foreign insurance coverage would be transferable to

the Swiss system); the recognition of their professional diplomas and certificates would be

facilitated; and the duration of their residence permits would be automatically extended (1991,

332). Residents from the *middle* zone (Canada, the U.S., and Central and Eastern Europe) were

to be subject to existing entry quotas and their recruitment would focus largely on "specialists in

the tertiary sector and highly qualified persons" (1991, 332) who anticipated relocating to

Switzerland "for several years, but during a limited period" (1991, 332). Meanwhile, no labor

recruitments were envisaged from the *external circle* beyond "exceptional cases" (1991, 333).

The concentrically represented borders that delineated the Three Circles were themselves animated and semiotically constructed employing ideologies of cultural "proximity" and "distance." These invoked the tropes of a Swiss social peace threatened by "distant" cultural values made proximate. The cultural proximity of a particular region hinged on the presence of political values consonant with Western liberal democracy: "the effective acknowledgment and respect of human rights in these countries," existing and "long-standing commercial and economic ties" with Switzerland, and "belonging… to the same culture (marked by European ideas in broad terms), given that their conditions of life are similar to ours" (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 328). This tripartite distinction was fractally recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000), repeating the proximal/distant contrast within each of the Three Circles: nations in the "distant" median and outer circles thus had the possibility of being repositioned and accorded "privileged treatment" (1991, 328) if their political and cultural systems demonstrated likeness with those of Switzerland.

EC and EFTA nationals, the model's inner circle citizens, were constructed as bearing both greater geographic and cultural proximity to Switzerland, and were thus figured as more easily integrated into the Swiss labor market and society (D'Amato 2010; Riaño and Wastl-Walter 2006). In contrast, persons from the external circle were characterized by cultural differences which would pose inevitable obstacles to social integration. Persons from these zones who sought permanent territorial settlement in the Switzerland were especially vulnerable. The Report attributed these difficulties to a generalized Swiss unfamiliarity with distant "Eastern" and "Southern" cultures, which would necessitate special integration measures:

Given that we must expect groups… originating from cultures that are lesser known to us (*qui nous sont moins connues*) to arrive in the context of South-North and East-West migrations, it is important to intensify the measures taken… to encourage this integration, and this at all levels of the state. We must, in particular, take prompt integration measures (*mesures ponctuelles*) with regard to persons issuing from cultures other than our own. (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 347)

In contrast to this "influx" of culturally distant, external-circle subjects seeking enduring settlement, EU and EFTA nationals were constructed as territorially transient persons. Their presence in Switzerland was characterized as not only self-limiting but as adding value, expertise, and skills to the Swiss economy. Three Circle discourse thus constructed EU and EFTA citizens as economically valued neighbors, culturally proximate and easily integrated. This ideology of territorial transience and cultural closeness exempts these privileged strangers from the purview of integration measures. EC and EFTA citizens need only "adapt":

An increasing number of foreigners will be staying, in the future, in our country for a limited time and with a provisional status (*titre provisoire*). Today, the number of nationals from member states of the EC and EFTA who do not intend to stay in our country for the long-term is increasing. The introduction of free movement will only reinforce this trend… It is important to formulate, for these persons, a social policy that, on one hand, is not based on integration but on adaptation to our living conditions and that, on the other hand, accommodates the possibility of return and encourages it. (Swiss Federal Council 1991, 347)

From its inception, the Three Circle Model fell under heavy criticism. It was criticized by civil and immigrant groups as well as Switzerland's Federal Commission against Racism, created in 1995 to fight "racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and right wing extremism" (Swissinfo 2006). These groups charged that the Three Circle policy institutionalized cultural, gender, and racial discrimination, and they collectively urged the federal government to improve the living conditions of Switzerland's migrant population (Riaño and Wastl-Walter 2006). The Three Circle Model would also be criticized by international Swiss firms whose economic

success relied on the recruitment of "Third World" info-tech expertise (Riaño 2003), and by

scholars arguing that the model instanced "neoliberal totalitarianism" (Caloz-Tschopp 2000).

The Signs of Skill: Integration and Brain Gain under the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons

While the Three Circle Model took on a peculiar afterlife,[48] in the years that followed, discourses

of "cultural distance" were replaced by an ostensibly neutralized discourse of "brain gain" and

"skills" on a knowledge-economy, constructing a hierarchical contrast between highly skilled

and low skilled foreigners. These hierarchies relied on several semiotic processes, made evident

in various key texts which I analyze here.

On June 21, 1999, Switzerland signed seven bilateral agreements with the European

Union, accepted by Swiss popular vote. The most consequential of these for migration policy

was the Bilateral Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons (AFMP). Entering into force in

June 2002, this agreement was intended to "make it easier for EU nationals to take up work and

settle in Switzerland" (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs 2013, 4). The AFMP dichotomized

Swiss migration policy and rhetoric, replacing the Three Circles of the early 1990s with a dual

circle admission system by 2004: the first circle encompassed EU/EFTA nationals whose

settlement and residency were legally privileged by the AFMP, while a second circle

encompassed non-EU/EFTA citizens whose entry and settlement would be governed by the

Foreign Nationals Act (FNA) and its integration policy. Migration policy discourse thus came to

explicitly distinguish between EU and EFTA citizens—to be accorded nearly equal employment,

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[48] While the Three Circles was officially abandoned by the Federal Council in 1998, this framework resurfaced in the context of the 1999 EU summit meeting in Tampere, Finland, which addressed common EU policies on migration and asylum. The summit's objective was to create a European space of "freedom, security, and justice"; it imagined the EU in terms of a concentric circular matrix (see Caloz-Tschopp 2000; 2004).

civil, and settlement rights as Swiss nationals—and "foreigners" (or "Third country nationals")

whose admission was to be limited to highly skilled exceptions.[49] This dual admission

framework instanced a politics of compromise: admitting only highly skilled "foreign" nationals

addressed right wing discourses concerning the preservation of Swiss national values while

reasserting the primacy of "brain gain" to national economic interests.

Under the AFMP's dual admission regime, discourses surrounding the settlement of

newcomers on Swiss territory redirected contentious notions of cultural "distance" and

"proximity" into a politically acceptable discourse of "skills" necessary for Swiss national

competitiveness. While invocations of "cultural distance" to characterize difficultly integrated

subjects disappears from policy discourse following the AFMP, I argue that the distinction

between easily and difficultly integrated strangers reappears as a distinction between "highly-

qualified" knowledge-workers and "low skilled" laborers.[50] "Low skilled" foreigners are, in

Switzerland's dual admission scheme, constructed in terms of specific social risks and

vulnerabilities which are mitigated by acquiring competences in Swiss national languages.

A look at Switzerland's 2014-2017 Cantonal Integration Program (CIP) reveals how

language is constructed as mitigating social risks occasioned by imputed skills deficits. The CIP

provides a framework for collaboration among the cantons and the Swiss Confederation, and

outlines a concrete set of strategic objectives for the three years under consideration.

Schematized as a structure supported by three pillars, the program is, from its outset, founded on

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[49] The refugee category is handled under Swiss Asylum law, independently of this dual admission system. This transition to a dual system also included a varied set of "transition periods" towards Free Movement for three categories of participating states: 1) the "old" 15 EU member states, Malta, Cyprus, and the EFTA states, 2) the 8 EU member states in Central and Eastern Europe, and 3) Bulgaria and Romania following accession in January, 2007 (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs 2013).

[50] The Federal Office for Migration (2008) identifies low skilled workers as those in "the construction industry, the hotel and catering industry or in agriculture" while "highly-qualified personnel" are employed in the areas of "commerce, management, health, [and] technology" (8).

an exception which differentially positions EU/EFTA citizens vis-à-vis Swiss national languages: EU/EFTA citizens, by law, cannot be obligated to undergo integration measures. The second pillar concerns language skills in particular. Titled "Language and formation, work," the second pillar calls for foreigners to develop "knowledge of a national language necessary for daily communication, …appropriate to their professional context" (Bureau de l'intégration des étrangers 2013, 30). Geneva's cantonal program, for instance, links language skills to migrant employability, framing language as the principle condition for "social and professional integration," access to services and information, and the exercise of certain rights (30). This action plan identifies several foreigner populations, defined in terms of social vulnerabilities linked to skills deficits: migrant women (with or without children), recently arrived adolescents with difficulties integrating into the public school system, low-income earners, and migrants with learning difficulties, attributed to either low levels of formal education in the home country or past psychological trauma (31).

The use of "skills" as an axis of social difference reflects semiotic processes of erasure and fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). The skill deficit/highly-qualified dichotomy is not only used to distinguish between low-skilled Third State "foreigners" (migrants) and credentialed EU/EFTA citizens (expatriates) but also distinguishes among differently skilled Europeans. The recursivity of differently skilled personae appears in *European Nationals in Switzerland* (2013), published by Switzerland's Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, which features the images and personal integration narratives of various EU/EFTA nationals. The cover of the publication features a full-colour image of three EU nationals, their business attire indexing the possession of knowledge-based qualifications. The publication's settlement stories further typify differently "qualified" kinds of persons. The narrative of "Barbara Kunert," a German communications

manager employed by a Zurich-based insurance company, pictures her in a grey business suit, seated at a white desk. Her bright white-walled office overlooks a glass building in the distance, a setting which iconically represents her knowledge-based expertise. In the inset of the page, she describes her ease of integration: "I feel like I belong to Swiss society. I read newspapers and am always interested in what's going on in my adopted homeland" (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs 2013, 9). Her story of seamless incorporation rests on a pre-supposed facility in standard German, an official language of communication in Switzerland. The view that High German grants automatic integration erases, however, the presence of regional, non-standardized Swiss-German dialects which, in other contexts, have been characterized as a "language barrier" for standard German speakers (Flubacher 2013; Lüdi 2008) when not altogether framed as a source of "culture shock" (Büchi 2013), inciting heated debates about linguistic accommodation.

English-speakers bearing knowledge-based qualifications are likewise constructed as easily integrated without linguistic intervention. The publication dedicates a page to "Pawel Pelczar," a Polish scientist who heads the Transgenic and Reproductive Technologies research team at Zurich's Institute of Laboratory Animal Science. Pictured in a laboratory with high-powered microscopes, his settlement story connects ease of integration to an academic skillset which includes fluency in an international language of scientific communication: "As a participant in an official doctoral programme, I was granted a residence permit without any problem… I didn't speak a single word of German at the time. Fortunately, English was spoken at the Institute" (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs 2013, 11).

While constructing the figure of the highly-qualified knowledge-worker, the publication also features the story of "Marco Paulo Dos Santos Faria Pereira," a Portuguese butcher employed in a livestock slaughterhouse in the bilingual canton of Fribourg. Marco Paulo's

narrative places his Southern European labor migrant status in an indexical relationship with skills deficits: his migration narrative emphasizes that he was hired not on the basis of individual credentials or experience but personal connections (the help of a brother-in-law employed at the same site). Marco is pictured standing in a bustling processing plant, donning the characteristic white coat, hairnet, and metal glove of the slaughterhouse employee. While he says that he was granted a residence permit "without any problem thanks to the free movement of persons" (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs 2013, 15), Marco Paulo's employment is constructed as not only the result of contingency and luck, but his social integration is framed as significantly dependent on language-learning—in this case, developing fluency in the *two* official languages of his canton. Speaking of his family, Marco is quoted: "we are all very well integrated in our community. I am now fluent in French and recently, I started attending intensive German courses" (15).

In both the Cantonal Integration Program and *European Nationals in Switzerland*, integration is thus framed as mitigating social risks attributed to low skilled (migrant) populations while constructing the integration of highly skilled newcomers (expatriates) as facilitated and non-reliant on language competences. Fittingly, the emergence of the concept of "integration" in federal discourse in the late 1990s was both consistent with, and reinforced, the AFMP's dual admission politics: requiring language skills for the integration of persons from outside the two-circle zone effectively legitimized limiting Third country admissions to highly-skilled persons (Conférence Tripartite sur les Agglomerations 2009, 6).

Conclusion

On February 9, 2014, a slim (50.3%) majority of the Swiss public voted in favor of the popular initiative to end "mass immigration" to Switzerland, launched by the Swiss People's Party (SVP), once again transforming Swiss migration policy. To be implemented over three years, the initiative introduced significant legal transformations: it placed annual limits and quotas on immigration, restricted family reunification and access to social benefits, and ensured that Swiss residents have "national preference" in matters of employment, requiring the re-negotiation of Swiss adherence to the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons. In the SVP's campaign, growing numbers of both Third-country nationals as well as EU citizens in Switzerland were problematized as generating a set of social ills in ways that appear to render irrelevant the migrant-expat distinction; from higher rates of unemployed Swiss, to overcrowded roads and trains, to mounting rents and the loss of agricultural land, "foreigners" as a whole were framed as compromising Swiss society and economy.

While it remains to be seen how this new immigration politics will transform the "migrant-expat" dichotomy in the coming years in discussions of integration, it is revealing that the SVP campaign re-iterates some of the discursive dynamics explored here. The campaign argued, among other positions, that mass immigration deepened existing social cleavages among various foreigners with deleterious effects on Swiss society: highly-skilled European expats outcompeting Third-country nationals on the Swiss job market, the SVP argued, resulted in more persons turning to the Swiss social system, criminality, and abuses of Swiss asylum channels. The SVP thus restaged migrant-expat difference: the highly-qualified "expat" aggravates and exacerbates a latent set of migrant precarities. One found, further, a melding of discourses of both pride and profit in the SVP argument that Switzerland suffers from "a loss of cultural

identity in the leadership of our businesses" (*une perte de l'identité culturelle à la tête de nos entreprises*).[51] Critically, the legal changes placed even greater emphasis on ensuring that persons settling in Switzerland really possess the "capacity to integrate."

As Zygmunt Baumann (1995) writes, "all societies produce strangers; but each kind of society produces its own kind of strangers, and produces them in its own inimitable way" (1995, 1). For Baumann, strangers transgress a particular "cognitive, moral, or aesthetic map of the world" (1). In this chapter, I have examined the Three Circle Model as one such "world map," the historical and political circumstances of its emergence, the various stranger relations produced by it, and its shifting vocabularies of differentiation. My analysis suggests that the appearance of "skills" in Swiss integration discourse keeps intact and coexists with prior logics of "cultural distance." Discourses of both "culture" and "skills" constructed Europe's borders as self-evident and *a priori* (Caloz-Tschopp 2000, 74). As a temporal orientation, the AFMP, like the Three Circles, anchored the urgency of mobility-management to a prosperous future—a unified European space of unhampered mobility and exchange. In their respective policy contexts, both "skill" and "culture" discursively rendered the Swiss border a selectively permeable membrane, enabling the entry of certain kinds of strangers, while making difficult or ruling out the passage of others. The emphasis on attracting "highly qualified" persons not only continued, extended, and revived the border-maintenance work of "culture," but arguably allowed "culture" a new and more politically correct discursive medium.

The differential linguistic regimentation of expats and migrants is enabled not only by different categories of person, then, but by ideologies of national language that envisage what language can do (and ought to) for various kinds of speakers along a pride-profit continuum

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[51] Taken from *Oui à l'initiative populaire «contre l'immigration de masse.* (http://www.immigration-massive.ch/)

(Duchêne and Heller 2012). The "expatriate" is constructed as a global knowledge-worker, an agent who evades territorial emplacement and nationalizing linguistic regimes. Brain gain discourse arguably requires this typification, constructing a set of stranger relations in which territorial transience, knowledge-based qualifications, and linguistic ambivalence imbue the expatriate with "profitability." These logics reveal, further, the special status accorded to English—its centrality to processes of neoliberal market expansion and its mythos as lingua franca which contribute to lessening the linguistic pressures on "expats." In contrast, the "migrant" is constructed in terms of skills deficits which legitimize the state's role in instilling autonomizing aptitudes, whether in the form of national languages and/or contingently valued "soft" communication skills (Allan 2016). These logics of integration are expressed in Maryam's determination to master more than one "national" language. This multilingualism is framed for Maryam as "profitable," enabling her to widen her networks, enhance her employability, and overcome legal contingency. At the same time, language learning is also the site of an attempt to nationalize the migrant's cultural particularity: that Maryam equates learning French with a self-directed injunction to forget "culture" suggests that both "skill" and "culture" collude in current discourses of linguistic integration.

Swiss migration policy provides a particularly clear example of much broader processes of mobility-stratification. With the globalized intensification of both elite and "migrant" mobility under late capitalist conditions and crises, Swiss migration policy draws critical attention to how emergent frameworks of diversity and "integration" implicate language in processes of border-making. Language and migration policies are instrumental in reproducing states of permanent contingency among migrant and laborer populations in ways deemed socially acceptable (Piller and Lising 2014), and their ideologies of "multilingualism" mediate programs of

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responsibilization and personal development that (re)produce hierarchies among multilingual

repertoires (Gal 2012). It thus remains critical to examine how policies construct and stratify

various skills, speakers, competences (and "cultures"), rendering migrant precarity an artefact of

the very social, legal, and linguistic orders that "integrate."

Welcome

The Migrant Center is, not unlike other sites in the city, Geneva's local cosmopolis. The school faces a lively stone lot which, on regular days, might host a market for regional growers, or provide a concert venue for buskers and local musicians. Just adjacent is the *maison du quartier* (community center)—a tiny, single-story structure with an ornately carved roof in the style of a classic Swiss chalet where neighbourhood residents regularly socialize, take yoga classes, and attend various workshops. The school's academic year begins on pre-registration day which happens in December, in the thick of Swiss winter. On this day, the school, located on the city's Right Bank, becomes a flurry of activity. A dense crowd forms outside its doors; with over a hundred people gathered, many of them administratively defined "foreigners" (*étrangers*) according to cantonal and national categorization, this small, cobble-stoned corner of the city appears the meeting place of a sudden world forum. Some are huddled in smoking circles against the cold, waiting for the crowd to dissipate before hazarding a trip inside. Most prefer to keep warm, however, and are resolutely attempting to queue up indoors in snaking lines that seem only to lead back to the exit. To pass the time, some talk with the companions who have accompanied them. Others retreat into cellphone touch-screens. A woman retrieves cookies and juice for her infant sitting in his stroller, bundled in layers of fleece. The school's single glass reception window is tiny, my view of it mostly occluded. A mix of sighs, quiet exasperation, and impatience is evident throughout—no one is sure of how long the pre-registration wait will be, and the uncertainty has made people impatient for their turn.

At 9:15 am, the two receptionists working the welcome window are frantic. With every new arrival, they hastily ask the same question: "morning, afternoon, or evening classes?" (*matin, apres midi, ou le soir?*). A tri-coloured paper shows registrants the three class-schedules

available; once they select a time-slot, the receptionist hands them a little coloured ticket corresponding to their choice—red for morning classes, yellow for afternoon, and blue for evening. Once there, each registrant gives their name to take the school's placement test. This triage is slow, proceeding by fits, starts, and acts of mediation. Pre-registration marks each student's very first point of contact with the school and its system of order—today, "welcome" consists of positioning bodies into one of three queues.

"You have to line up over there!" (*il faut faire la queue là-bas!),* one receptionist keeps repeating, addressing a confused man holding a red ticket whose understanding of the directive is not helped by her insistence on repeating it louder. Another registrant is determined to pay for her course now to secure her spot, pulling a franc billfold from her wallet. The receptionist explains that no payments are accepted on pre-registration day. "The course costs 100 francs, you pay in January when you do the test," she says (*ça coute 100 CHF, vous payez au mois de janvier quand vous faites le test*). Another woman steps up to the window and says, in English, "I can't speak French at all." The receptionist tells her, "bring 100 francs, a picture, and a pen for the test." She's followed by a Spanish-speaking couple who step up to the reception. The woman explains, for her husband, that he would like to pre-register for a night class, but was given a ticket to line up for the afternoon queue. Tearing a strip of blue paper off of her roll, the receptionist hands them a new ticket and the couple walks away, knowing that their wait has been prolonged. The subtle anxiety running through the room suggests that spots are scarce: people have come prepared today, bringing snacks, interpreters, and emissaries in their absence. Squeezing my way to the reception window, I ask if all the people here are pre-registering for the school's French language classes, under its well-known French-integration program. "Yes," the

receptionist answers with a puzzled look. "What language do you want?" (*vous voulez quelle langue?*).

Today's pre-registrants for The Migrant Center's French-integration program must return on the school's official registration day in January, when they will be assessed by one of the school's French instructors. Then, the small corner-cafeteria will be turned into an examination room. There, registrants will be questioned by a French teacher and will complete a written, multiple choice test to assess their knowledge of French grammar. Both tests will be evaluated and a proficiency assignment given on the spot, the number of correct answers made to correspond to one of four levels of French instruction offered by the school. State forms of identification are not necessary to enroll in The Migrant Center; a recent photograph, a name, a commune of residence, and country of origin are the few and falsifiable forms of data needed to assemble the class rosters. 100 CHF covers a year in the integration program. Classes begin in mid-January.

CHAPTER THREE

The "Culture" of Hospitality: Popular Education and French-Integration in Geneva

At first sight, the place I call The Migrant Center appears to be an educational institution like any other. As a learning center, the school's intake, registration, and assessment practices resemble those found in other formalized systems. The school's three-story building is made up of administrative offices, a library and cafeteria, a basement assembly hall, and classrooms. There, students take lessons seated at communal tables, and teachers take attendance, assigning photocopied worksheets for homework. Each classroom has a wide window looking out onto the neighboring streets, and is well-supplied with the familiar equipment of pedagogy: a computer projector, a chalkboard, and white dry-erase panels accompanied by assortments of felt markers, their inks in different stages of fade out. Even the stairwell leading to the second floor is didactic, displaying an oversized map of Geneva's city center rendered on the walls in orange. On the third floor, a black-framed map of Switzerland displays the country's four language regions, colour-coded alongside images of the crests of the 26 Swiss cantons. The center's cafeteria is familiar; it is the meeting place where students are often seen catching up on news and gossip, comparing answers on homework assignments, or solitarily enjoying a coffee and the paper. The building's janitor, from Portugal, begins her rounds at around 9:30 pm on weekday nights, when evening classes conclude and the building empties out for the day.

A closer look, however, reveals The Migrant Center as a unique and self-consciously alternative educational space. The school is an established and well-known Leftist institution in the region and is a fixture in Geneva's labour history. At various periods, the school operated under multiple generations of Socialist direction, and, for over a century, it served as a

headquarters for Geneva's union and syndicate meetings. To this day, union representatives receive their legal training there, and protestors still assemble on school grounds before marches and demonstrations. It is best known for its mission of democratizing knowledge, and was conceived as an institutional relay between the 19th century figure of the "worker" (*ouvrier-/ouvrière*), higher education, and Geneva's "cultural" scene. It employs a model of what is known in the area as "popular education" (*éducation populaire*).

Continuity with this mission is currently seen in the school's best-known program—its French-integration curriculum. Where the 21st century "worker" has increasingly come to be conceived as a migrant, French-integration is no longer merely concerned with mediating knowledge to manage class relations; it is also bound up in the management of cross-border and social mobilities. The students served by the French-integration program at the time of my research were, in the majority, administratively defined "foreigners" (*étrangers*). This legal category includes migrants present in Geneva on work or residency permits but without Swiss passports; Swiss-born children of migrant parents; as well as a significant public of undocumented and precariously residing persons.[52] Migrant students held varied and precarious relationships to "work" and settlement; their conditions ranged from long-term unemployment, being in between jobs, retirement, full- and part-time work on Geneva's grey and black labour markets[53] (the case for many administratively recognized refugees who, at the time of my fieldwork, were excluded from legal employment), and full-time job search for the purposes of

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[52] This is a complex residency spectrum not conveyed by terms like *sans papiers.*

[53] A teacher at the Migrant School once explained that while "black market" (*marché noir*) was often used to denote any form of undeclared labour—and could thus be performed by Swiss and foreigner alike—the "grey market" (*marché gris)* described otherwise legal work performed by persons not legally authorized to reside in Switzerland (*sejour irregulier*). The "grey worker" (*travailleur au gris*) often has work authorization and mandatory health insurance coverage, but lacks a regularized residency status. This teacher also mentioned that, because the school does not ask for identification papers during registration, it is difficult to give exact numbers of the school's undocumented population.

renewing a residency document. What migrant-students shared, however, was the common condition of having their possibilities for social and cross-border mobility structured by the state and policy view that speaking "French" was the key and pre-requisite for their social, cultural, and economic integration into Geneva.

This curriculum translates Integration policy in interesting ways. As a site of "integration," the program strives to acquaint Geneva's migrant worker public with local cultural institutions and forms of knowledge. The "lessons" happen both inside and outside of school walls. So, while students learn French vocabulary and the verb tenses in the classroom, they also attend Geneva's plays and concerts, go to the opera and the cinema, visit galleries, and take alpine hikes in the winter to chalets serving cheese fondue. This curriculum employs an unofficial system for classifying French language competences, eschewing the Common European Framework for Languages (CEFR), employed by both the EU and the Swiss state, in favour of competency categories which correspond only obliquely: "beginner", "pre-elementary," "elementary," and "advanced." Upon completing a given class, migrants do not receive a CEFR-compliant certificate, but a general attestation (*attestation*) which serves more as a moral marker—acknowledging attendance, participation, and "good will"—than an objectified measure of skill. In other words, the school participates in and enacts the state's Integration policy, but it does so obliquely and sometimes at cross purposes; it shares a focus on linguistic-cultural education while translating and refracting state logics according to its own institutional systems of valuation.

Just as students do not receive "official" credentials from the school, nor do instructors require them. The Migrant Center offers its own grassroots training module for teacher-education; it is open to the public and can be taken free of charge. This training—consisting of

several months of weekly meetings—is offered on the condition and hope that trainees come

back to the school and service its curriculum. Indeed, the majority of the school's staff lesson-

plan, research, instruct, organize events, and organize outings on a purely voluntary basis, in the

absence of material remuneration. Without this ongoing voluntary contribution and commitment,

I was often told by teachers and learners alike, the entire French-integration curriculum would

collapse. While students were asked, at the time of my research, to pay 100 CHF for access to a

year's worth of classes and activities at the Migrant Center, I was informed that the majority of

operation and building costs were partially defrayed by public and other funds.[54] I was told by

the French-integration program administrator that this 100 CHF amount, like the hours of unpaid

labour of volunteer teachers, was purely "symbolic." As I discuss in a later chapter (Chapter 5),

the school is a locus of claims about the incommensurability of welcome work and paid

compensation.

In this chapter, I attempt to historicize this statement on the "symbolic" nature of

teaching and learning. I will discuss the "moral history" which has shaped The Migrant Center

and its integration curriculum, and I ask, what concepts of education, language, difference, and

hospitality have informed this "foreigner"-oriented curriculum and institution, its ethics of

voluntarism? How do present-day actors reconcile and commensurate the school's Leftist

politics and legacy with regimentation practices that often align, uncomfortably, with neoliberal

state frameworks for mobility management? To address these questions, this chapter traces two

intertwined genealogies: 1) the school's institutional commitment to a concept of "popular"

education, and in particular, the importance given to "culture" (in the aesthetic sense) as an agent

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[54] The school receives funding from various public bodies: Geneva's Department of Education, Culture, and Sport, the cantonal branch responsible for administering public education, and the cantonal Foreigner Integration Bureau.

of social cohesion, and 2) constructions of the French language which view it as an ideal vehicle not only for Reason itself but for migrant social mobility and the management of "cultural" (now in the anthropological sense) difference and (in)hospitality. The aim of this historical discussion is to show how concepts of education, "culture," the French language, and signification/communication converge and are made moral in the school's institutional imagination. These are the histories, I hope to show, by which educators forge and imagine a specific ethical-moral world—a hospitable social order where teachers constitute themselves, the French language, and an overarching Genevan ethos, in the virtuous terms of reception and welcome.

Popular Education (*Éducation Populaire*) in Geneva

Celebrating its 100th anniversary in 2010, the Migrant Center had its institutional beginnings in the late 19th century, a period of worker mobilization in Switzerland and throughout Europe which saw the establishment of Geneva's earliest public institutions of worker education (Weber 1987). The model of "popular education," the school's enduring political-pedagogical framework, encompasses concepts of class struggle and entails the project of equalizing educational opportunities for the "popular" classes (the worker, the unemployed) through the democratization of knowledge (*connaissance*) and culture (*culture*)—namely, the arts and sciences.

Programs of "popular" education are the inheritor of Enlightenment ideals—early programs of educational democratization saw mass education as a means for individual development, collective improvement, and class rapprochement. The Enlightenment emphasis on the individual as a voluntary, daring, and reasoning agent, and on the collective emancipatory

potential of public reason was brought to bear on distinctly late 19th century pre-occupations in early frameworks for worker education. In France, for instance, the "popular" university had its beginnings with the turn-of-the-century Dreyfus Affair. The Affair's attendant crisis of bourgeois governance foregrounded the renewed role of "the people" as agent of social transformation, emphasizing the importance of education in combatting anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice (Mercier 1986). Reflecting Socialist and Republican coalition, France's first popular universities focused on educating the working classes in humanist culture and positivist science (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 68) and reflected the quite divergent aims of those who sought to reform French Republicanism, those who sought to reinforce the existing order, and those who saw in popular education the promise of the social Republic (Mercier 1986, 38).

In turn-of-the-century Geneva, the emergence of popular education reflected a concern with creating well-rounded, competent, and "competitive" workers at a transitional period when Geneva's watch-making economy—that industry of time-discipline which enabled the synchronization of labour under a bourgeoning industrial capitalism (Thompson 1967)—was slowly giving way to the development of other industrial branches, and when the formation of the Swiss federal state in 1848 made the protection and development of domestic industry a pressing concern. Discourses on popular education thus initially expressed middle-class concerns about rendering workers more effective in their professional and technical domains (Gregoletto 2007), and relied on collaboration with dominant middle-class educational institutions.

Frameworks for popular education also arguably reflected what E.P. Thompson (1967) discusses in the English case as the leisured classes' discovery of the "problem" of the leisure of the masses (90), reflective of a new orientation to the "husbandry of time" (88) concomitant with the development of an industrialized economy. Where time became currency, the worker's

leisure hours could either be well-spent or "wasted." Or, as Thompson writes: "In mature

capitalist society all time must be consumed, marketed, put to *use*; it is offensive for the labour

force merely to 'pass the time'" (90). This concern with rendering the worker's leisure-time

productive was captured, for instance, in the 1868 stone-laying ceremony of the University of

Geneva's *Bastions* building during which Geneva's municipal authorities emphasized the

significance of worker education, citing the importance of "popular courses from which the

masses come to draw practical and true ideas" (Weber 1987; des cours populaires où la masse

vienne puiser des notions pratiques et vraies).

The development of "popular" education in Geneva occurred in tandem with the

development of public education in the canton, more broadly. In 1872, public education in

Geneva became obligatory for all children between the ages of 6 and 13; the importance of

popular education as a later supplement to this compulsory period of schooling was reaffirmed in

the following years.[55] In 1873, M.B. Dussaud wrote as regent of Geneva's *Collège de Genève*—

now the canton's prestigious *Collège de Calvin*, founded in 1559 by Jean Calvin—for the *Société*

pédagogique de la Suisse romande on the significance of popular education as a counterweight

to the worker's "specialized" practical skill set. For Dussaud, endowing workers with general

knowledge or general culture (*culture générale*) enabled industrial development while also

inoculating the working class against economic hardship:

> We are arguing that every jeweler or engraver should be capable of being a draughtsman
> in any industry, that each watchmaker should be a mechanic, etc. General knowledge
> accompanied by specialized work—that is what will make the worker skilled, what will
> develop industry and make it progress. We were able to appreciate the power of
> education… during the terrible crisis [civil war] of 1847–48. How many workers never
> returned to their tools! Jewelers became sculptors, potters, pattern makers; watchmakers
> and engravers became assistants, bookkeepers, etc… Why did these men better weather

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[55] Writing in 1861, Matthew Arnold noted that state expenditures on public education were much higher in the
canton of Geneva than in Vaud, where efforts to introduce compulsory education were unsuccessful (families, he
explained, preferred for children to work in industry rather than attend school).

the storm, suffering less from the harshness of the times than a good number of their fellow citizens? Because they possessed a general culture that permitted them to leave the profession that abandoned them and embrace another. (cited by Menn 1873, 720–21, my translation)[56]

In addition to advancing this 19th century vision of worker flexibility, popular education was, critically, a political response to growing class conflict. In 1866, the 1st General Congress of the International Workingmen's Association took place in Geneva, drawing together trade union and activist delegates from across Europe.[57] Nine years later, the city of Geneva began a social project of knowledge democratization, sponsoring free and public courses under the auspices of the *Fondation Bouchet* (after Genevan philanthropist, Pierre-Paul Bouchet) on topics of hygiene, political economy, geography, and geology. By 1883, the foundation was renamed the *Academie Professionnelle*, and had opened its doors to Genevan, Confederate, and foreign labourer alike, while giving the school a more "practical" and professional orientation (Gregoletto 2007).[58] By 1892, three University of Geneva professors (zoologist René Claparède, biologist Emile Yung, and Swiss anthropologist Eugène Pittard) collaborated with students to form the Student Association for the Popular Sciences (*Association des étudiants pour les sciences populaires*)

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[56] "Nous dirons que tout bijoutier ou graveur doit pouvoir être dessinateur pour n'importe quelle industrie, que tout horloger doit être mécanicien, etc. Des connaissances générales et un travail spécial, voilà ce qui fera l'ouvrier habile, ce qui développera l'industrie et la fera progresser. Nous avons pu apprécier la puissance de l'instruction…lors de la terrible crise de 1847–48. Combien d'ouvriers n'ont pas repris leurs outils! Des bijoutiers sont devenus sculpteurs, potiers, modeleurs; des horlogers et des graveurs se sont faits commis, comptables, etc… Pourquoi ces hommes-là ont-ils mieux résisté à l'orage et moins souffert de la dureté des temps que bon nombre de leurs concitoyens? Parce qu'ils avaient une culture générale qui leur a permis de se passer de la profession qui les quittait et d'en embrasser une autre."

[57] The 1866 Congress is notable for making the universal introduction of the 8 hour work day a key goal of the International Socialist Movement.

[58] In 1883, Geneva's Administrative Council outlined the goals of the *Academie Professionnelle* as site of popular education: "to provide workers the means to improve their general education and to expand their professional knowledge, to popularize [render accessible] the scientific concepts most useful to industry and commerce and to better acquaint workers with national history, principles of political economy, and common and constitutional legislation (cited by Gregoletto 2007, my translation*).*

which received public funding to host a series of free and open-to-the-public conferences. Drawing influences from Anglo-Saxon models of popular education, the initiative was rooted in a bourgeois philanthropic tradition which strived to quell conflict and foster class rapprochement by bringing the university to the workers.

After this lecture-series was cancelled in 1893 on account of low turnout, Geneva's Socialist Worker's party (*Parti Socialiste Ouvrier)* initiated a free program of public classes and lectures in 1901.[59] Without a stable building, initial meetings were said to have taken place in the main room of a tavern not far from the University of Geneva. 1905, however, is often cited as the unofficial birth year of the institution I call The Migrant Center; it is when, under the direction of Geneva's Socialist Worker's party, the school first opened its doors, supported by funding from the city and the state of Geneva, and was headed by a Zurich-born socialist deputy (who had been active in the general strike of just three years prior). 1910 is, however, more commonly cited as the school's official founding year. This institutional emergence followed on the collaboration of Geneva's professional associations and syndicates, Geneva's Socialist Party, and the philanthropic middle-classes: the Federation of Worker's Organizations funded the school's initial printing costs; the city of Geneva allowed for the use of the main hall of a local watch-making school; and the Department of Public Education paid for the electrical cost of screen projections. Courses continued through the interwar years, with a growing public.

The immediate post-war years saw a series of dramatic transformations to the school's organization and programming which, under several generations of Socialist leadership, led to the development of the institution's current three-sector structure. The first sector consisted of

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[59] Switzerland's first general strike took place just a year later, in 1902, led by employees of the Geneva Electric Tramway Company (CGTE) when CGTE directors reversed a decision to accord employees a salary-raise. Alfred Didier, Head of the Department of Justice and Police, cited the presence of "foreign anarchists" to justify the city's military response (Bailat 2010, 8).

night classes, large public assemblies, and guided excursions on various topics in the arts and sciences. The 1950s saw the introduction of a second sector, dedicated to the training and formation of trade union and syndicate members, in alignment with the school's mission of "educating militants" (*former les militants*). Administrators went as far as negotiating "worker education days" with local managers and public authorities.[60] By 1961, the school developed a third sector for "foreign workers" (*travailleurs étrangers/étrangères*) which offered both free French-language instruction and literacy education in migrant and heritage languages. The sector emerged as part of a literacy and "alphabetization" (*alphabétisation*) initiative for Geneva's growing migrant public, the majority of whom were Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese workers arriving under the Swiss post-war rotational labor recruitment regime. By 1968, French language courses were extended to a working public from Turkey, the Czech Republic, and the Balkan countries, and the third sector developed into the school's largest. For lack of a stable venue, it was not uncommon for early volunteer instructors to give classes in the homes of migrant workers. Throughout the 20th century, the school hosted its meetings, talks, and seminars in sites which included Geneva's watchmaking school, a community hall, the headquarters of the Union of syndicates of the canton of Geneva, and the building of Geneva's Federation of Workers in Metallurgy and Watchmaking.

The school's current location, in a historically working-class district on the Right Bank of Geneva, marks its most recent institutional site. Designed in the 1980s and constructed in 1994, the current building was imagined as a multi-functional zone. The school shares space with a

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[60] The period saw broad shifts in Swiss labor relations and social welfare: between 1930 and 1955, the number of collective labour agreements in Switzerland steeply increased, necessitating a supplementary formation for trade union and syndicate members. This period concomitantly brought the postwar development of the Swiss welfare state, during which trade unions both benefitted from post-war economic growth and were active in promoting welfare state development (Ebbinghaus and Visser 1999, 143).

housing complex, a small movie theatre, and a restaurant. The complex was jointly financed by an automobile worker's association and Geneva's *Grand Conseil,* while the school was later furnished and equipped with a credit from the Geneva-based Pictet & Cie private banking group. Following construction, the center was recognized as an important institution of adult and continuing education by the state; funding was increased and the first working contract between the school and the state of Geneva was established in 2007. The center currently receives funding from the cantonal Department of Public Instruction, the city of Geneva, trade unions and co-operatives, and it operates in partnership with a number of Genevan communes. At the time of my research, the school's promotional literature cited some key figures: it served 6,000 students representing over 100 nationalities, and deployed over 250 volunteer instructors who provided over 17,000 annual hours of instruction.

The institution I call The Migrant Center, then, is a key node of Genevan social life and a local ethos of hospitality. Its activities bridge political, charitable, and civic domains, and its educational sectors offer, on the very same school grounds, training in labour law and collective agreements for trade union delegates and elected labour court judges as well as math classes for unemployed adults and youth. The French-integration program is thus part of The Migrant Center's broader pedagogy of mobilization—it is a key translational site at which state categories and concepts of both "French" and "integration" are institutionally translated into an ethics of solidarity. One animating concept that enables this translational work is the concept of "general culture" (*culture générale*), to which I now turn.

Culture générale and the Cultivated Worker

> Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier.
> –Pierre Bourdieu, *A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*

Efforts to integrate newcomers in Switzerland have come to include practices which aim to acquaint migrants with aspects of what was commonly referred to in Geneva as "general culture." Integration, in other words, was partly enacted via visits to museums, the opera, the theatre, and art galleries; it encompassed lessons around how to identify spaces as properly "cultural," how to comport oneself in those spaces, how to appropriate the aesthetic objects in question, how to speak about them, how, even, to sense and seize them. Why and how did codes of cultural appropriation become a key concern in the integration of migrants? In this section, I reflect on the fraught uptake, by worker solidarity movements such as The Migrant Center, of the historically middle-class concept of "culture." Where the migrant is conceived of as a "worker," a concern with culture reflects classed pre-occupations with processes of social reproduction. Namely, where knowledge of "general culture" could confer social distinction, there was moral store in democratizing cultural codes and knowledge. Culture, in other words, was one arena where classed logics of distinction were made commensurate with an ethics of solidarity.

As scholars have variably shown (Bourdieu 1984, 2007; Elias 2000; Frykman and Löfgren 1987), concerns about "culture"—in the senses of both aesthetic objects and production and good taste pertaining to them—played a crucial role in the self-definition of the European middle-class and in attendant processes of state formation and nation-building.[61] As Frykman and Löfgren (1987) point out, "culture" constitutes a relational concept by which the bourgeoisie historically constructed itself in opposition to both aristocratic and popular classes—constructed

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[61] I here use *bourgeoisie* and *middle-class* interchangeably.

vis-à-vis an absent or problematic relationship to culture—and by which the political ascent of the middle-class was legitimated.

The link between culture and middle-classness was made prominent in Switzerland, a national context that saw the middle-class' rapid rise to political prominence with the establishment, on liberal democratic principles, of the Swiss federal state in 1848. For historians, this rapid rise made Switzerland both an exception and ideal type of the bourgeois state (see Tanner 1995). The concept of *bourgeoisie* (Ger. *Bürger*) has a distinctly Swiss history. From the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century, the terms *bourgeois/Bürger* were used to designate the independently-employed town dwellers who enabled the political autonomy of the cities, and who possessed what was termed *la bourgeoisie* or *die Bürgerrecht*—a civil and social status which distinguished them from the aristocracy, peasantry, and clerics. While late 18th century France saw the emergence of a distinction between *bourgeois* and *citoyen* (distinguishing France's wealthy townsfolk, independent printers, craftsmen, entrepreneurs and intellectuals from the universalized category of citizen)*,* Swiss usage retained *bourgeoisie*'s double meaning (Tanner 1995). By the middle of the 19th century, the terms *bourgeois* and *Bürger* referred to both a particular social (middle) class and to the broader juridical category of the rights-bearing citizen—a doubling indicative of how middle-class values and aspirations not only constituted the ideal Swiss national subject, but came to constitute hegemonic understandings of human nature itself (see Frykman and Löfgren 1987 on the Swedish case).

In Albert Tanner's (1995) painstakingly researched account of the rise of the Swiss middle-class, he argues that Switzerland's 19th century bourgeoisie constituted a real "class" and social formation—an internally differentiated group whose members were nonetheless unified by a shared outlook, value-orientation, set of ambitions and educational background. Uniting

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entrepreneurs, merchants, and academics were principles that prioritized family, private property, and the *patrie* or *Vaterland* (Tanner 1995). Distinguishing themselves from nobles, the rural peasantry and labourers, the bourgeoisie considered the virtuous pursuit of wealth more important than its possession (5), rendering time and money into sites of rational calculation. Switzerland's bourgeoisie embraced free industry, independence through productive work, and the tenets of Swiss liberalism (11) which proclaimed *Bürger sind wir alle* (we are all citizens), constructing an idealized, classless Swiss state in which social deficits were treated as individual shortcomings rather than resulting from structural inequality.

The Swiss bourgeoisie distinguished itself in large part through its "cultural" pursuits through which forms of aesthetic and intellectual practice served as boundary-marking status symbols and the means to self-fashioning (Tanner 1995, 369). As Tanner describes, through the study of Greek and Latin, the keeping of butterfly, beetle and book collections, the painting of landscapes in aquarelle, travel, and the decoration of front rooms, a bourgeoning 19th century middle class created dichotomies between public and private spaces, male and female domains, authenticity and external artifice, practical and ideal domains of life, work and leisure, cleanliness and disorder. Norbert Elias' (2000) discussion of the German concept of *Kultur* underscores the relationship of culture to subjectivity, or "culturedness" as its own form of ethical cultivation. As the antithesis, critique, and refusal of the *civilisation* of the French-influenced courtly nobility, *Kultur* valorized accomplishment, individual expression, self-cultivation, and spiritual perfection over and against what were seen as the empty forms of courtly etiquette, cold reason, and *civilisation's* relentless universal march (Kuper 1999). Within this set of oppositions, the university constituted a middle-class counterweight to the court (Kuper 1999, 31), and the bourgeoisie constructed both the aristocratic and lower classes as

lacking in the personal merits required of creative and intellectual achievement. A middle-class concern with culture thus signaled not only an interest in aesthetic or intellectual domains but also indexed the possession of those personal qualities which putatively enabled accomplishment and legitimized bourgeois social dominance—the ascetic virtues of frugality, discipline, industry, self-restraint.

The dominant reasoning held that cultural works were available for the uplift of all. Musical, artistic, literature, and museum societies elevated culture to the status of ersatz religion; the artist was given the status of Genius and the creators of the past were depicted as the heroes of humanity (Tanner 1995, 369). Indeed, Victorian era poet and cultural critic Matthew Arnold—whose views on culture came to define the era—directly contrasted culture with religion. While he viewed religion as parochial and easily steered towards authoritarianism, he characterized culture as broad, comprehensive, and encompassing of religious aspirations. Culture, he argued, provided people with new knowledge, was concerned with human perfection, offered a variety of expressions that could check "particular" social groups and interests, and thus held the promise of a broader social cohesion rooted in plurality (Connell 1950; Lecourt 2010). Arnold heavily emphasized what he saw as the socially equalizing effects of "culture"—cultural works, he argued, could transcend special interests and fostered a social order rooted in consensus and class-harmony. In *Culture and Anarchy*, Arnold wrote that culture "seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere...the men of culture are the true apostles of equality" (cited in Lecourt 2010, 499).

By the end of the 19th century, culture had become an integral part of the good life in Switzerland, knowledge of which constituted a kind of compulsory social responsibility (386).[62]

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[62] Tanner (1995) cites Nipperdey: "Even the unmusical [person] must appreciate music, even the unpoetic, poetry" (386; Auch der Unmusikalische muss Musik schätzen, auch der Unpoetische die Poesie).

However, attempts to promote the cross-class appreciation of cultural goods seemed only to underscore social divisions. This was the case, for instance, in 1900 when the city of Zurich, through subventions, made art gallery exhibitions more affordable with the aim of diversifying the gallery-going public. The presence of workers in a Zurich *Kunsthaus* prompted a commentator in the monthly *Wissen und Leben* to observe that while technological advancements had indeed given both workers and the middle-classes more time for leisure, free time was not a sufficient condition for aesthetic appreciation. In the commentator's view, the worker still lacked

> [The] organs which would have enabled him to experience the pleasures on the other side of the river. These organs, the eye, the hand, and empathy for what others created, have been stunted for generations. A world separated him from the people in the art gallery. A river ran between them, so wide and so deep, that no sound could be heard across it any longer, much as he hearkened and listened. (Cited in Tanner 1995, 388, my translation)[63]

Here, the figure of the worker is constructed as materialistic, superficial, and possessing a limited empathy and capacity for cultural appreciation. In this way, the "popular" classes were made to serve as the constitutive foil to the aesthetically disinterested bourgeois subject. The passage above underscores Bourdieu's (1984) observation that, even in democratized contexts indexed by the passage above, legitimate modes of cultural appropriation remain markers of social distinction.[64]

As an institution that has attempted to commensurate the transmission of classed cultural codes of distinction with a politics of solidarity, The Migrant Center arguably inherits a historical

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[63] "Organe, mit denen er zu den Genüssen am anderen Ufer des Stromes zu gelangen vermochte. Diese Organe, das Auge, die Hand und die Einfühlungskunst in das, was andere geschaffen, waren seit Generationen verkümmert. Eine Welt trennte ihn von den Leuten in Kunsthaus. Ein Strom floss dazwischen, so breit und so tief, dass kein Ton mehr herüberdrang, so sehr er auch horchte und lauschte."

[64] Legitimate forms of aesthetic consumption, Bourdieu (1984) writes, transcend function to apprehend form, a faculty dependent on the mastery of classed codes and "concepts which go beyond the sensible properties and which identify the specifically stylistic properties of the work" (3).

investment in Arnold's Victorian view that culture could edify the masses and foster cross-class social harmony. A historical overview of offerings reveals that the school has long been concerned with questions of "general culture" (*culture générale*), providing for its working-class public a form of humanist instruction in the arts and sciences. In 1949, for instance, under the rubric of "Voyages and Explorations," the school hosted public talks on "Polynesia," "Melanesia," and "the social and cultural role of markets in Niger" while one Ella Maillart delivered a talk on "My voyage through Asia." In 1950, students went on guided visits to Geneva's Art and History Museum, the Bristlen paper factory in the commune of Versoix, and learned, through exhibits, how watches were made. In the same year, they attended talks on "Algeria and Tunisia" and learned of direct democratic practice through courses like "Landsgemeinde of the canton of Glarus." A year later, in 1951, a series on "International Activities" acquainted the school's working public with institutions such as the United Nations, the Red Cross, and the International Labour Organization while, in 1952, a series on the "Human condition" introduced the same public to the writings of Proust, Gide, Malraux, and Camus. A mid-century turn in leadership saw the diversification of topics, instructors (which came to include professors from the University of Geneva), and organized visits with the expansion of the school's lecture series. Workers at the time could eventually take courses in "Polyclinic Medicine," with separate talks on Urology, Radiology, and Physiotherapy; "Western Thought," with introductions to Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle; "Geology and the History of the Earth"; "The History of Italian Painting"; and "Psychiatric illnesses." Students were invited on guided visits to the Voltaire Institute, the canton's School of Horticulture, CERN, the Cantonal Hospital, the tunnel of Mont-Blanc, and to destinations outside of Switzerland. Spanning discussions on atomic energy to the history of gothic paintings, the field-trips and public lectures fulfilled the

school's mission of bringing the form and content of the university—the site of middle-class scientific achievement and cultural production—to the historically excluded.

As Beat Weber (1987) writes in his history of worker education in Geneva, knowledge and culture held quite particular meanings and purposes for historical educators of the working class. In this framework, culture was not only to provide the individual worker with a counterweight to the rigors of labour and working life, but was also framed as a necessity which fulfilled the worker's need for collective empowerment. Exposure to the arts and sciences, in other words, was encouraged on the basis of fostering social cohesion among heterogeneous workers, promoting worker solidarity. It was also thought that cultural education could help workers better demonstrate and recognize the value of their technical skills (69). In this way, the work of rendering culture accessible was framed as socially equalizing labour. As a concept appropriated by worker-educators, "general culture," in particular, married the material, and its exigencies, with the ideal. The Migrant Center's emphasis on democratizing culture can thus be seen as an attempt at resolving or escaping the long-held opposition between the material needs of subsistence, and a "pure" and unencumbered realm of cultural production.

An institutional investment in the value of "general culture" or "general knowledge" continues to inform the present-day instruction of the school's migrant public. A commitment to culture was recently re-iterated by the spouse of the school's former president at the center's centennial celebration. As she explained in 2010, the school's free lectures were intended to

> …give people who didn't have the opportunity to become acquainted with what one calls "culture"…[people] who believed that Mozart was for the bourgeois and not for themselves. And that's how we tried to demonstrate that culture is something that is necessary for everyone.[65]

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[65] "…pour donner aux gens qui n'avaient pas l'occasion de connaître ce qu'on appelle la culture…qui croyaient que Mozart était pour les bourgeois et pas pour eux-mêmes. Et c'est là qu'on a essayé de montrer que la culture est quelque chose qui est nécessaire pour tout le monde."

This imagined, culturally appreciative public of "everyone" has, since the beginnings of The Migrant Center, now come to include the figure of the migrant, whose dual alterity lies in the position of being both "worker" and "foreigner."

An analysis inspired by Bourdieu might see this educational commitment primarily in terms of the social reproduction of domination, via the transubstantiation and circulation of capital. "General culture" constitutes, in such an analysis, a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 2007). Whether made manifest in embodied dispositions (*habitus*), objectified goods which may be appropriated, or institutionalized qualifications, cultural capital in the forms described by Bourdieu, constitute varied conversions of wealth. This continuous transformation of wealth— the notion that one form of capital can be readily converted into another—is ensured by processes and media of concealment; for Bourdieu, educational systems and their forms of knowledge served as perhaps the most significant clandestine circuits for capital transmission. Unsurprisingly, Bourdieu saw efforts to endow the working classes with cultural capital as profoundly mistaken, attributing to them an ultimate blindness to structural domination (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).[66] To the extent that Bourdieu locates cultural knowledge and consumption in broader systems of value, themselves always subject to and implicated in the reproduction of power, he is able to argue that all "pedagogic action" exists in relation to a dominant "cultural arbitrary" which maintains and legitimates social inequality. Forms of "pedagogic action" thus not only correspond to the material and symbolic interests of dominant social groups, but also "reproduce the structure of the distribution of cultural capital…thereby contributing to the reproduction of the social structure" (11). Bourdieu's (1984) investigation of

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[66] Or, as the authors write: "Blindness to what the legitimate culture and the dominated culture owe to the structure of their symbolic relations, i.e. to the structure of the relation of domination between the classes, inspires on the one hand the 'culture for the masses' programme of 'liberating' the dominated classes by giving them the means of appropriating legitimate culture as such, with all it owes to its functions of distinction and legitimation" (1977, 24).

taste similarly alerts us to the distinction-conferring functions of cultural preferences—the view

that, whether classed as "legitimate," "middle-brow" or "popular," various zones of taste

"classify the classifier," while reproducing the very social world which enables a particular

system of classification.

I have chosen, in this chapter and dissertation, not to pursue this analytic thread, although

echoes of Bourdieu appear elsewhere, and the recruitment of culture towards a neoliberal state

policy of migrant integration seems to coincide all too well with Bourdieu's account of social

reproduction. As Lambek (2008) writes: "For Bourdieu, value is located primarily in the ends

rather than the means and continues to be understood as a measure primarily of objects—

epitomized in the very term 'symbolic capital'—rather than as a quality of acts—virtue—or of

actors and lives—character" (136). My analysis thus attends less to how economic value is

transubstantiated across various social domains and media, but more to how actors themselves

reflect on their acts, and in so doing, render economic values and rationalities commensurate

with ethical ones—how, in this instance, a historically leftist institution has come to reconcile its

aspirations and politics of solidarity with participation in a state program of migrant integration.

This is partly achieved, as I will address ethnographically in Chapter 4, via an investment in

"culture" as an ethically and morally charged domain of equality, solidarity, and hospitality.

Because there exists no inherent commensurability between economic value and ethical

virtue (Lambek 2008), acts of commensuration are profoundly situated social processes

(Espeland and Stevens 1998; Zelizer 2011). I understand the relevance of culture, then, to

pedagogies of migrant integration not solely in terms of social reproduction or capital

circulation—allowing one to parse out structural complicities from resistances—but examine

culture as a site where situated agents of integration bridge the gap between ethical and

economic rationalities. "General culture" was where economic and ethical domains could meet in mutual reinforcement: contact with culture promised, as discussed, a broad knowledge-base that might inoculate the worker from the vagaries of the market, and allow them to better market their skills. At the same time, cultural exposure was promoted as a moral imperative, promising the goods of social uplift, consensus, and class harmony.

"Culture" was not the only terrain, however, on which welcome work was performed and envisioned. In the next section, I address another key site of institutional commitment: the Migrant Center's pedagogical investment in the French language. In the following section, I examine how teachers and staff at the Migrant Center constructed a particular understanding of the French language, one that saw its instruction in profoundly moral terms, embedding "French" in a broader narrative of Genevan hospitality, itself rooted in a republican, secular tradition. While the state investment in national language-learning, as a criterion of integration, emphasizes its economic benefits for migrant workers and the Swiss economy (see Flubacher 2016 on logics of linguistic investment), employing language as a figurative litmus test for entry, settlement, and citizenship, the various welcome personnel I encountered converged in imagining French in terms of a cosmopolitan ethics of welcome. In light of this contradiction, I thus examine how "French" serves as a key concept of commensuration, reconciling the border closures of an economically driven migration policy, which gave differential access to various mobile/skilled persons (Chapter 2), with the enduring image of a universally hospitable Geneva.

"It's our job to welcome the migrants": French, Hospitality, and the Management of Difference

During a 2010 speech given in honour of The Migrant Center's volunteers in celebration of the school's centennial anniversary, socialist mayor of Geneva, Sandrine Salerno, underscored the importance of French language skills to the migrant integration process. Thanking the volunteers on behalf of the "workers of the first half of the 20th century who understood that, without the ability to count or to read, it was impossible to fight for their rights," she also acknowledged their French-instruction on behalf of the post-war labour immigrants, recruited from Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the former Yugoslavia "who understood that, without the mastery of French, they would not have been able to help their children integrate into Geneva" (*sans la maîtrise du français, ils ne pourraient pas aider leurs enfants à s'intégrer à Genève*). At the same anniversary event, the importance of French instruction to integration was echoed by Yvan Rochat, Geneva councillor and Migrant Center volunteer, who took to the podium to emphasize the formative role of language classes, in which the teacher's task is to work with students "little by little and step by step… accompanying them in this evolution, which is so fundamental, which they are living in that moment…and which is called integration" (*peu et peu et pas à pas avec eux…les accompagner dans cette évolution dans laquelle ils sont, qui est si fondamentale, qu'ils vivent à ce moment là… et qui s'appelle intégration*).

Indeed, the view that French was to be *the* language of migrant integration was enduring and widely held by administrators and instructors at the Migrant Center. While the welcome work of language instruction was constructed in different ways, people converged in the recruitment of "French" into the logics of the Maussian Gift—it was something of the self, imparted. I often heard the school's teachers, for instance, speak of "giving" or "transmitting language" to their students. This was how Camille explained her concept of integration through

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the French language. Camille supervises the school's French-language program. She oversees the training of the school's volunteer teachers, introduces new teachers to pedagogical materials and strategies, and meets with instructors and students on a regular basis to discuss all things French-related. In a shared office on the second floor, whose door is seldom closed despite its location amidst classes in-session, teachers last-minute lesson planning in the library, and the ever-running photocopy-machine, Camille works alongside Mélanie, who runs the integration excursions program and organizes a free gym class for students on Wednesday nights, and Louise, who helps with scheduling, event planning, and teaching equipment. Over a cup of coffee in the school cafeteria, I ask Camille how she understands the relationship between the two words designating the school's "French-integration" system. "We have to transmit the language," she tells me, "but at the service of something. It's language at the service of integration" (*on doit transmettre la langue, mais au service de quelque chose. C'est la langue au service de l'intégration*). She explains that the French classes are intended to address matters of "basic integration" (*integration de base*): teaching newcomers about the city, showing them how to navigate the public transportation system, explaining how one goes to the hospital or arranges a medical appointment, and how to access other essential social services.

Where teachers are constructed as "transmitters" of language, the migrant-student is conceived of as a "decoder"—an individual agent of signification for which French promises personal autonomy. Camille tells me, for instance, that the program's goal is to teach newcomers "how to decode the environment" (*comment décoder l'environnment*) and make sense of, and employ, new "cultural codes" (*codes culturels*). "You have to get to know them" (*il faut que tu les connaisses*), she says in reference to French/Genevan codes, underscoring the importance of conveying, from an early stage, the French practice of *vouvoiement* by which one uses a polite

form when addressing strangers and, especially, workplace superiors. "After that, you can do what you want with them; [but at least] you know what you are doing" (*ensuite tu fais comme tu veux. Tu sais ce que tu fais*). As Camille explains, knowledge and practices of "signification" are empowering; they enable migrants to orient themselves in a new society and find their "reference points" (*points de repères*). Critically, Camille tells me that instilling the capacity to "decode the environment"—to know what one does as a signifying agent—enables migrants to better manage and become conscious of their own potentially stigmatizing signs. Tellingly, Camille describes this in terms of learning "how you can integrate and eliminate your distinctive signs, or not… accent, clothing, food….becoming Swiss" (*comment tu peux t'intégrer et faire disparaître tes signes distinctifs ou pas… accent, vêtements, nourriture…devenir Suisse*)—a process in which one must decide for themselves "how far you take this porosity" of identity (*jusqu'où tu vas avec cette porosité*). French, then, is one system in a larger array of codes by which students are to acquire cultural reflexivity towards the potential erasure or concealment of signs of foreignness; instruction means making individual students conscious of this, and attributing them with responsibility ("you know what you are doing") for their signifying practices in a context that already finds their differences problematic. I will say more about this later in the chapter.

A similar view on the responsibilizing aspects of French was found in educational contexts beyond the Migrant Center. In a nearby primary school, which receives high numbers of newcomer pupils, I meet with Agustina who teaches a year-long transitional "welcome class" (*classe d'accueil*) whose aim is to introduce migrant students to the basics of spoken and written French in anticipation of their eventual integration into the "regular" school system.[67] Praising Switzerland's "political will to integrate people" (*la volonté politique d'intégrer les gens*), she

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[67] First created in Lausanne in the 1980s, Switzerland's "welcome class" program has counterparts in other Swiss cantons and is the topic of Fernand Melgar's 1998 documentary film *Classe d'accueil.*

explained that the French language is an important medium for the transmission of key social values and lessons about "morals, health, and respect towards others." Like Camille, Agustina's pedagogy aims to impart students with a self-awareness of the stigmatized aspects of the "foreigner" identities they are ascribed. She tells me that she wants students to know, in her welcome classes, that marginalization can and will endure in spite of learning French competences, and that she works hard to make her students confront and become aware of their "foreigner" status from early on. "I tell them they will have to work twice as hard as the blond Swiss student," Agustina says. Like Camille, Agustina suggests that, by welcoming via the instruction of French competences, migrant subjects can be made aware of, and thus learn to manage, a "difference"—both racialized and culturalized—that is already pre-supposed to be problematic for Swiss society.

New cohorts of volunteers who undergo the Migrant Center's mandatory program of training before teaching are likewise made aware of French as an agentive code for individual empowerment. During a training session on pedagogical tools and materials (about which more will be said later), Valerie, a French national and specialist in migrant language education based in the commune of Meyrin, emphasized that "communication" was integral to integration. She addressed the mediating role of the French teacher in helping migrants to, in her terms, take "ownership" of their communicative practices: "the communicative situation obliges [migrants] to integrate. You are the one who facilitates. We help people to take possession of language" (*la situation communicative leur oblige à intégrer. Vous êtes celui qui facilite. On aide les gens à prendre possession de la langue*).

For some teachers, French, as an object of agentive individual possession, is equated with speech itself. For Jeanne, a theatre enthusiast who had volunteered for over ten years at the

Migrant Center, French-speaking enables the possibility of the migrant's social visibility in spite

of difference. On teaching, she says:

> It's speech, the power of speech. I think that if one doesn't have speech, in our society,
> one is nothing. So, to try to give some speech, to try to impart a taste for words even if
> each person, in their language, has their own culture… I think that allowing someone,
> giving them the possibility or pushing them to achieve something, to be able to
> pronounce it, to be able to use a word to say it, and as correctly as possible. I think that's
> my small contribution.[68]

Speaking French—in particular, pronouncing "as correctly as possible"—is constructed as a

condition of the migrant's social existence and legibility as a culturalized person (a condition for

evading being "nothing"). As such, despite migrants' own multilingual repertoires, French is

positioned and valorized as the language in which the migrant first acquires a universalizing

"taste for words" that overcomes, in this account, an otherwise culturally and linguistically

provincialized universe. Jeanne's emphasis on speech also reflects the way the Migrant Center,

in its pedagogy, privileges spoken over written French in the classroom. The primacy of

speaking French was often attributed not only to the differing educational attainments of the

school's public, but was often attributed by teachers to the inherent "difficulty" of the French

language—a language they characterized as both overly and inconsistently rule-bound.

To construct oneself as imparting reflexivity, individual agency, responsibility, "a taste

for words," and speech itself reflects a certain kind of moral positioning and project. Much like

the words and qualities themselves used to talk of taste, pedagogical discourses on French evince

a moral flavor by which speakers construct and position themselves (Gal 2013). Here, French-

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[68] "C'est la parole, le pouvoir de la parole. Je pense que si on n'a pas la parole, dans notre société, on est rien. Donc essayer de donner un peu de la parole, essayer de donner le goût des mots même si chaque personne dans sa langue a sa propre culture… Je pense que permettre à quelqu'un, lui donner la possibilité ou le pousser à réaliser quelque chose, de pouvoir le prononcer, de pouvoir utiliser un mot pour le dire, et si possiblement juste. Je pense que voilà c'est ma petite contribution."

instruction constitutes and recuperates a local ethos of hospitality and welcome—one often

imagined as quintessentially "Genevan" (*genevois*). This became evident to me during one of my

last interviews in the field with Fernand, a retired public schoolteacher and long-time Migrant

Center volunteer. At the first mention of "integration" during our interview, he was quick to

underscore Geneva's historical acceptance of refugees, an index, for Fernand, of the city's (and

his own) "spirit of openness" (*esprit d'ouverture*). "We accept people, even those who think

differently. We help them," he said. This ethos of openness, he continued, was what

distinguished the migrants who flourish and succeed in Geneva from those who do not. Fernand

discusses what he and others term the migrant's "will to integrate" (*la volonté de s'intégrer*):

> Integration has a positive meaning…There are a lot of different nationalities [in Geneva] and people are well received but…these are the people who make the effort to integrate. These people are very well received. Objectively, these are the people who say to themselves 'I've come here, I'm going to create a kind of network, I will adapt to… the region, Geneva'… and, in general, these people are very well accepted in the real sense of the word… There are certain groups…who really remain closed and who make absolutely no merit-worthy effort to say to themselves 'I am with these people, with this country.' And this provokes a significant rejection of this group of people… Here in the [French] courses, you find people who are motivated… I have an enormous respect for them.[69]

In this characterization, regular attendance of French classes indexes a set of inner qualities,

capacities, and virtues—openness, effort, motivation—which merit social acceptance by

Genevan society. These qualities lie in contrast with the "closed" migrants and communities

whose imputed closure not only lacks merit, but "provokes" forms of social exclusion and

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[69] "Intégration a un sens bien…Nous avons beaucoup de nationalités différentes et les gens sont bien acceptés mais… ce sont des gens qui font l'effort de s'intégrer… Ces gens sont très bien acceptés. Vous avez objectivement des gens qui se dissent je viens ici, je vais créer une sorte de réseau, je vais m'adapter avec… la région, Genève … et ces gens en générale sont très bien acceptés dans le vrai sens du terme… Il y a certaines populations… qui restent vraiment en vase clos et qui ne font absolument aucun effort méritoire pour essayer de se dire je suis avec ces gens-là, avec ce pays. Et ça provoque de ce fait un rejet assez massif de cette catégorie de gens... Ici dans les cours, vous avez des gens qui sont motivés…J'ai énormément de respect pour ces gens."

erasure. Like other teachers, Fernand equated French competences with individual agency and access to Swiss society, implicitly framing non-French competences in terms of passivity (one remains a "spectator" rather than an actor). Learning French was also associated with certain affective states and processes. Invoking the Kantian "courage to know," Fernand explained that, in order to successfully learn French, students must muster the courage to "mourn" a culturalized past (*faire le deuil*) which, for Fernand, can ultimately yield to a sentiment of gratitude (*la reconnaissance*) upon realizing that a French-teacher "did something for me" (*un sentiment de on a fait quelque chose pour moi*). The migrant's reciprocity for this educational hospitality is framed, in other words, in terms of personal will and gratitude, with agency, access, and social acceptance its accompanying rewards. In other words, the ability to enter into a hospitable guest-host relationship is what differentiates the "good" from the "bad" immigrants (see Hage 2000).

This view—that integration rests squarely on French competences, and that competences are indexical of the kind of migrant one is—reiterates an enduring Genevan state discourse. In 2012, Isabel Rochat, President of Geneva's Department of Security, Police, and the Environment (DSPE), published an open letter to the Genevan public in which she emphasized the importance of the French language for Geneva's naturalization candidates. The letter was meant to first introduce, to the public, reforms to the cantonal naturalization requirements; for the first time, regular candidates would be required to verify that their spoken French skills conformed to level B1 or higher of the Common European Framework for Languages. This reform is still ongoing and reflects broader shifts in Swiss federal policy orientations which have privileged national language competences as indicators of integration, and language-testing a means for verifying it. Constructing Switzerland's 12-year pre-naturalization residency requirement as a time to "perfect" one's integration, Rochat's 2012 statement read:

Language constitutes the basic condition for integration into social, professional and cultural life and also permits access to the exercise of civic rights. A deficit in a communicative competence or unfamiliarity with language entails [the] impossibility of integration.

Because of their ignorance of [the] language, the candidate has a feeling of dependence. He feels isolated. One must quickly find solutions to overcome this situation. For this, one must take on a positive and courageous attitude. First and foremost, study the language and, at the same time, establish as many personal and professional contacts as possible. This is how the candidate, during the 12 years preceding a naturalization application, makes good use of this time to perfect one of the aspects of his integration. (my translation)[70]

This discourse bears scalar elasticity and recurs at the national level. Paul Widmer, a popular writer on the "Swiss exception" (2007), echoed Fernand's account years prior. "Good" immigrants, deserving of national hospitality, demonstrate the will to integrate while "bad" immigrants choose to remain in conditions of cultural isolation:

Those who learn none of the national languages cannot seize opportunities to integrate. Those who do not want to adjust to our culture will remain stranded in their original cultural circle. An immigrant must have the will to accomplish something in our country and to integrate into our society. When he does that, Switzerland should welcome him with open arms. (234, my translation)[71]

This overarching concern with the voluntary will (*volonté*) of the migrant subject reveals a profound irony at the heart of integration discourse. Since 2011, revisions to Switzerland's Federal Nationality Law have made naturalization contingent on "integration," linguistically

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[70] "La langue constitue le b.a.-ba. de l'intégration dans la vie sociale, professionnelle et culturelle et permet également l'accès à l'exercice des droits civiques. Un déficit d'une compétence communicative ou la méconnaissance de la langue implique une impossibilité d'intégration. A cause de son ignorance de la langue, le candidat a un sentiment de dépendance. Il se sent isolé. Il faut rapidement trouver des solutions pour surmonter cette situation. Pour cela, il faut adopter une attitude positive et courageuse. Tout d'abord, étudier la langue et, parallèlement, établir autant de contacts que possible aux niveaux professionnel et personnel. C'est ainsi que le candidat, pendant les douze années précédant une demande de naturalisation, a pu mettre à profit ce temps pour parfaire un des aspects de son intégration."

[71] "Wer keine der Landessprachen lernt, kann sie Integrationschancen nicht wahrnehmen. Wer sich unserer Kultur nicht anpassen (adjust assimilate) will, verbleibt gescheitert in seinem ursprünglichen Kulturkreis. Ein Immigrant muss den Willen haben, in unserem Land etwas zu leisten und sich in unsere Gesellschaft zu integrieren. Wenn er das tut, dann sollte ihn die Schweiz offenherzig empfangen."

defined; the ability to display B1 spoken and A1 literacy competences in a Swiss national language is one requirement for all immigrants applying for the Swiss passport (Federal Department of Justice and Police 2011).[72] In this vein, national language learning was constructed as both an indicator and means of integration (Flubacher 2014): it is employed as both a discrete, legally binding pre-requisite for settlement and citizenship (a litmus test) as well as the ongoing means through which the migrant's voluntary will to integrate is expressed.

The contradiction in this approach to language-learning—as both legally enforced and voluntarily taken up—reflects the ways that "integration" discourse aims to reconcile economic and ethical-moral forms of valuation (and, correspondingly, conditional and unconditional understandings of welcome). Indeed, the discourses of linguistic hospitality above tend to elide differentials in access to territorial settlement. While a bureaucratic state apparatus employs language competences to disfavor the entry and settlement of migrants from the global south, the French language is nonetheless framed as the "key" to Swiss and Genevan society. Accordingly, the teachers that mediate migrants' social and transnational mobility frame French-learners in ways that emphasize migrants' guest status. To take up a course of French study, as we have seen, is to indicate acceptance of this status, good will towards the host population, and "courage." To teachers and state agents, it signals a disdain for "dependence" in a national context where signs of "skill" and entrepreneurial self-development distinguish desirable from undesired foreigners. In the pedagogy of integration, in other words, "good" guests are active

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[72] Because it reflects federal reforms, Geneva's cantonal B1 requirement is comparable to requirements found in other Swiss cantons. However, specific language requirements for naturalization vary by both canton and commune. At the time of writing, the canton of Bern required that citizenship applicants complete a naturalization test, and verify an oral level of B1 in addition to A2 writing skills in the language of the Bernese *commune/Gemeinde* where the application is submitted (French or German). The canton of Zurich required a level of B1 in spoken German, and A2 in German writing and literacy skills. Traditionally "conservative" cantons have higher requirements (i.e. a required minimum of B2 oral and B1 written German for naturalization in the canton Schwyz). Other cantons are less specific about language requirements. The website of the canton Glarus only specifies that candidates must undergo a face-to-face interview and be "linguistically integrated" (*sprachlich integriert*) in its list of criteria.

participants in what Barbara Cruikshank (1999) calls "the will to empower"—amenable to recruitment into modes of self-government in contexts of state retrenchment and, in this case, border closure.

Critically, the migrant's guest status is implicit where French language-learning is framed as enabling migrants to self-manage difference: "good" guests can relativize their difference and are willing to curtail its expressions vis-à-vis the host country. While Camille's reference, earlier in the chapter, to teaching migrants to manage their "distinctive signs" was not an argument for eliminating such signs from the public sphere, it indexes the political culture of Genevan republicanism which has been, in recent times, increasingly influenced by its French counterpart; discussions of "integration" in Geneva are inseparable from deliberation, in particular, on the meaning of secularism.

A year after I first spoke to Camille, Geneva's local authorities initiated a set of public debates on the future of secularism in the canton. These culminated, in February of 2019, in a democratic vote to amend the canton's existing secularism law.[73] The Constitution of the Republic and Canton of Geneva had already affirmed the secularism (*laïcité*) and religious neutrality (*neutralité religieuse*) of the Genevan state (Article 3), while also upholding the promotion and defense (*défense*) of the canton's official French language (Article 5). The new legislation, supported by 55% of Genevan voters, went further to forbid state councilors, elected officials and all public servants from wearing "religious signs" in the workplace ("Ce oui à la

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[73] The Swiss constitution calls for the separation of church and state with the aim of protecting individuals from religious claims (see also Scott 2007 on French republicanism). Article 15 of the Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation reads: "No person may be forced to join or belong to a religious community, to participate in a religious act, or to follow religious teachings." The specific forms of secular governance, however, are the individual responsibility of the cantons. Geneva adopted its policy of official secularism in 1907 which guaranteed "freedom of religion" in the canton by privatizing the funding of religious groups, following upon a recent history whereby the Council of Geneva had obliged the canton's Catholics to make contributions to the Protestant Church.

laïcité est un jalon historique," Tribune de Genève, February 10, 2019). While the law was advanced with the aim of promoting "religious peace" (*la paix religieuse*), critics of the legislation have rightly pointed out the ways it, in particular, targets and discriminates against Muslim women who wear the *hijab* to work.[74] I address the gendered dimensions of integration via language-learning more fully in the following chapter.

The individualizing agencies reflexive competences attributed to French thus speak to a Genevan republican model—inheritor of Enlightenment values that historically saw French cast as the language of logic, precision, equality, and rationality itself.[75] Migrant Center personnel bear an arguably ambivalent relationship to this narrative: while distancing themselves from "assimilationist" (French) understandings of inclusion to posit a universal Genevan hospitality, they also frame migrants as ultimately responsible—through attributions around a concept of "will"—for lapses in integration. There is an irony in empowering migrants to better manage their "distinctive" religious-cultural signs in a social and political context already set on eliminating those signs and subjects thought to threaten the state's secular, republican character. As I discuss in Chapter 6, migrants are painfully aware of this contradiction, anticipating the ways in which their cultural-religious differences might be stigmatized and often taking great pains to adapt their speech and appearance in public encounters; bearing the social burden of stigma, as will I show, has its limits.

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[74] A local official in the Genevan commune of Onex reports having to replace several school aides and assistants who wear the *hijab* and who were employed by the municipality before the new secularism legislation was passed (Swissinfo 2019).

[75] The 17th century myth of "French clarity" (*la clarté française*) argued that French syntax best reflected a universal human logic, buttressing the Revolution-era policies aimed at propagating standard French over and against *patois*, creoles, and other non-standard varieties (Swiggers 1990; Kasuya 2001; also Higonnet 1980 on "linguistic terrorism").

In the next chapter, I discuss how "general culture" is specifically mobilized in integration practice in the space of a modern art gallery—a "satellite" institution for the Migrant Center and a common site for its group excursions. The chapter explores how lessons around art appreciation—namely, talk about the *qualities* of objects, spaces, and persons—socialize migrants into an "egalitarianism," constituted in contrast with migrants' ostensibly "closed" and culturalized worlds. The second half of the chapter reflects on the provincialization of migrants' cultural worlds in another arena of pedagogy: literacy education. I argue that literacy discourses semiotically construct and problematize a specifically *gendered* type of learner seen to threaten republican values—the gendered figure of the "illiterate" migrant.

CHAPTER FOUR

Envisioning (E)quality: The Aesthetic Apprenticeship of "General Culture"

On a foggy Sunday in early May, I accompanied Jeanne and a few French-language students to

the staging of *Aminata* at Le Poche, a small theatre located in one of the tight, cobble-stoned

grey alleyways of Geneva's sloping old town. A veteran volunteer French instructor at The

Migrant Center, Jeanne wore her hair close-cropped in vivid maroon, and had a single dangling,

purple-painted wooden earring on her left lobe. Jeanne was known for her passion for teaching

and the arts, and attended most of The Migrant Center's cultural exchange nights (*échanges

culturels*) which offered teachers and registered students free admission to the numerous plays,

concerts, movies, museums and art exhibits taking place across Geneva which made up the

French-integration program's "general culture" curriculum. The program's newsletter stated that

cultural exchanges were intended to "promote encounters" (*favoriser les rencontres*) and the

"socio-cultural inclusion of participants through the study of French" (*l'insertion socio-culturelle

des participant-e-s par l'enseignement du français*). Cultural exchanges were also an important

means of giving newcomers exposure to "genevois particularities" (*faire découvrir les

particularités genevoises*) while encouraging "the creation of a social network" (*encourager la

création d'un réseau*). While the narrative tropes of *Aminata* offered material for analysis in their

own right—depicting a coming of age story about a Frenchman who escapes an overprotective

mother when he falls in love with a Senegalese sex worker living on the fringes of society—it

was a comment of Jeanne's after the performance which I found myself returning to in memory.

As Jeanne and I made our descent back into the city after the performance, crossing the

wide, flag-flanked Pont du Mont-Blanc joining Geneva's Left and Right Banks while sharing

reactions and critiques of the play, I ultimately asked her why it was important for migrants to attend plays, concerts, and the theatre. Why was "cultural" life an important part of integration for the Genevans? Raising the school's explicit emphasis on building social networks, I asked, "Does the theatre provide students a way of sharing an experience with other people? Are the shows meant to give migrants a sense of community?" Jeanne briskly shook her head in a way that made me think I had hit a nerve. "Don't take this the wrong way," she said, friendly and resolute, "but there's something you, as a North American, should really know for your research: we don't talk about 'community' in Geneva" (*on ne parle pas de communauté à Genève*). When I asked what she meant, Jeanne explained: "When I go to the theatre, I have my own experience. I have my own relationship to the performance. Sometimes, I completely forget that there are people around me! Going to the theatre is not like attending a ceremony where there's a leader and we all do the same thing and feel the same thing. Not at all."

This brief, memorable, and (at the time) puzzling interaction was a teachable moment in which a French instructor metapragmatically positioned me (Davies and Harré 1990) as a "North American" foreigner and student of Genevan cultural codes ("we don't talk about 'community'") concerning proper models of aesthetic appreciation. Jeanne linked a particular social ideology (a concept of the social unit) to an aesthetic ideology in which invoking "community" suggested a problematic form of cultural appropriation. By referencing ideologies, I draw attention to the political-moral issues and interests reflected by a particular position or stance; ideologies are neither "true" nor "false" (Gal and Irvine 2019, 2000, 1995). Indeed, in my own ideological talk of a "community" of theatre-goers, I indexed, for Jeanne, a model of aesthetic experience that was not individual, personal, singular, or sincere, but shared, homogeneous, and hierarchically

imposed from without. This *other* kind of aesthetic experience was undesirable for being authorized and codified.

At first thought, Jeanne's instruction seemed to construct a Protestant model of cultural appropriation like the semiotic ideology of sincerity described by Webb Keane: the sovereign individual spectator is to bear a personal, unmediated relationship to the aesthetic object. Here, extemporaneous talk after the show is an index of affect and sincerity. This kind of affective, spontaneous, unformalized freedom of feeling and speech before an object of contemplation Jeanne contrasted to a more liturgical form of aesthetic seizure—a "ceremony" bearing Catholic affinities in which a "community" of participants did and felt the same thing under the direction of a leader. To the degree that Protestantism has often been presumed to lie at odds with the development of art—abolishing "church pictures and pious allegories, [destroying] one of the greatest sources of art support" (Brooks 1930, 378)—it would be interesting to posit a secularized Protestant aesthetic ideology.

In retrospect, however, Jeanne's positioning of my question as typically "North American" was more revealing. Jeanne's concern with keeping "community" *out* of aesthetic contemplation reflects, I suggest, recent discourses which have come to problematize the ethnicized/culturalized "collective." Anxieties about parallel societies (*Parallelgesellschaften,* in the German-speaking regions), civilizational clashes (Stolcke 1995), and threats to national values are widespread across Western Europe. In France, the concept of *communautarisme* ("communalism," loosely translated) problematizes social frameworks which prioritize particularist group identities over and above national allegiance (Scott 2007). As I discovered, *communauté* bore similar, negative connotations in Genevan discourse as well. Often employed in the context of critique, *communautarisme* is most clearly exemplified, for its critics, by the

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"disastrous path of American multiculturalism" (Scott 2007, 23)—an ostensibly failed model giving rise to social division, ethnic conflict, enclaves, a rejection of majority values, and radicalized ethnic identities. In this political imaginary, the diverging allegiances encouraged by communalism are problematic because they are seen to compromise the state's capacity to ensure the formal equality of its citizens. Seen by this light, if Jeanne's stance towards my use of "community" problematizes the over-ritualization of aesthetic appreciation, it is because a relation of obedience has been unduly introduced into the practice of theatre-going—a practice which ought to be egalitarian. Aesthetic experience, in other words, is prescribed as a social domain not of subordination, but of individual spectators standing in a relationship of freedom and equality relative to one another.

In this chapter, I explore how talk about aesthetic experience, in integration practice, is constructed as a particular kind of communicative site—one that enacts an ethical-political model of egalitarianism, tethered to official Genevan republican values. This talk is tied to material cultural objects, and is often visually-mediated but can include other sense modalities. I explore, in other words, how a vision of "equality" bears "qualities," or *qualia*, where certain (mutable) characteristics of persons, dispositions, institutions (and "communities") are seen as reinforcing the project of "integration" (constituting an abstracted equality to counteract migrants' "culturalized" worlds) while others are seen to threaten it. By engaging with the semiotically-theorized concept of *qualia,* I draw attention to abstract qualities in their embodied, experiential and sensuous dimensions (Chumley and Harkness 2013). As attributed characteristics which constitute, and are constituted by, sense experience, qualia or qualisigns participate in endowing everyday objects and experiences with value, as Nancy Munn (1986) has shown. As signifiers of value, qualia "travel"—they are transposable across semiotic orders and

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sense modalities. The same quality may be mobilized to characterize a range of social categories—those of person, place, time, language, and linguistic register—in ways that reflect speakers' moral evaluations (Gal 2013). The semiotic processes by which qualia confer aesthetic, political, or moral value upon their objects demonstrate that the categories and valuations yielded by sense experience are far from transhistorical; qualities are a fact of sociocultural life, their sign relations fully conventional (Chumley and Harkness 2013, 4). "Qualities" are thus a rich site at which forms of the ethical are revealed as immanent in speech, action, and the felt categories of embodiment (Lambek 2015); *qualia* populate the linguistic criteria by which actors "distinguish situations, problems, and specific kinds of persons, relations, conditions, acts, and even intentions," and exercise judgment with respect to them (2015, 16).

My cultural exchange night with Jeanne reveals a confluence in which norms of aesthetic contemplation reflect and contribute to the formation of specific kinds of sensing, socialized and, abstracted political subjects. This is a social terrain on which *race* has been historically absented from public discourse (Stolcke 1995), but where a Genevan republican vision of formal equality variously problematizes the classed, cultural, or else religious "community," and the ways these collectivities are integrated (or not) into Genevan models of moral-political life. To the extent that these models reflect and rely on particular perceptual (in)capacities, the visual domain of "general culture"—the art gallery, the museum—encompasses a set of connected institutional sites/sights where formal "equality" is both envisioned and enacted through aesthetic apprenticeship.

In particular, the work of cultivating an aesthetic disposition (Bourdieu 1984) among newcomers pre-supposes migrants as personae of risk and skill deficit (discussed in Chapter 2) in order to perform "general culture" as an inclusive and equalizing social domain. In their

pedagogical mediation of various aesthetic activities, cultural institutions and French teachers discursively construct themselves as agents of egalitarianism and thereby enact an ideal political-moral universe where, in theory, social hierarchies may be neutralized, and "difficult" codes rendered accessible. Ways of seeing thus engage, and are themselves, iconic and indexical signs which bear moral and ethical valence, and bring into being a particularly envisioned social order. Migrants are directly recruited into this order; as recipients, they participate in recuperating and revitalizing a vision of social equality. Here, being an equality-minded Genevan bears the quality of "openness," contrasted to its various potential subversions (namely, the "closure" ascribed to individual "communities"). In their commitment to equality, French teachers, of course, must confront the broader inequalities which condition migrant social mobility. "General culture" is thus also a site for working through and negotiating skepticism about integration policy's equalizing potential. So, while social practices of aesthetic appreciation are indeed structured by a pre-reflective, class-specific *habitus* (Bourdieu [1977] 2008), I examine the effort to transmit them, in this chapter, as a site of reflexivity and conscious elaboration where the tensions between formal egalitarian values and difference/hierarchy are discussed, debated, and reflected upon.

In the chapter's first section, I examine the centrality of the political value of "equality" in Genevan republicanism. In a following section, I demonstrate how migrants are socialized into egalitarian values in a modern art gallery. There, teachers and gallery-guide alike must negotiate how to sensitize a working-class migrant public to the salient qualia of art objects, making the "difficult" visual codes and discursive registers of art appreciation "accessible" to a public presumed to be unfamiliar. In the final section, I discuss how the semiotic ideologies of museum-going are pedagogically linked to promoting the equality and social visibility of a specific figure

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in The Migrant Center's institutional epistemology: the gendered figure of the *analphabète,* or the feminized, "illiterate" migrant.

The Happy Republic: Equality in Genevan Republicanism

> I should, then, have sought out for my country some peaceful and happy Republic, of an antiquity that lost itself, as it were, in the night of time which had experienced only such shocks as served to manifest and strengthen the courage and patriotism of its subjects; and whose citizens, long accustomed to a wise independence, were not only free, but worthy to be so.
>
> –Rousseau, "Dedication to the Republic of Geneva," *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*

If I emphasize the qualia of a kind of formal egalitarianism, it is because equality is an enduring theme in the Genevan republican imagination. When Rousseau dedicated *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* to his native Geneva, writing from Chambéry in 1754, he depicted Geneva as emblematic of a small but flourishing polity, an alternative to the centralizing monarchies of 18th century Europe (Kirk 1994, 289).[76] Condemning the political systems of the *ancien régime*, Rousseau envisaged Geneva as a tranquil and independent republic politically cemented by reciprocal egalitarian bonds. In Rousseau's account, Genevan citizens stood equal before collectively established laws and their elected magistrates, to whom citizens are "equal both by education and by rights of nature and birth" ([1754] 1973, 29); clergy and laypersons co-existed in harmony; and the polity—like a well-designed time-piece or the intricate mechanical automata of the 18th century—operated such that "all the movements of the machine might tend always to the general happiness" (1973, 29). Rousseau's 1758 *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les Spectacles*

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[76] A model which, for Rousseau, was not easily replicated. Rousseau's characterization of the Genevan polity evokes the qualities and tropes of the gastronomic *terroir* in which Geneva was the site of a unique and home-grown 'taste for liberty': "For it is with liberty as it is with those solid and succulent foods, or with those generous wines which are well adapted to nourish and fortify robust constitutions that are used to them, but ruin and intoxicate weak and delicate constitutions to which they are not suited. Peoples once accustomed to masters are not in a condition to do without them" (1973, 29).

depicts the Genevans in no less exemplary terms: they are described as a hard-working, humane, and tolerant people who sustain the city's flourishing industries and secure its prosperity. The signs of Genevan virtue were, for Rousseau, modesty, diligence, unconcern with fashion in dress, and freedom from the ostentatious displays of wealth ascribed to their French counterparts (Kirk 1994, 289).[77] The regulation of aesthetic experience also held significance for the health of the polity: Rousseau argued against the establishment of a theatre in Geneva, warning of the corruption and laxity that could result if moral practice were reduced to the vicarious viewing of staged virtues.

Rousseau's image of an egalitarian Genevan republic was, as historian Linda Kirk (1994) shows, an idealized portrait. Having warded off competing attempts at annexation by both Roman Catholic France and Bern in 1536, Geneva was an independent Calvinist republic at the time of Rousseau's writing, but its sovereignty remained precarious, vulnerable to external powers and internal dissent. By the late 17th century, Genevan society was profoundly stratified according to four legal categories of person: Geneva's citizens, the *bourgeois* (able to purchase the letters of the *bourgeoisie*, whose children became Genevan citizens), the *habitants* (Geneva-born children of settlers unable to purchase the status of *bourgeois*), and *natifs* (the children and grandchildren of *habitants*). Occupying a dually subordinate status, *natifs* were not only barred from the practice of certain professions until the late 18th century, but were seen as a charge on Genevan charity (Kirk 1994, 273). During the 18th century, Geneva's General Council (composed of roughly 1,500 adult male *bourgeois* and citizens) engaged in both armed struggle

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[77] Rousseau's valorization of the qualities of "modesty" and "non-ostentation" is still very much alive. During fieldwork, a neighbour once told me admiringly of how easy it is to "mix" with Geneva's *conseillers d'état* (state councilors). They frequently "blend in" and become indistinguishable from everyday people, I was told. They take the trams or even ride their bicycles to work like everyone else(!), she emphasized.

and pamphlet wars with the city-state's citizen-led, oligarchic and 25-member Small Council—a legacy of Calvin's religious polity—which constituted Geneva's quasi-aristocratic government.[78] Following civil conflicts that took place in 1707 (over the introduction of voting by secret ballots) and 1737 (during which *bourgeois* militias overpowered the *Haute Ville*), France, Berne and Zurich oversaw a mediation which, in 1738, accorded the *General Council* decision-making powers over war and peace, taxation, defense, and elections, and expanded access to professional positions among *natifs* (286).

While much more can be said about the *bourgeois* ascendance to power, I mention the 18th century contest between the democratic *Grand Council* and the oligarchic Genevan government because it gave rise to a distinctly local model of republicanism. In a mass-literate Geneva where the *Social Contract* was widely read, 18th century Genevan revolutionaries anchored their republican vision to a spirit of independence vis-à-vis bordering and threatening polities and a sense of common moral purpose. In contrast with present-day French republicanism, which secures individuals equal protection by the state against particularist religious or group claims (Scott 2007), Genevan republicanism recognized Geneva's political sovereignty as providential; despite a period of religious "liberalization" in the 1760s, during which "free will" began to overshadow models of predestination, Protestantism nonetheless endured as the state's civil religion (291). In the Genevan republic, moreover, notions of civic duty were rooted in the capacity for free, individual inquiry (over and against unquestioning obedience), ensured by promoting mass-literacy. Critically, Genevan republicanism envisioned an egalitarian order (selective, in practice) secured by popular sovereignty—Rousseau's

[78] As Kirk (1994, 272) points out, Calvin's Geneva was not a theocracy governed by holy men, but more akin to an aristocracy with democratic elements: lay authorities served alongside ordained ministers in civic office. The salient distinction was citizenship: only (male) citizens were eligible for office, and only those with wealth and social connections attained positions in governance and the select Small Council.

equalizing "general will" whereby "the social compact sets up among the citizens an equality of such a kind, that they all bind themselves to observe the same conditions and should therefore all enjoy the same rights" ([1762] 1973, 188). In Rousseau's contract theory, an act of sovereignty is "not a convention between a superior and an inferior, but a convention between the body and each of its members. It is legitimate, because based on the social contract, and equitable, because common to all" (188). This taste for equality could be maintained despite profound and growing social cleavages; virtues, such as modesty, were the moral terrain on which the Genevan egalitarian ethos could be recuperated and given new expression. Kirk (1994) writes: "Genevans liked to speak of their wealth as evidence of God's favor, but display remained something about which they were squeamish" (307).[79] The concept of a uniquely Genevan understanding of egalitarianism, then, remains an enduring reference point in present-day practices of migrant "integration." In the next section, I bring these questions to bear on pedagogies of migrant socialization—how the visual modality of modern art, and the communicative register of art appreciation, become a terrain for reflecting on and enacting Genevan egalitarian values.

"You don't need a diploma to participate": Enacting Egalitarianism in a Modern Art Space

Geneva's Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art (*Musée d'art moderne et contemporain*, hereafter MAMCO) sits on a quiet in-street in the Plainpalais neighbourhood, next to the Patek Philippe Museum of watchmaking, which is a five-minute walk from the University of Geneva. At the time of my fieldwork in 2013, MAMCO had recently entered into educational partnership with the Migrant Center, enabling French teachers and their classes to access the gallery's

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[79] The Genevan republic retained its independence until 1789, when Geneva was annexed to France, and the French-established Helvetic Republic was installed in the rest of Switzerland. During this time, the French (unsuccessfully) attempted to impose a modern constitution, equality before the law, standardized measures, and a uniform code of justice (Steinberg 1996, 9). A settlement in 1815 subsequently placed Geneva in Switzerland (Kirk 1994).

contemporary art collections free of charge while arranging gallery orientation events for Center administrators and volunteer teaching staff. These orientations were intended to provide an introduction to the gallery collection and offered pedagogical strategies for using modern art in the service of French-language learning.

I recall one training session. A group of roughly 15 French teachers, along with the Mélanie, Camille, and Louise, the school's language-integration administrators, were milling around in the lobby waiting for a teacher-tour of the museum's collection. When she arrived, the MAMCO guide began her tour by addressing her audience on a serious note: "Switzerland is worried," she said. "Not all migrants can read and write, but integration is not just reading and writing." She added, "Modern art is not easy to understand" (*l'art moderne n'est pas facile à comprendre*). The guide proceeded to give us a walk-through of the gallery space and its objects. She pointed us, for instance, to "Riverrun," a sculpture/installation by American artist, Richard Nonas, composed of 37 rusting metal beams laid in parallel on the ground, forming a long, bent path, curved to evoke the bend of a river. We stood quietly in a semi-circle, taking in the scale of a work that required an entire hallway. "You can ask your class what this could signify," the gallery guide began. "Talk about the piece's raw materials (*matériaux bruts*)." We moved into the next room, a space with light pastel blue walls where a series of roughly 50 paintings by Julius Kaesdorf hung in a series titled "Angels" (*Des Anges*). Each framed painting, small in scale, depicted an abstracted and geometric human figure, some winged (Figure 2).
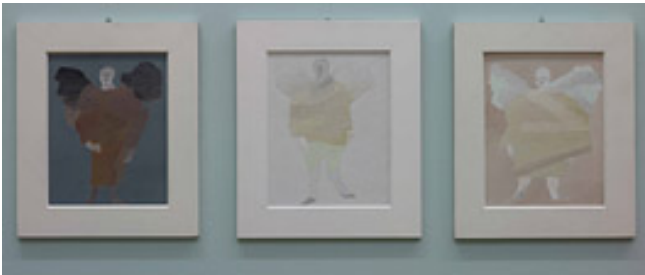
Figure 2: *Angels* series, Julius Kaesdorf (photo by author)

The guide explained that Kaesdorf was a lawyer by training, but came to painting "by chance" (*par hasard*). "It's amazing how many people had no intention of becoming artists," the gallery guide remarked. One French teacher in our group noted, with some reserve, "It might be difficult [for students] to interpret these works" (*Ça pouvait être difficile d'interpréter ces oeuvres*). Fielding this comment, the guide informed the group that Kaesdorf's images reflected his longstanding interest in Baroque art, stemming from his numerous visits to churches in southern Germany. She explained that Kaesdorf's works were a stylized rendering of Baroque angels, concluding, "But his paintings demonstrate a naiveté in human representation" (*naïveté dans la représentation humaine*). The guide then suggested that teachers could engage their students in conversation about the material properties of the works—their colours, forms, and arrangement. As the guide explained, this discussion of "simpler" formal qualities could bridge students to more complicated practices of aesthetic evaluation. She continued, gesticulating towards the

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paintings, "Ask them to make comparisons (*faire des comparaisons*) between different pieces. Ask them which paintings they preferred, what emotions they felt. Ask students to talk about the works." Critically, the guide stressed that, in such discussions, no one interpretation of a work should be held up as correct, but that one always "projects a meaning" onto a piece of art (*on projette une signification*). She then noted that, if those topics proved challenging, teachers could begin a discussion of the different colours of the gallery walls themselves, which might help to make the museum more of an "informal space" for migrants (*la musée comme espace familier*).

We then stopped in a white-walled room covered in nearly life-size colour photographs by French-Algerian artist, Mohammed Bourouissa. Curated by MAMCO in collaboration with the Parisian municipal authorities, Bourouissa's photo-series was part of the gallery's documentary exhibition, *Retour du Monde,* which reflected on the extension of the T3 tramway line in Paris.[80] Each photograph depicted a suburban landscape of workers on the construction sites of the new tramway line. Several images presented grave work-site accidents.

As we looked at the photos, quietly dispersed around the room, the museum guide explained that Bourouissa's aim was to "simulate a workplace accident" (*simuler un accident de travail*). She directed our looking towards the artist's emphasis on composition and *mis-en-scène,* how it was influenced by the dramatic visual stagings of painters like Rubens and Delacroix. As in the Kaesdorf collection of paintings, the guide's statement emphasized that modern art was to be apprehended as a citational visual practice; talk of Rubens and Delacroix invoked a continuous genealogy to which the contemporary artist belonged. This genealogy existed in spite of the differences in both style and media between the works. The French

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[80] To be completed in 2017, the tramway extension was intended to ease mobility between both Paris and its north-west suburbs (*banlieues*) and between suburbs, traversing the 17th and 18th arrondissements. The extension is to be accompanied by transformations in public space: the addition of new pedestrian pathways in the area, bicycle lanes, public benches, and lighting. See http://www.tramway.paris.fr/le-projet-du-prolongement.

teachers noted, among themselves, that the images, dealing with the themes of work, precarity, and invisibility, could be of interest to the school's largely undocumented migrant public.

As our gallery orientation approached its end, bringing the group back to the museum lobby, the teachers reviewed what they had seen, discussing how to use art at the service of French instruction. The guide reminded teachers that it was particularly important to impart proper gallery comportment to students: "You must start with the rule that one isn't to touch any of the works" (*Il faut partir du principe qu'il faut rien toucher*). She concluded that, apart from this rule, the students had exploratory freedom to engage with the art, characterizing the gallery as a vehicle for individual creativity and self-expression: "In the gallery, they search, they discover, they express themselves tremendously" (*Ils cherchent, ils trouvent, ils s'expriment enormément*), the guide urged. At this last statement, Danielle, a French teacher grew hesitant, her brow furrowed in skepticism. Re-iterating her colleague's earlier comment, and voicing her own unpreparedness to induct her class into the visual genealogies of modern art, she said, "but the experience might be intimidating for foreigners" (*mais ça pourrait être intimidant pour les étrangers*). Countering this comment on the educational backgrounds of the school's working public, another teacher objected, "but a diploma isn't necessary to participate!" (*pas besoin de diplôme pour participer!*). Camille, a co-administrator of the school's language program reinforced this second view, framing familiarity with art galleries as a necessary part of integration: "Being well-integrated means being able to decode one's environment. Coming here is [a form of] decoding" (*Être bien intégré c'est décoder son environnement. Venir ici, c'est le décodage.*).

In this example of teacher-instruction, the modern art museum—its cultural authority embodied in the figure of the guide—disciplines French instructors and discursively mediates

their relationship to migrant learners. The lessons learned are many. They begin at the entrance, where one first learns that modern art requires a separate space of detached contemplation; the appreciation of modern art constitutes a distinct sphere of life, necessitating its own rituals of gazing (at a respectful distance), walking (slow, reverential, with caution), and speaking (in hushed or subdued tones). As an institutionalized ritual form, this embodied contemplation performs the individual museum-visitor's recognition of the legitimacy of the displayed pieces, enacting the presence, authority, authenticity and aura (Benjamin [1935] 2008) of the original work. This disposition is tacitly aware that the body—a sneeze, a fingerprint, a careless elbow—poses a potential threat to the art object. This disposition exercises self-restraint; visual contemplation must hold back against tactile appropriation. "One isn't to touch any of the works" is thus not only an injunction and condition for participation in museum space, but an enactment of recognition of the museum's cultural legitimacy.

In this context, teachers also learn that modern art demands a particular way of seeing: works are to be evaluated for their formal qualities rather than their representational functions or realist fidelity. Bourouissa's photography is not to be interpreted as a documentary reel of accidents. The depicted scenes are to be interpreted as hypothetical; they are realist without evidentiary function. The guide mediated teachers' potential pedagogical use of these photos by specifying their aesthetic value outside of their representational function: the photographs are exercises in classical staging and composition techniques, linking back to the "old masters." At a farther remove from realist conventions, the aesthetic value of Julius Kaesdorf's angel figures lay, as we saw, in their attributed quality of naiveté. The images engage with the art historical canon—Baroque sculpture—but are seen as disavowing the representational conventions of realism for a "child-like" style. Further, Kaesdorf's naïve representational style was made to

stand in an iconic relationship to Kaesdorf, as artist—his own entry into painting is framed as

non-intentional, taking place "by chance" (*par hasard*).[81]

The primacy of disavowing realist representational conventions within modern art applies

as much to "real" objects as it does to photographic or stylized representations. This principle

would surface in a subsequent visit to MAMCO, this time with Laure, a volunteer-teacher, and

her French class. During the visit, a few of Laure's students were puzzling over a multi-pronged

hat rack, suspended 4 feet from the ceiling, which cast a spider-shaped shadow on the wall. A

museum guide, noticing the students' interest, stepped in to mediate. She identified Marcel

Duchamp as the artist and explained that his works often made use of everyday objects which he

transformed so that they "no longer represented themselves."[82]

It is not coincidental that Bourdieu (1984) characterized the "aesthetic disposition"

required by works of legitimate art as concerned, primarily, with form rather than function. This

dispositional attunement to form calls for an "unlimited receptiveness on the part of the aesthete"

(30), able to view any object with an aesthetic intention. This is the disposition of the

disinterested subject who defers the consolations of representation to find aesthetic value in

formal experiment (a viewer for whom, as the guide said, the "meaning" of a work cannot be

inherent but is always "projected" on to it). Disinterested in realist fidelity, this viewer is able,

further, to perceive and decipher the formal and stylistic traits of an art object which allow the

work to be situated within a broader taxonomy. In other words, the aesthetic disposition is able to

identify, "decode," and speak about the individual art object in terms of its salient qualia—here,

the aesthetic appreciation of a "naïve" representational style, or an enjoyment of

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[81] As Chumley (2013) points out, in the semiotic ideologies of contemporary art, the aesthetic qualities of art objects are commonly "rhematized" (177), constructed as iconic of the persona of the artist.

[82] Duchamp's 1917 "Fountain," a signed porcelain urinal, is the best known of these.

"non-representational" forms (or, conversely, a delight in familiar forms apprehended non-representationally).

As the museum guide demonstrates in her pedagogy, not all the qualities of an art object are salient to an experience of aesthetic appreciation. Her discussion makes evident a hierarchy of qualia (and thus a hierarchy of seeing and speaking). At the far end of connoisseurship lies the ability to speak authoritatively about the qualia of style, discerning genealogical linkages between disparate works. This is the ability to show (and tell) that Kaesdorf's round grey figures are not merely *any* token of the angel type, but index specifically the voluptuous stone sculptures of the Baroque movement in a "naively" stylized way. This is also the connoisseurship able to discern the art-historical qualia of form—that can see the classic compositions of Rubens in Bourrouissa's images of workers in the Paris suburbs. In revealing these linkages, the guide positions herself in the role of art connoisseur, mediating the perception of visual qualia for her educator audience. As authority, her mediating role is to "train the sensoria" (Silverstein 2003, 226), imparting a vocabulary of expertise with the implication that the French teachers might take up the authoritative use of this evaluative framework in their own mediation of migrant students' practices of looking. This mediation attempts to reproduce an authorized gaze, its eye for qualities, and the visual histories these signify.

However, students not yet versed in the art-historical qualia of form or style—nearer to the "beginner" end of the spectrum—are invited to speak about the immediate properties of size, colour, shape, "raw materials," and their affective associations and impact. Presumed new to the practices of art appreciation, these speakers are instructed to stay within the parameters of "concrete" sense perception and the speech of internal reference (talk about how the object "makes you feel"). For absolute beginners on the continuum of connoisseurship, migrants

presumed to be too uncomfortable to talk about the art can be instructed to talk about the colours of the museum rooms—a first step towards rendering the museum more familiar or informal (*familier*).

As Silverstein (2003) demonstrates for the expert register of wine talk, the pedagogy of "art talk" engages multiple orders of indexicality. It indexes not only the qualities of the aesthetic object in question but, at a second order of indexicality, points to one's adherence to and mastery of the art talk register as a legitimate system of aesthetic evaluation. For the expert, "art talk" is thus a "register index of Speaker-focused identity" (2003, 211) whereby, for instance, talk of the stylistic distinctiveness of an art object indexes consubstantial traits of distinction in the speaker. It is perhaps through this posited consubstantiality that an appreciation for non-representational, formal experimentation becomes iconic of a modernity loosed from the supposed baggage of representation—the modern subject recognizes "the autonomy of the representation with respect to the thing represented" (Bourdieu 1984, 35). This Speaker-focused second order of indexicality, in turn, constructs migrant speakers as limited in command (assigning them the non-expert discursive domains of affect and "immediate" sense perception) and characterizes migrants as persons of limited educational qualifications, bearing a limited capacity for legitimate forms of aesthetic appreciation. Silverstein summarizes this ideology of consubstantiality: "it takes one to know one" (226). Bourdieu (1984) similarly characterized it as the ideology of "natural taste" which "only recognizes as legitimate the relation to culture (or language) which least bears the visible marks of its genesis, which has nothing 'academic', 'scholastic', 'bookish', 'affected', or 'studied' about it, but manifests by its very ease and naturalness that true culture is nature" (1984, 68).

That this hierarchy of speakers and qualities perceived corresponds to broader social hierarchies is clear in the brief exchange that followed the gallery-orientation meeting about whether one needs a "diploma" to enjoy modern art. When the French teachers discussed whether or not the museum visit could be an "intimidating" experience, they indexed the pre-supposed deficits of both culture ("foreigners") and class (lacking a "diploma") of the school's working-class, migrant public. While they disagreed about the effects of exposure to modern art on working-class migrants (would it engage or risk intimidating?), both teachers pre-supposed that their students lacked the collateral knowledge (Parmentier 1994) necessary to the legitimate appropriation of modern works and of the museum itself. In pointing to these assumed deficits, the teachers thus discursively constituted themselves as necessary brokers in the foreigner's apprenticeship of cultural consumption. Their discussion anticipates a potential clash of various classed and cultural life worlds—the contrasting dispositional structures of habitus (Bourdieu 1984; [1977] 2008)—in need of mediation: the teacher stands between, and places in the relation, the idea of the migrant's potential discomfort and the art expert's natural ease.

At yet another order of indexicality lies the will, then, to *suspend* the expert "art talk" register for an excluded (and potentially alienated) audience. This self-conscious non-adherence to an expert register—the decision, among the guide and teachers, to make art talk "accessible"—indexes teachers' will to neutralize if not equalize the in-built hierarchies of art appreciation. It is an enactment of equality which constructs the speaker as "modest" through a non-ostentatious register, and which constructs the domain of modern art as a republican space: universally accessible, public, inclusive, in a word, "open" (a recurring quality to which I will return). The reflexive suspension of a register, then, transforms the discursive hierarchy of modern art appreciation into a vehicle for egalitarianism, here, dialogically-imagined: migrants

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are invited to voice their opinions, make discoveries, and "express themselves," irrespective of legal status, cultural and class origins.

The understanding of modern art museums as equalized and emancipatory sites for migrant self-expression—a place where diverse voices are welcome—was later re-iterated by Gloria, an undocumented woman from Bolivia in an advanced French class taught by Laure. I recall how Gloria shared her thoughts after the class' very first visit to MAMCO, a few weeks following the teacher-orientation described above. With positivity and cheerfulness, Gloria told the group that while she began the visit unimpressed with the art (she would have liked Julius Kaesdorf's angels more, for instance, had he used brighter, less somber colours), she appreciated modern art after all. Re-iterating the gallery guide's words nearly exactly, Gloria told the class over a shared dinner later that night: "Art lets people express themselves." By trying to understand the meanings of the different works, she explained to us, "we're forced to use our imagination. We become artists, too."

The apprenticeship of modern art enacts this vision or understanding of equality, and stages the discursive roles of "integration" in Geneva. Genevan hospitality and the will to "open" and equalize exclusive spaces are enacted in several ways: in the insistence that an "intimidating" set of codes (whether those of modern art or the French language) be rendered accessible, in the view that social exclusions can be transformed to reflect inclusive values, and in the view that French instructors and cultural institutions possess the cultural flexibility to integrate various others. The culturally unacquainted migrant is positioned in a contrasting role—a student and recipient of codes for whom Genevan hospitality should be enough to overcome "intimidation." Attributing social forms with the quality of "difficulty" implies that these forms cannot be mastered without mediation. The quality of "difficulty" also distinguishes

those social forms which *ought* to be mastered (the "difficulty" of French and modern art render them worthwhile pursuits, migrant social forms are merely "foreign"). Induction into the codes of modern art is thus one situated practice where the underlying moral-political dilemmas of migrant integration are worked out: How is society to mediate the tension between equality and hierarchy? (Munn 1986). And how are social forms and persons which are seen to compromise a vision of formal equality to be mediated? Perhaps most important, how is Genevan/Swiss society to recuperate its own image of an "open" and hospitable milieu in a national and European context of deepening anti-migrant exclusions?

As cultural offering, the apprenticeship of "general culture" is shadowed by the possibility of subversion and infelicity; it is vulnerable to the "community," as described by Jeanne at the beginning of this chapter, in ways that contrast the qualia of "openness" with that of "closure." Genevan "openness" served as the foil to the migrant's "closed" cultural universe. The imputed "closure" of the ethnicized community—framed as a subversion of hospitality— was, for instance, described to me by Mélanie during one of our first interviews at the Migrant Center. The organizer of the cultural exchange program and the daughter of an Italian firefighter, Mélanie recounted how attending cultural events could encourage "openness" (*ouverture*), but also ran the risk of reinforcing migrants' bondage to ethnic ties and problematic cultural patterns. When I asked Mélanie why "cultural exchange nights" were a key aspect of migrant integration, she lauded Geneva's unique "accessibility to culture" (*accessibilité à la culture*) and explained that participation in the city's cultural life was necessary to learning new things and "opening people up" (*d'ouvrir les gens*). She relayed that while a steady program of cultural outings was likely "intolerable to people who watch television" (*intolerable aux gens qui regardent la*

télévision), it was important for newcomers to "do something" (*faire quelque chose*) and not remain "locked away" (*pas rester enfermé*).

Mélanie then provided an example of how the qualities of "openness" and "closure" recur within the broader category of "migrants": "I hope this example won't bother you and I don't mean to stereotype. There are surely exceptions," she began. She explained that Geneva's largely Filipino community, namely Filipinas, demonstrated no desire to integrate. "When we have cultural outings," she continued, "they come because it's fun or because they want to see the mountains, but they only associate with other Filipinos. They speak Tagalog and they don't talk to the others (in French) at all. They even prepare food that they only share amongst themselves!" I remember Mélanie's earnest and baffled look when she lamented that, against the good will of the state and the Center, the Filipinas' only concerns seemed to revolve around meeting other Filipinos, earning money, and sending home remittances. This view was re-iterated in a later conversation with a local ethnopsychologist who characterized the Filipino community as "very discreet" (*très discrète*). Mélanie accounted for this "closure" in culturalized terms: Filipinas took up work in Europe as domestics and cleaners out of a cultural and gendered pattern of "sacrifice" (*sacrifice*) for their families in the Philippines, preventing their full integration into Switzerland. "[Sacrifice] is a concept I don't agree with at all. For this reason, I'm actually quite mad at the Filipinas," she told me. She offered a critique of Philippine attitudes against abortion and the use of contraceptives, voicing her alignment with a feminist Left-leaning politics that was often mobilized, interestingly, to problematize migrant women's choices. Language, food-sharing, the sacrificial handling of money, and unemancipated sexual practices constituted the signs by which Philippine women became an example of a hard to reach population who had refused Swiss hospitality. Such critiques de-politicize and "culturalize"

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migrant comportment (viewing, in this case, "sacrifice" and discretion as strictly cultural formations rather than as responses to state programs of monetary remittance or undocumented status).

Mélanie contrasted Filipinas to another social group with a historical legacy of Spanish colonial rule—Geneva's Latina population. "Again," she qualified, "this isn't meant to stereotype, but Latinas are the opposite. They are from Ecuador, Argentina, Colombia and a lot of them do similar kinds of domestic work. But when they come here, they want to make a life. Many of them have no desire to go back to South America, and want to settle. For that, they're already signing up for French courses on the airplane! They learn quickly because they desire to make a new life in Switzerland."

Ensuring the migrant's "openness" is thus a pre-occupation underlying practices of cultural and aesthetic apprenticeship. "Openness," as qualia, invites images of permeable boundaries, unhampered mobility, personal freedom, the transcendence of cultural particularity, and gratitude for hospitality which buttress a vision of an ethical and equalized social order. In contrast, the qualia of "closure" is tinged with the homogenizing force of the ethnic "community." As Mélanie recounted, citing indices of class (the Filipina worker's imputed materialism) and culture (the sacrificial remittance of wages), sometimes exposure to "general culture" is seen as unsuccessful in overcoming the centripetal forces exerted by the "community."

In the next section, I discuss how the recurring motif of "opening up" closed cultural collectives via encounters with "general culture" emerges in pedagogical discourses around the institutional figure of the "illiterate French-learner" (denoted by the term *analphabète*). A key figure of risk and alterity, the character of the (Muslim woman) *analphabète* is seen to threaten a

vision of equality and openness which argues that cultural-linguistic codes are to be universalized and made accessible. Literacy education unfolds according to a diagnostic framework which constructs the gendered illiterate subject as one whose signifying practices and sense perceptions require certain kinds of cultural rehabilitation.

General culture, "Illiteracy," and the Foreign

In 18th century republican Geneva, literacy was a component of (male) civic duty. Where political contestation took the form of tract wars, literacy was constructed as the safe-guard of equality. Reading and writing secured the capacity for agentive individual inquiry upon which the vitality of the republic rested. In the current Swiss national context, the minimal linguistic requirement conditions who is "integrated" and deserving of naturalization. Where citizenship itself is made commensurate with, or calibrated to, a standardized model of literacy, the discursively productive figure of the "illiterate" foreigner is a key site of pedagogic-diagnostic reasoning.

At the Migrant Center, the *analphabète* ("without alphabet") was a key figure of pedagogical triage: migrants identified as illiterate were placed into one stream of training, while those with literacy skills were placed in another. While all students were seen as requiring French instruction, the *analphabète* was defined almost solely in terms of a vocabulary of profound deficit. To the extent that, as Michael Herzfeld (1987) writes, "The powerless are symbolically illiterate: …deficiency defines them" (39), this section tracks how concepts of literacy—among others, that literacy is quintessentially European (40)—relate to the apprenticeship of general culture. In a context where universal literacy presents a key to migrant social mobility, I will discuss how the attributed communicative deficiencies of "illiterate"

persons are made iconic of deficits in personal agency which, in turn, may be redressed by "cultural" experiences.

The Migrant Center's Alpha sector is responsible for the French-instruction of adult migrants who are identified as having difficulties with both French-language communication and literacy. In 2013, I spoke with Stéphane, a jovial instructor in middle-age who had served since 2006 as one of the school's Alpha instructors and was also a steady volunteer in the school's sport program. Seated in the teacher's library, surrounded by pedagogy texts and large-print French phonetic charts, Stéphane exuded a positive and enthusiastic energy. He expressed, at times, an almost protective care and concern for his students, providing me with information about their individual learning trajectories and difficulties, citing what he saw as the unfortunate Right-ward political turn that Swiss integration policy had recently taken since the early 2000s which were making naturalization more dependent on literacy skills for evidence of "integration." Voicing his genealogy in Genevan republican principles, Stéphane told me: "In Geneva, our roots lie in the philosophers. Rousseau would never have tolerated those people" (*Nos racines, ce sont des philosophes. Rousseau n'aurait jamais supporté ces gens-là*).

The political value of equality, however, does not imply sameness. Stéphane explained that Alpha students were a "different group from the rest" (*un différent public que les autres*). They were identified as those whose experiences with formal education were lacking (*pas scolarisé du tout*) or less than 3 years in the "mother tongue" (*langue maternelle*), necessitating alternate modes of instruction. Alpha classrooms had fewer students in order to give each individual learner more personalized instruction time (typically no more than 6 students to 2 instructors). In addition, Alpha instructors were different from the school's volunteer instruction sector; teachers like Stéphane were trained specialists in second-language literacy.

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As Stéphane put it simply, "We welcome people with [learning] blocks" (*On accueille des gens avec des blocages*). Many of Stéphane's current students had endured difficult trajectories in Switzerland. Several had lived there for many years (*en Suisse depuis longtemps*), were without legal status, were typically over the age of 50, and a majority had migrated to Switzerland from Africa and the Middle East. Stéphane cited a recent increase in undocumented students from West Africa in his classroom. Despite this legal exclusion, he described his typical Alpha student as "completely integrated" into Swiss life, save for the lack of an opportunity to pursue educational advancement (*des gens complètement integrés en Suisse, sans occasion de se scolariser*). Nearly 80% of his Alpha students, he explained, were older women who had missed educational opportunities because of family duties. Stéphane imparted that his students compensated for and managed the stigma of this lack in their lives outside the classroom; "I forgot my glasses" was a common response to requests for forms and signatures.

While describing these recent shifts in class composition, Stéphane maintained that illiteracy remained heavily feminized. He ascribed this imbalance to the widespread "idea that women are the guardians of a culture" (*l'idée que la femme est la gardienne de la culture*). This reproductive role of "guardian" entailed not only an educational but a learning deficit: the woman's "fear of losing her own language puts a 'brake' on learning" (*la peur de perdre sa propre langue met un frein à l'apprentissage*), Stéphane told me. Further, the illiteracy of the *analphabète* woman had cascading intergenerational effects. Stéphane mentioned a former student, a single-mother from Morocco, who had many years of difficulty integrating and helping her now 18-year old son navigate the Genevan school system.[83]

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[83] The co-ordinator of a nearby women's center which also offered an integration program for migrant and refugee women, raised a similar dynamic: above all, she explained, it was a mother's level of French-language education that could ensure well-integrated children.

The school's pedagogical discourse constructed several diagnostic domains around the figure of the "illiterate" migrant. At the most immediate, the *analphabète*'s deficits were conceived as linguistic and communicative in ways which constructed the borders of the French language. Stéphane described Aman, a Somali Alpha student who "could not read letters, though he could speak a lot" (*il lit pas des lettres, mais il parle enormément*). Despite Aman's prolific speech, Stéphane explained, his communicative potential was undermined by an "accent." Stéphane clarified: Aman's way of speaking was "not wrong, but one doesn't hear French prosody. It's a way of delivering things. One doesn't understand [him]" (*ce n'est pas faux, mais on entend pas la prosodie française. C'est une façon de poser des choses. On ne comprend pas).* Beyond "accents," the largest general hurdle for the *analphabète* learner was the inability to make sense of "consonant-vowel" (*consonne-voyelle*) relationships and, in particular, to consistently identify a single phonetic value for each letter of the French alphabet. Stéphane's students, he explained, had difficulty grasping the principle of "one symbol, one sound" (*Un signe, un son*). Where the universalization of literacy held equalizing promise, the task was to re-figure the migrant's relationship to signs—in particular, to sensitize learners to the French alphabet as a series of conventional phonetic symbols. In an institutional publication on illiteracy, an Alpha instructor explicitly aligns literacy and power; possession of what she terms the "alphabetic order" (Schautz 2005, 29) demonstrates the capacity to memorize and internalize the alphabet as an abstracted sequence—the most important system of classification in literate societies (29).

The ascribed mnemonic and communicative deficits of the *analphabète* highlight specific spatial and temporal deficits in need of remediation. The same Alpha instructor thus advises directing classroom conversation towards topics that impart "the organization of the Western

world" (Schautz 2005, 31); spatial and temporal concepts and representations are "questions of civilization" (*questions de civilization*). She lists among the salient occidental concepts the distinction between left and right (and thus Geneva's Left and Right banks); near and far; north and south; one's situation in the city relative to home and landmarks; the level of one's apartment; the location of Switzerland on a world map; Switzerland's bordering countries, and their geographical features (30). In conversation, Stéphane likewise explained that he often assigned his Alpha students simplified crossword puzzles and double-entry tables (i.e. large-print, hand-drawn Excel spreadsheets showing, for instance, the weather on a particular day of the week). These assignments were important because, he said, they presented spatial concepts (verticality, horizontality) in and through the written word, and resembled the forms migrants often had to fill in their contacts with the state. Temporal orientations and representations are equally critical to instill: the ability to identify one's arrival date in Switzerland, one's age in years, the age of one's children; literacy in clock-time and the use of alarms and wristwatches; the differentiation between an hour, half-hour, and quarter-hour; indeed, as the instructor writes, developing a *feeling* for time and "experience what a minute or an hour represents" (30); the attendant temporal skill of punctuality.

Most critically, transmitting the "alphabetic order" entails establishing a particular relationship between the *analphabète* and the alphabet, as sign system. In this rehabilitated semiotic ideology (Keane 2003), letters are to be understood as purely arbitrary signs. To cite Peircean terms, the instructor differentiates between the use of letters as "symbols" (purely conventional, phonetic signs) and the use of letters as "icons" (or signs which bear likeness, contact, or consubstantial essence with, in this case, other-worldly objects which can exert auspicious cosmic influence). In this vein, the instructor describes one *analphabète*'s mistaken

use of French letters as efficacious icons: "[I]n many cultures, letters are also symbols, codes, and stand in direct relation with religion or the mystical. I recall one Tamil student who added letters to her name so that the number held a better meaning, a better influence on her life. She wrote her name in one way, [but] one had to pronounce it completely differently!" (Schautz 2005, 31). In bureaucratic societies where immigration decisions rely heavily on the migrant's ability to expertly and adeptly perform their credibility through paperwork (Chu 2010), often for inscrutable state agents wielding discretionary power, positing the cosmic influence of letters on destiny is not at all far-fetched. Ultimately, the *analphabète* must unlearn the notion that letters bear transcendent linkages.

Critically, the *analphabète*'s imputed communicative deficiencies are rhematized, or are interpreted as an iconic representation of an underlying meta-deficit: a lack of personal agency. In Peirce's semiotic theory, a "rheme" is a sign which an interpretant apprehends to be an icon, irrespective of the sign's actual relation to its object (Parmentier 1994, 13). The *analphabète*'s communicative practices do not necessarily reflect an inherent refusal to learn; this iconic relation must be made. The absence of an internalized alphabetic symbol system and its attendant spatio-temporal order, as well as a "fatalistic" view of the cosmological potency of letters are made to stand as iconic signs of the *analphabète*'s passivity. The passage below shows the diagnostic reasoning by which "illiteracy" is semiotically sutured to a more encompassing lived pattern of denial and an acceptance of disempowerment. Agency is subverted by continuous self-deceptions:

> Adult *analphabètes* are completely capable of study, reflection, and thought. But they don't know it; they don't realize it… They often live in considerable precarity, and thus have a total loss of confidence in, and esteem for, themselves…They often believe that one has to learn by heart but say, at the same time, that they lack the memory for it. And it's true: they no longer have the memory. Because they have *decided* to forget everything [whether] consciously or unconsciously. (Schautz 2005, 23, my translation)

For this instructor, Muslim migrant women—the majority of her students, she tells the reader—are particularly prone to this form of self-deception and to a "regressive" bad faith in the classroom which, she explains, reflects a blockage that stems from women's (passive) over-conformity with their "traditional" social role in Muslim societies. She says: "They have acquired a certain life experience. They are all accomplished women, mothers, even grand-mothers. They know life. But [this life] is not the same as the life of rules, customs, and traditions that they know of. So, they block themselves off, they put on the brakes, they put aside what they've learned of life and end up in class no longer acquainted with adult matters, preferring to play like children" (24). As an interstitially positioned "transmitter of social rites" (44), the literacy instructor constructs her own mediating role as one who forces the student "to be active" (20).

The distinction I have identified above between two qualia of literacy-learning—"active" and "passive"—is recursively (Irvine and Gal 2000) re-produced in the domain of general culture, where the same instructor differentiates between "active" and "passive" varieties of sense perception. Exposure to the proper cultural artifacts, she suggests, can have a mobilizing effect on the *analphabète* by replacing passive perceptions with agentive ones—a mobilization enabled by affect. In a revealing account, this instructor explains that, by making the effort to develop literacy skills, the *analphabète* woman attains a new "literate" identity and status in Switzerland. This transformation is furthered by exposure to Genevan cultural life (here, Geneva's International Museum of the Red Cross). The instructor's account describes the *analphabète*'s "coming to consciousness" as follows:

> To this coming to consciousness of [her] new status is added a consciousness of the "way of the world," even the "misery of the world"… The discovery of human/women's rights and migrant rights, or branches of the United Nations which combat slavery, sexual exploitation or child labour shows them to what degree the sympathetic sphere of the

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home protected them, all the while cloistering them from the horrors of the world and the North-South imbalances of which they were seldom aware, in spite of the long hours spent in front of the television. This paradox mostly relies on their use of satellite dishes which recreate, in Geneva, in their apartment, the life over there, the life of before…

One day, I took them, as a group, to the International Museum of the Red Cross. Though they recognized the violent images of wars they had fled or, worse, that they had experienced, they weren't aware of the extent of the disasters. They had seen war from up close, at their level, the level of the "family": [in the museum] they discovered mass graves, mines, images of child soldiers on the global scale. I remember an Afghani woman who, during the entire "visit," cried beside me, praying in Dari for the soul of all the dead for whom she suddenly felt a bit responsible. (Schautz 2005, 41, my translation)

Psychoanalyst and founder of ethno-psychiatry, Tobie Nathan, posited that a migrant's exposure to familiar 'cultural material' held therapeutic effects. Within the ethno-psychiatric framework, migrant patients are encouraged to pursue cultural contact with the objects, texts, identities, and practices of "home" following migration. The passage above provides a contrasting therapeutic framework—one in which culturally "familiar" media encourage a lack of productivity, and where a proper encounter with materials of the Occident provides the main vector for rehabilitation. In particular, exposure to the visual media of the "West" is a means for emerging from the *analphabète*'s imputed self-imposed cultural provincialism, spatially analogized by the closed and sympathetic "cloister" of the domestic/private sphere and its mass-mediated paraphernalia of nostalgia. These media, and their attendant perceptual practices, are construed as visual "matter out of place": they re-introduce "the life over there, the life of before" into a here-and-now deictically constructed as dissimilar by the instructor. In particular, exposure to Geneva's Museum of the Red Cross—a Swiss institution of humanitarian memory— enables a considerable scalar shift: the *analphabète* learns to situate her own displacement and migration within a global (rather than familial) context. The making of modern and cosmopolitan

subjects thus entails cultivating a properly globalized vantage point and consciousness—a "view from nowhere."

Museum-going is also a means for refashioning the illiterate subject's moral sensibility. Acquaintance with the West's liberal traditions (humanitarianism and the universalist framework of human rights) occasions a global consciousness characterized by new visual capacities, new qualities of visual experience, and new modes of affect. The teacher describes a particularly humanitarian gaze and sensibility—a redemptive, humanizing, and active mode of looking and bearing witness to the "world's misery" from the scale of the human. In contrast to her previous practices of "passive" watching—the "long hours spent in front of the television" evoke the dependent figure of the American "welfare queen"—the migrant visitor to the Museum of the Red Cross learns to look at a succession of images of suffering in ways that are to both humanize and responsibilize her. As elsewhere in Western Europe, but particularly in Geneva, this concerned and humanized watcher—the embodiment of empathy and global responsibility—constitutes an ideal world citizen in a canton-republic known for its internationalism.

I do not suggest that this visual training of moral sensibility is inherently misguided, but it is critical to situate its roots in a universalizing liberal tradition which has too easily assigned itself the task of emancipating (civilizing) modernity's radical Others—here, the discursively productive figure of the *analphabète* Muslim migrant woman who is, according to her Swiss narrator, affectively transformed by an encounter with the visual media of Swiss humanitarian memory. In other words, fleeing war does not make one a properly cosmopolitan subject—one must know how to witness war in a way that enacts one's moral responsibility. Tears and prayer are the signs not only of global consciousness, but of conscience. This example invites us to attend to the ways that modes of "sympathetic liberalism" (Ong 1996, 738) engender, through

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general and material culture, their own historically situated economies of looking. As Mookherjee (2011) writes of the Bangladesh Liberation War Museum, what she terms "genocidal cosmopolitanism" (80)—which visualizes and narrates genocide using intertextual local, national, and global tropes—is inherently an activating practice, embedded in the national imagination. Its prescribed ways of seeing enable a "pedagogical role of the conscience in order to aesthetically mobilize the apathetic and make one politically aware of the 'world' and the 'other'" (80). In this instance, the cosmopolitan Genevan's awareness of the "other" constitutes a set of visual pedagogies by which non-literate others are constructed and taught to see themselves.

Is it an irony of the cosmopolitan chronotope that, in its zeal to rehabilitate and endow the *analphabète* with agentive capacities of cultural appreciation, it risks overlooking structural experiences of curtailment and inequality at the national scale? In discussions with Alpha teachers and students, the topic of citizenship remained strangely absent from talk of the *analphabète*'s integration. Despite the often multiple decades that many elderly Alpha students had lived and worked in Geneva (commonly long past the 12-year residency requirement for naturalization), citizenship was not on the aspirational horizon. Aman, the Somali Alpha student discussed earlier, had long worked in Geneva's Hotel President Wilson as a dishwasher. In his 60s when I met him, he was attending Stéphane's class dutifully twice a week, after dialysis sessions. During a break in class one day, he told me about the period in his life when he remitted most of his earnings to his family with the hopes that he might one day be able to sponsor them through family re-unification. When I asked him about whether he thought Swiss citizenship would help his re-unification efforts, he dismissed the desire and possibility: "Naturalization. What's the use?" (*Naturalisation. A quoi ça sert?*).

Conclusion

Bourdieu's (1984) aim of analyzing the aesthetic disposition—and the social distinction it conferred—was to interrogate the naturalization of the aptitude for art appreciation, and bring to light the conditions which enabled the reproduction of a cultural nobility, that is, to "bring to light the hidden conditions of the miracle of the unequal class distribution of the capacity for inspired encounters with works of art" (29). In this chapter, I have taken a different approach to the analysis of cultural consumption as habitus, viewing visual practices in the domain of "general culture" as sites for constructing difference hinged on the republican political value of equality. While this will to equalize bears some elements of standardization, I argue that enactments of equality are not hinged on the elimination of hierarchy (a vision of "equality in sameness") but hinge, rather, on social processes of "accessibility" which negotiate differences and hierarchies while invoking egalitarian values. Engaging the qualia of open/closed and passive/active to characterize contrasting kinds of aesthetic practice, space, person, models of community, and kinds of "integration" itself, the Genevan will to equalize expresses itself in terms of transmittable and mutable properties: because the Genevans are themselves "open," integration strives to "open up" "closed" cultural communities and perceptual practices. Likewise, the gallery and museum are "open" spaces, in contrast to the supposed "cloister" of the home. And while "active" modes of learning and seeing are equalizing, "passive" ones must be rehabilitated.

In the following chapter of the dissertation, I consider another interstitial locus of rehabilitation and integration—namely, the Migrant Center's French language classroom. In particular, I track humanitarian cantonal discourses around undocumented persons in Geneva that render migrant "legality" dependent on linguistic competences, and I consider how French-

instruction constituted a mode of domestic humanitarian practice that took the form of migrant responsibilization (many of the job-searchers described self-identified as undocumented, or held a precarious legal status). I ask: How are ideas of "skill" and French competences invoked in official and ordinary pedagogical talk about migrant social mobility? How do language-teachers broker French competences, and what solidarities and self-understandings arise from this encounter of voluntary welcome work? Finally, I consider what kinds of temporalities characterize the condition of "illegality"—how migrants themselves conceive of the language-legality nexus and strive to render conditions of contingency livable.

Two Temporalities: Willing and Waiting

Once a week, a small group of migrant French language-learners assembled in the busy and bustling first-floor cafeteria of The Migrant Center. They assembled as a writing group, supervised by Agnès, a volunteer French-teacher who taught an Advanced level French course at the school. For Agnès, the aim of the writing group was to encourage students to practice expository writing in French on topics relating to their experiences in migration, integration, and living in Geneva. I joined the writing group on one of their weekly meetings in early November, just after the beginning of the school's 2012 program year. It was my first time participating in the group, and, in a short briefing before I attended, Agnès reminded me that the majority of its members were, in her words, residing in Geneva "without permits" (*sans permis*). She explained that the school took several measures to protect its undocumented students' personal information. One strategy was to refrain from asking for certain forms of personal information at all: at registration students were only asked for their names and the commune in which they currently lived. They were not asked to provide a fixed address.

During this writing group meeting, the students were enthusiastic in sharing job-search strategies. The conversation quickly turned towards the question of whether it would be worth the effort and, at the time, the 100 CHF expense to get the *Certificat Voltaire*. Recognized in France and Switzerland, and issued upon passing a written examination, the *Certificat Voltaire* signals the added-value of the test-taker to potential employers—it is a marker of distinction and an institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984, 2007) attesting to its holder's written competences in business-level French-language communication. The certificate's informational website urges potential test-takers to "distinguish your CV" (*différenciez votre CV*) and it is an attractive certification to have for migrants hoping to secure even entry-level office work.

Among the writing group members was Bianca, a photo archivist and MA-graduate from Bologna, Italy, who I had come to know, and who quite recently was granted a B residence permit by the cantonal authorities (which she would have to renew after one year). At the time, Bianca was living with her partner, Paolo, a waiter in a well-known lakeside luxury hotel, and she was working in child care, taking up short-term baby-sitting jobs across the canton. Wanting to pursue the archivist work which she trained for, she valued all opportunities to continue her education. It was through her that I learned that Europe's oldest university is located in Bologna, and she was an adamant advocate on the importance of pursuing ongoing skills-training in Geneva. During the group discussion, Bianca explained her rationale for planning to write the exam to attain the *Certificat Voltaire.* "Why not get the certificate?" she said, addressing the group. "It's very well-known (*c'est si connu*). It's a little something more to show that I'm capable of doing certain things. Here (in Switzerland), one always has to show something (*il faut toujours montrer quelque chose*). There can be a big gap between when foreigners (*étrangers*) arrive and when they find legal work (*travail régulier*). How else can you justify 2 years without work?" Another member at the table agreed with Bianca that the need to fill the "empty" time of unemployment—or, undocumented and unverifiable employment in a domain unrelated to one's career—was just as important as skills-building: "Exams, certification, volunteering. When you're unemployed, you have to demonstrate that you're still doing things. Last October, I didn't manage to find a job, but I could have done some volunteering." She switched to the imperative, addressing the group: "Demonstrate that you continue to be active. Otherwise, people will judge you."

A student from Brazil unexpectedly intercepted the high-spirited advice-giving: "But how do you avoid sadness, depression?" In a gesture conveying the desire to encourage others,

characteristic of Bianca's friendships with her classmates, she answered, unwavering: "Every day, we can find will and power (*la volonté et la force*). Yes, there are depressive periods, but the difference lies in your will to find a solution. It's important that you do, and not (merely) think" (*il faut que tu fais et pas que tu penses*). Based on a later conversation with Bianca, it struck me that this argument for sheer tenacity in the face of the constraints posed by conditions of unemployment and insecure legal status had served Bianca well. She told me, later on, that she had spent her first year in Switzerland "without papers" (*sans papiers*) because she did not know that, through the Swiss-EU Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons, even unemployed European nationals had some privileged status when applying for Swiss residence permits. She attributed the difficulties of that first undocumented year to the evasive and prevaricating personnel at Geneva's migration office, and their unwillingness to cooperate and divulge the necessary information to her. "I had to go there ten times," she recalled in exasperation, "to finally meet someone, one day, who had the time and disposition to explain to me 'yes, madame, you *have* the opportunity to get a permit without a job.' That was frustrating." Once Bianca received her permit, she was able to apply for and secure an internship with a photography museum in Lausanne—an opportunity she was extremely hopeful about.

The writing group discussion grew even more animated as people began to share advice and knowledge on how to stay economically and psychologically afloat in uncertain times. The talk around the table turned to the topic of rendering insecurity livable; migrants reinforced the need to stay active, to entrepreneurially pursue one's own integration as a project of continued skills-training. Another group member re-iterated Bianca's emphasis on action: "I tell myself that I've already made it. That it's not time to stop. One has to take action more than think" (*je me dis que j'ai déjà réussi. C'est pas le moment d'arrêter. Il faut agir plus que penser*).

"The first month I was here," continued another, "I thought a lot about things, but it wasn't a good situation. Staying very active is a good response to a difficult situation."

Still another member commanded, "Always have something to *do* - a French course, get informed, see a friend, go out. These things give constancy and balance. Have a small goal (*un petit objectif*). It may be small, but it's something."

Addressing the table, Bianca then argued that, in addition to skills-training, it was essential to focus on "regularizing" one's status first, rather than burning up all one's energies in the often unpromising search for work. As a migrant who had been successful in transitioning from undocumented status to getting her "papers," Bianca positioned herself as a knowledgeable resource-person and was eager to share her hard won expertise. Her willingness to help and her experience overcoming the significant hurdles of the Swiss bureaucratic process, I thought at the time, would have made her an ideal volunteer teacher at The Migrant Center.

Without naming him, she brought up the story of her good friend and classmate who I knew to be Luis, a Spanish national who left Madrid in 2008, at the outset of the global financial crisis (his job-search is the topic of much of the next chapter). "I have a friend," she recounted earnestly and with characteristic concern, "who has not been able to find stable work. He goes into restaurants in the Paquis [the restaurant, entertainment, and hotel district], saying '*bonjour, do you want someone who can work?*' I've been to the Cantonal Office 10 times, yet he has never even gone once!" Urging her classmates to focus on getting their residency documents, she concluded: "Once you get a permit, you can go out and make your days matter (*donne importance à tes jours*). Otherwise, it's like you're not here (*c'est comme tu n'es pas ici*). When I arrived here, I said, 'I would like to be legal' (*je voudrais être regulière*). I have the right. I'm European."

Bianca's statement ("I'm European") indexes Switzerland's dual immigration system which stratifies access to "legalization" according to a migrant's country of origin; non-EU/EFTA migrants encounter consistent barriers to legalization, often in spite of attempts to demonstrate the good will to integrate (recall Chapter 2). The Brazilian woman who had brought up the question of mental health earlier in the conversation appeared encouraged by Bianca's counsel, yet I sensed that a skepticism remained in her tone. She pointed out that, despite her active social involvements and will to stay busy, she experienced something in Switzerland which she had never before endured: "the sickness of *saudade*, the nostalgia that you always have with you" (*la maladie de saudade, la nostalgie que tu as toujours*). She described *saudade* as the state of "connecting everything back to your country, only to say 'in my country, it's better.'"

Bianca nodded. "Yes," she began. "It's like living in *limbo* (*les limbes*). *Limbo* is for persons who pass on before coming to know God. *Limbo* houses all the children who died before baptism," she explained, using the Italian verb *ospitare* (to host, to house, to accommodate). "Those in *limbo* will never pass through; they live in a state of suspension in the desire to know God. I live my life, but I've lost the sense of being Italian. You understand that you've lost something and also that you'll never be Swiss." The group fell silent. "There's no possibility of entering into the new culture," she continued. "You can develop new habits (*des habitudes*), but for the majority of foreigners who leave their country, it's life in suspension. Something gets lost. In *limbo*, there's no suffering, no joy. Just the pendulum."

CHAPTER FIVE

Working Subjects: Skilling for Social Mobility in French-Language Teaching

The figure of the undocumented migrant—referred to as *sans papiers* in both state and ordinary

discourse in French-speaking Switzerland—occupies a fraught yet constitutive position in both

Swiss and Genevan imaginaries of hospitality. Employed on a segmented labour market,

undocumented migrant labourers are vital to the Swiss economy. A recent study commissioned

for the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration estimated that roughly 76,000 *sans papiers*[84] were

living in Switzerland, 13,000 (17%) of which were estimated to be residing in Geneva (B, S, S.

Wolkswirtschaftliche Beratung 2015). In the study's estimates, migrants from South and Central

America represent the largest group of Switzerland's undocumented population (43%), followed

by European migrants from outside the EU (24%), Africa (19%) and Asia (11%) (2015, 40). The

study also estimates that a majority of Switzerland's undocumented persons are not transitory but

long-time residents in Switzerland, having settled between 5 and 10 years (39). Undocumented

migrants are routinely employed in the construction and agricultural sectors, and are heavily

represented in the domestic care-giving, restaurant and hotel industries (constituting a critical

labour force in a country where tourism is a key economic driver). An estimated half of all

undocumented migrants in Switzerland are domestic workers employed in both Swiss and

"expatriate" households where they provide essential caregiving and domestic services for

families, children, and the elderly. In Geneva, undocumented labourers are critical to the

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[84] The federal study identifies 3 "profiles" or routes to *sans papiers* status in Switzerland: refused asylum seekers; migrants residing in Switzerland past the expiry of a short-term residence permit or tourist visa; and what the report terms *clandestins,* or migrants arriving in Switzerland without travel documents (2015, 37).

reproduction of the city and canton's reputation as a site of global hospitality; the category of persons identified as *sans papiers* thus enables moral and economic value-production for the very industries that give Geneva its valorized "host city" status.[85]

As in other contexts, the ways that undocumented labour enables both national and regional economies stands in contrast to typifications of the undocumented in public and policy discourse as "persons out of place," to adapt Mary Douglas' term. The term *sans papiers* itself conjures up images of lack and transgression and, in the terms of hospitality, indexes European and national anxieties around the uninvited guest, if not the "parasite" who dwells inside its host (Serres 1982). In Swiss concepts of integration, the incorporation of this threatening yet economically productive figure took a particular shape: national "language" was framed as a pre-condition and means for an undocumented migrant's legalization. In other words, it was not enough to have labored for the state; migrants were conceived of as conveying readiness for "regularization" (*regularisation*) by learning a national language. As such, teaching a national language constituted a key site at which concepts of reception and hospitality vis-à-vis undocumented migrants was practiced.

This tethering of language to legality, in state and public discourse, became all the more salient a few years after I had left the field: the Canton of Geneva requested 5,000 resident permits at the federal level to launch a pilot program from 2017 to 2018, dubbed "Operation Papyrus," which aimed to legalize the status of a number of the canton's undocumented population. The program gave migrants a window of time to apply for regularization provided that they fulfilled several key criteria: they were required to give evidence of debt-free status,

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[85] A local journalist relayed that it was mainly undocumented African workers who performed cleaning and maintenance work for Geneva's prestigious banks and 5-star hotels, one quite well-known for its 10,000 CHF/night penthouse suite. Local police suspended document and ID inspections during these nighttime maintenance hours (2013, personal communication).

evidence of financial self-support, proof of continuous residence in Geneva surpassing 10 years, and spoken French competences. These indices were taken, by the Canton, as signs of personal responsibility and the will to integrate. The first of its kind in Switzerland, the project was lauded by progressive circles. It also evinces the logics of a hospitality extended or withheld on linguistic-communicative criteria—where "guests" deserving of formal incorporation are the ones who demonstrate that they can speak like "us."[86]

This chapter aims to investigate how hospitality is imagined and practiced in this context, and the contradictions it engenders for teachers and students alike. In the first half of the chapter, I look at the language-learning classroom to examine how French teachers navigate state discourses which tether language to legality and social mobility. I discuss teachers' complex and mediating role vis-à-vis their students and the state—that is, the ways teachers both reproduce and question state discourses on "integration"—and the forms of immanent critique that the classroom encounter makes possible as a staging-site for a kind of mediation of the guest-host (migrant-citizen) relationship. As I will show, what emerges in encounter is a fraught hospitality in which teachers often find themselves caught between espousing a neoliberal pedagogy of migrant "responsibilization" and an ethics of migrant solidarity. I suggest that teachers and students express and negotiate this value contradiction through talk about communicative and linguistic/French norms, invoking them, contesting them, dismissing them, or else making them the topic of scrutiny through subtle jest. In the classroom, this talk, often happened in the midst

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[86] As the Canton states, the program's further aims included fighting abuses in the workplace, combatting "wage dumping," enforcing taxation, and recognizing "integration" (Republic and Canton of Geneva 2019b).

of rehearsals of dominant "scripts"[87] (Carr 2011) for migrants' job-search activities which

included practices of coaching migrants in how to, for instance, inquire about work, present

themselves to prospective employers and, arguably, market themselves as flexible labourers (in

effect, reframing conditions of contingency as a "skill").

The ways that teachers make sense of their own volunteer labour vis-à-vis students is an

important part of this story, and is critical to understanding the moral world of a classroom where

"guests" are received and skills-trained by *other* "guests," and where hospitality is grappled with

in both its economic and ethical entailments. In particular, the unremunerated nature of welcome

work was crucial, for teachers, to its moral framing with instructors often characterizing their

work as ultimately incommensurate with economic rationalities, despite the fact that their unpaid

labour eased migrants' transition into the local job market, contributing to market logics and

forms of valuation. Unpaid welcome work is thus a complex assemblage of mediating practices,

forms of knowledge, and ethical-moral stances; it can be characterized as "critical-complicit"

(Muehlebach 2012, 51) vis-à-vis economic orders, as I will explore further.

In the second half of the chapter, I consider the uptake of the above modes of linguistic-

communicative training by examining the metalinguistic reflections of Luis, a Spanish national

who, at the time of my research, had been living in Geneva without residency authorization for

two years prior to our meeting at the Migrant Center. His reflections provide an altogether

different discursive construction of the relationship between language, legalization, skill, and

social mobility—one that interrogates classroom/institutional models by reflecting on what De

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[87] I refer, too, to her concept of "flipping the script" through the strategic reproduction of institutionally expected forms of talk. As Carr (2011) writes, scripts are "text artifacts that store the rules and roles of performances, so that each instance of their enactment is never original in any pure sense" (192). Reflecting on Goffman's distinction between the *author* and *animator* of a text, Carr further highlights that "one's verbal rendering of a script is never true or false, but rather more or less successful, faithful, or believable" (192)—felicitous, in J.L. Austin's terms.

Genova terms the legal production of migrant illegality (2002), as well as the potential for agentive framings of legal and economic contingency. In thinking about concepts of "skill," "language," and ultimately "responsibility," this chapter attempts to trace an epistemic trajectory (Raikhel and Garriott 2013; Garriott and Raikhel 2015) of the integration concept as it travels beyond institutional/classroom walls and is mobilized by various actors, influencing understandings of mobility, and constituting the spaces in which lives are lived.

"Skilling" as Welcome

As described in Chapter 3, in my discussion of popular education, The Migrant Center is a site of political mobilization, support and solidarity with migrant workers. The institution works in close concert, for instance, with a well-known Swiss syndicate which advocates for the regularization of undocumented workers in Geneva and provides regular training for staff and students in union organization, wage and contract negotiation, and the intricacies of Swiss labour law. The school's active participation in protests and marches, whether concerning national immigration reform or local-scale migrant-rights, also expresses its sociality of solidarity—a means through which institutional actors, volunteers and staff members, invite newcomers to participate in revitalizing Swiss direct democratic traditions. At the same time, however, the discursive construction of the integration-language linkage in classroom encounters—with their attendant norms of communication—might be characterized as consonant with neoliberal conceptions of agency.

In many contexts, migrant "skills training" has become a dominant mode for the reception, management, and brokerage of mobility in ways that have increasingly come to reflect neoliberal logics. In tandem, anthropological analyses of neoliberalism have emphasized the

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steady encroachment of market rationalities into all areas of social life, particularly in ways

which render language and communication the terrain for emergent concepts of personal

transformation and forms of expert intervention. Gershon (2011) highlights the ways in which

neoliberal perspectives—like anthropological ones—encompass the view that selves, subjects,

and social orders must be actively produced. In neoliberal thought, market rationality is not a

natural or inevitable occurrence, but is the outcome of interventions which promote and support

entrepreneurial agencies (538). Gershon underscores the form of selfhood entailed in this vision

by which "one is always faced with one's self as a project that must be consciously steered

through various possible alliances and obstacles" (539). Here, persons are not only conceived of

as "bundles of skills" (Urciuoli 2008) and instrumentalized traits, but are to stand in a reflexive

and managerial relation to these capacities and the entrepreneurial alliances that such skills

enable. Concomitantly, risk emerges as a necessary component of success and opportunity.

Where risk calculation—enhanced with recourse to experts and expertise—is a key modality of

agency, actors are construed as maximally responsible for their own failures (540).

In this vein, Urciuoli (2008) demonstrates that post-industrial lexicons of labour and of

the workplace have given intensified attention to "communication skills," in particular. Urciuoli

suggests that, under current conditions, communication has become *the* defining workplace

competence, framed as bearing both instrumental and therapeutic promise, whether in the form

of workplace efficiency, improved outcomes, or more harmonious relationships (220). As such,

neoliberal economies construe communication skills as a salient site of pedagogy; in a context

where enhanced "communication" provides better ways for the employee/worker to showcase

the self as an already-commodified skill-bundle, communication skills are indices of worker

flexibility—the generalized capacity and readiness to labour. In this way, pedagogies of

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communication are key sites for inculcating, in laboring subjects, the internal skills of self-monitoring and risk-management. Promising nothing less than self-transformation, pedagogies of communication are cast as a principle vehicle for worker empowerment (219).

On this terrain, Allan (2016) highlights a distinction, in discourses of migrant social mobility, between communicative hard skills and "soft skills." By "soft skills," she designates an aesthetics of self-display whereby newcomers are expected to speak in ways that embody national civic or workplace values. Soft skills training for immigrants is an arena typically construed, like the workings of the market, as culturally-neutral. Writing of newcomers in Canada, Allen reveals how the ostensibly culture-free terrain of a "soft skills" professional bridging program depoliticizes the processes of stigmatization and structural inequality that hinder newcomer social mobility. Where personhood is to be defined in terms of infinite self-improvement and skills-accumulation in the building of human capital (16), the growing interest in imparting newcomers with soft skills, Allen argues, reinforces the neoliberal position that ultimate responsibility for immigrant underemployment and "de-skilling" is to be placed on newcomers themselves (also Allan 2013). Most critically, in this context, socio-cultural differences are often construed as skills deficits—talk of building "soft skills" indexes alignment with a set of unmarked core national values (23).

Critically, however, such neoliberal concepts of agency are not monolithic. As Muehlebach (2012) theorizes, the rise of voluntarism in the wake of welfare reform in Lombardy—and with it, the emergence of the figure of the affect-laden "ethical citizen"—reveals neoliberal thought as "a complex of opposites" (25), encompassing moral aspirations which both oppose and comply with market logics. Muehlebach writes: "Neoliberalism is a force that can contain its negation—the vision of a decommodified, disinterested life and of a moral

community of human relationality and solidarity that stands opposed to alienation" (25). Neoliberal formations are thus sites of various moral, ethical, and value paradoxes. This duality, or multiplicity, invites us to examine how the affective charge of voluntarism and its forms of hospitality—the individual and spontaneous desire to reinvigorate solidarity, compassion, and "social" forms of citizenship (47)—is both encompassed by *and* at odds with the production of neoliberal subjects, social relations, and forms of value.

While it was not mentioned explicitly, school administrators often directly indexed the neoliberal context of their work, emphasizing that without the unremunerated efforts of volunteers (*bénévoles*), the school's integration and language program would be severely diminished; volunteers construed themselves and their unpaid work as "filling a gap" in the canton's provision of social services. Volunteer teachers not only "welcomed" newcomers to the canton, but did so in a way that specifically enabled migrants to access the Genevan labour market (through linguistic-communicative skill-sets as well as the contacts and friendships made in classrooms). Language classes, furthermore, were quite clearly folded into state technologies of migrant responsibilization: in order to maintain access to state-benefits, for instance, migrants were required to provide the Migrant Center's "attestation" of completion to state authorities upon finishing a course of study. Such attestations were often submitted to authorities alongside other evidentiary documents of "responsibility" (for instance, an official document for collecting the signatures of prospective employers to "prove" that a migrant was actively job searching).

In what follows, I examine some of the value paradoxes generated by this neoliberal formation of hospitality, and how its norms of communication bear key contradictions for how speakers evaluate others, and importantly, themselves (Gal 2006). I see this formation in terms of a "will to welcome" whereby both students and teachers aim, in different ways, to commensurate

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often clashing and conflicting means and ends (Lambek 2015, 9), recognize the limitations of "integration" as a state project of hospitality, and envisage alternate modes of agency and action.

"Put Yourself Forward": Reflexive Rehearsals

In Daria's beginner-level French night class, talk in and about French was a key site at which the contradictions of hospitality interactionally emerged and were negotiated. At the time of my research, Daria was a university student working towards her degree in elementary education at the University of Geneva. She was also an avid writer, poet, and identified as a French-Romanian bilingual who was committed, in solidarity with migrants, to challenging negative attitudes towards diversity in the classroom. Romanian-born, she told me in our first interview that her parents still "struggled with the French language" and regularly experienced forms of social judgment and criticism due to perceptions of their "accents." While her mother worked as a professional in computer science in Romania, she was unable to find corresponding work in France or Switzerland following the family's move "because of her accent and origin" (*à cause de son accent et origine*), Daria said. She told of how her mother was constantly questioned about her national origins and faced stigmatization in the workplace—she was, in Daria's words, "always having to justify herself" (*toujours en train de se justifier*) for not pursuing further education in France or Switzerland. "Accents don't stop you from speaking a language!" Daria told me in interview, challenging the dominant social view. She also expressed the view that multilingualism was an asset to be promoted: migrant heritage languages and French ought to co-exist for migrant speakers, and migrant parents should surely teach their children the "mother tongue" but should not neglect to learn French to better support their child's schooling trajectory, she said. In our interview, Daria linked this stance to her own early experiences in the Swiss

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elementary school system—a difficult time, she described, of anguished transition into francophone and Swiss norms where "you feel alone… you try to make sense of the least little thing that you can" (*tu te sens seul… tu attaches à la moindre chose que tu peux*). With humour, she recalled how her first teacher brought up the topic of Swiss *chalets* and the melted-cheese dish *raclette* during class one day: "To me, cheese was something that you cut and slice! You say to yourself: shit. My strategy? To observe" (*Tu dis, merde. Ma stratégie? J'observe*).

When I asked Daria why she first decided to volunteer as a French instructor with the Migrant Center, she was enthusiastic about the idea that French could be part of a fuller multilingual repertoire for migrant learners. In the passage below, she constructs Genevan hospitality in terms of helping migrants overcome everyday communicative barriers, here, likened to a disability or a "handicap." Critically, Daria describes her voluntary teaching-role to me in terms of personal enrichment, positioning her work squarely outside of the domain of monetary remuneration, while constructing reciprocity for hospitality in terms of affect:

> I really want [students] to stick with the French language, at the level of their integration (I want them) to feel comfortable where they are, to feel welcomed, to feel supported… nobody is self-sufficient and, at the level of language barriers, it's really handicapping. I don't want [language] to remain a handicap… [Teaching is] enriching. We're volunteers, we're not payed for this, but the enrichment that comes with [this work] is just incalculable.[88]

Daria's view echoed the account of another volunteer teacher that was published in an institutional brochure which highlights how the Migrant Center serves as a site where volunteers can mobilize their own experiences and create hospitable-ethical value towards the "integration" of migrants:

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[88] Original transcript: "J'ai tellement envie qu'ils restent avec la langue française, au niveau de leur intégration qu'ils se sentent bien là où ils se trouvent, qu'ils se sentent accueillis, qu'ils se sentent entourés… personne n'est autonome et au niveau de barrières de langue, c'est vraiment handicapant. J'ai pas envie que ça reste un handicap… C'est enrichissant. On est bénévole, on n'est pas payé pour ça, mais la richesse qui vient autour est juste inestimable."

One of the reasons I decided to become a collaborator…was that French was not my first language [so] I had to go through all the steps that are part of learning it. That said, I think that today, 30 years after my arrival in Switzerland, I'm capable of passing on my experience to people of all viewpoints who desire to understand, and be understood. What's more, I understood that it was important for a teacher to pass on, as well, the principles of our culture. Politeness, ways of expressing oneself, common vocabulary, etc. allow students to develop the necessary connections in our society and, through this difficult apprenticeship of our ways and customs, to be integrated.

As Espeland and Stevens (1998) discuss, the positing of incommensurables presents its own form of valuation: "incommensurables can be vital expressions of core values, signaling to people how they should act" (327). Further, they write, "the most frequent and durable claims about incommensurability occur at the borderlands between institutional spheres, where different modes of valuing overlap and conflict" (332). The Migrant Center is one such borderland, where forms of competence-brokerage—seen by the state, teachers, and migrants themselves—as economically useful, are nonetheless performed voluntarily and animate aspirations that transcend purely economic models of individual, self-interested agency. Here, talk of the incommensurability between welcome work and a paid wage—what Daria refers to as "incalculable" enrichment—is constitutive of selves, identities, and (constrained) forms of solidarity as teachers are compelled, in their practice, to negotiate conflicting understandings of the social world and conflicting metrics of value. For volunteers, the imagination of a "hospitable" Genevan ethos rests, I suggest, on these voluntary acts of mediation performed by migrant "peers" who bear a complicated and, as the accounts above suggest, often ambivalent relationship to Switzerland. Let's consider an example of what this solidary pedagogy looks like.

Daria's French class convened on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, from 8 to 9:30 pm. By 8 pm, most students were already in their seats in room 223. A regular attendee of Daria's class, I sat among the migrant learners at shared rectangular tan tables which formed an open U-shape around the instructor. The group of roughly 15 migrants reflected the heterogeneity of

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recent migration to Switzerland in gender, age, and nationality with students from Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Colombia, Mongolia, Italy, China, Ecuador, and Peru. The class' youngest student, Alicia, was in her early 20s and had migrated alone from Ecuador. At the time, she was looking for work as an au pair. Alfred was the class' eldest student; he was a retired restaurant cook in his 60s who moved to Lausanne from Hong Kong, and one of the few students who was taking the French course for reasons unrelated to work or residency. He rarely spoke unless class discussion turned to topics of food or food preparation.

During one session, Daria opened with a lesson on how to use the near future (*future proche*) grammatical tense. With summer just around the corner, Daria used the occasion to start a group conversation about summer plans. Using the pronoun *tu* (you) to index a relationship of friendly informality between herself and the students, Daria addressed the entire class, enunciating: "What are you going to do this summer?" (*Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire cet été?*). When the question was met with silence, Daria began to write several possibilities for response on the white dry-erase board at the front of the class, including the countries of origin of some of the students in her examples. She wrote using a linear, non-cursive hand which, she later told me, was meant to convey capitalized and accented letters and punctuation more clearly. Her examples evoked a summertime which included work, leisure and the potential for temporary homeward return:

This summer, I will work.	*Cet été je vais travailler.*
I will go on vacation for one week.	*Je vais prendre une semaine de vacances.*
I will leave for vacation in Portugal.	*Je vais partir en vacances en Portugal.*
I will travel to Colombia.	*Je vais voyager en Colombie.*
I will stay in Geneva.	*Je vais rester à Genève.*
I will spend one week in Italy.	*Je vais prendre une semaine en Italie.*
I will go to the Jungfrau.	*Je vais aller à Jungfrau.*

Daria then asked the class to practice repeating the near future constructions aloud with their seat mates, completing the sentences with their own plans. The discussions of summer, an anticipated period of vacationing for most middle-class Swiss, began to reveal the constraints upon the lives and mobility of Daria's students, subverting talk of leisure. One student exclaimed to her conversation partner: "Vacation? I can't take a vacation. I'm not allowed" (*les vacances? je ne peux pas prendre les vacances, c'est interdit pour moi*). In a nearby pair, another student said, flatly, "No big plans. I'll stay in Geneva. I don't get a break" (*Pas beaucoup de choses. Je vais rester à Genève. Je n'ai pas de congé*).

Talk about the near future and the unlikelihood of vacations quickly turned, among the students, to the topic of job searching—a pressing and ongoing concern for the majority of the class, several of whom were, at the time, undocumented, unemployed, or else faced the imminent end of their current short-term jobs. Students began to talk about where to find work, and the best way to secure a job.

Daria addressed the entire class, re-establishing a unified floor, cutting short all side conversations: "Does everyone know how to write a CV?" (*Est-ce que vous savez tous faire un CV?*). Diego, a carpenter from Barcelona whose Colombian wife, Clara, sat next to him, answered: "I don't know how to do it. Do you have an example?" (*Je ne sais pas faire. Vous avez un modèle?*). Unprepared for this turn of events, and without a sample on hand, Daria quickly abandoned her lesson plan on the near future, and re-oriented her lesson to address job-search questions. In a school where French instruction served to integrate an economically and legally precarious migrant population in the local economy, I had often seen instructors quickly adapt their lessons in this way; the school's teacher-training program encouraged instructors to remain this flexibility and allow, say, a carefully designed grammar lesson to yield to

improvisation, social commentary and extemporaneous self-expression. To Diego's request for CV-help, Daria responded with an emphasis on the metacommunicative: "You have to learn how to put yourself forward. You have to put down all of your qualities/skills" (*Il faut apprendre à se mettre en avant. Il faut mettre toutes tes qualités*).

"Like diplomas?" Diego questioned.

"Not always just diplomas," she answered, "but everything that you've done, and put it forward. I know how to take care of children. I know how to write in French. Language is very important" (*Pas que des diplômes toujours. Tous ce qu'on a fait, et le mettre devant. Je sais m'occuper des enfants. Je sais écrire en français. C'est très important, la langue*).

At this last statement, Jorge, a Brazilian student known for adding humour to class discussions, suddenly quipped from across the room: "Speaking French. That's all!" (*Parler français. C'est tout!*). He then slapped his palms together in exaggerated and feigned arrogance, as if to convey that "speaking French" was a painless and easily done deal. Daria and the class broke out in laughter. Initially, I thought they were laughing at the idea that French competences could be so easily learned. More likely, I thought later, the laughter was a knowing and ironic subversion of Daria's metalinguistic injunction that "speaking French" was all that stood in the way of a better life for an unemployed and undocumented "foreigner" in Switzerland.

Amused by Jorge's sarcasm, Daria returned to her previous emphasis, reiterating her statement on skills-presentation even more resolutely: "Put your skills forward. What do you know?" (*Mettre tes qualités devant. Qu'est-ce que vous connaissez?*). Definitively, Diego replied, "I know about Geneva. I know how to speak Spanish" (*Je connais Genève. Je connais espagnole*).

"So, for Spanish tourists, you can help them in Spanish" (*Pour les touristes espagnoles, tu peux les aider en espagnole*), Daria answered. Her use of the term "tourist" a euphemization, I thought, for the Spanish migrants who had steadily filled the Center's French classes following the global economic collapse of 2008. Spain's employment crisis and attendant austerity measures saw the country approaching unemployment rates of nearly 25% by 2011, prompting mass emigration (Alonso et al. 2016; OECD 2014).

In response to Daria's emphasis on the importance of skills-presentation, another student challenged her injunction, making the point that not all skills are seen as equal in the eyes of employers; certain skills and competences are irrelevant for certain jobs, the student pointed out. The student explained that knowing how to "draw" or "sing" was not helpful, for instance, for finding work at a hotel. Several of the others nodded in agreement, as if to question Daria's "put all your skills forward" directive while also soliciting further advice.

Daria hastily erased her "near future" sentences, producing two columns on the board, one for the verb *savoir* (to know) and one for *connaître* (to know of, or to be acquainted with). Returning to the register of grammar instruction, she explained that these verbs would be useful when trying to showcase one's skills for a potential employer, either in person or on paper. In her impromptu lesson, she imparted that *savoir* is used in French to convey practical knowledge and skills while *connaître* is used to express acquaintance with or knowledge of a person, place, or thing. She brought up the job of babysitting, inviting Alicia, who was searching for work in this domain, to express how *she* might convey an expertise in infant care in front of the class. Caught off guard, Alicia replied, tentatively: "I know about babies in general?" (*Je connais les bébés en générale?*). Using Alicia's speech for illustration, Daria said that Alicia's sentence was good, but that she had used the wrong verb form. In that situation, she directed, one should use *savoir*

instead of *connaître* to showcase a concrete skillset. She then provided the class with a "corrected" and improved form of the sentence: "I know how to take care of young children… babies, diapers" (*Je sais m'occuper d'un enfant en bas âge…des bébés, des couches culottes*). Alicia quickly wrote the sentence down.

Still improvising, Daria instructed the entire class to produce a list of their own marketable skills with a partner. "Think of all of your qualities, all of your competences… List them depending on the profession," she said (*Pensez à toutes tes qualités, toutes vos competences…selon le métier*). I noted, at the time, that the stability indexed by the word "profession" (*métier*) contrasted with the nature of employment most likely carried out by several of Daria's students—forms of unstable, short-term and precarious work that students commonly indexed using the informal word *boulot* (job, gig). Indeed, migrants' talk of a *métier* was often reserved for discussions of the home country, a thing of the past. As blank sheets of paper for list-making circulated the classroom, Daria turned to me and whispered an aside: "I'm trying to encourage them to talk about themselves."

With the night class approaching its last half-hour, Daria asked each student to "present" their personal competences in seating order; each student was asked to share just a few skills in order to give everyone in class a turn at the floor. A collective repertoire emerged which revealed the disparity between students' skillsets and their current conditions of (under)employment: "I know how to do accounting" (*Je sais faire la comptabilité*), "I know computer science" (*Je sais l'informatique*), "I know how to speak Galician" (*Je sais parler galicien*), "I know how to type" (*Je sais écrire à la machine*), "I know how to drive" (*Je sais conduire*), and simply, "I know how to work" (*Je sais travailler*). This last was offered by Renata, a Lisboan cleaning woman who was employed in various homes around the city. During class parties and picnics, Renata was

often the first to start cleaning up once an event was winding down; admonished by her classmates to sit down and enjoy herself, she would often reply "But I am a cleaning woman!" (*Mais je suis femme de menage!*). At her turn to speak, she recited before the class, tentatively, yet in a way that suggested she had long-tired of having already delivered this speech countless times: "I know how to wash clothes, I know how to work as a cleaning woman" (*Je sais laver des vêtements, je sais travailler comme femme de menage*). In response, Jorge jokingly scoffed and hearkened back to his own unemployed status. With a mix of encouragement and teasing, he announced: "Well…that's good for *you*!" (*Hein…c'est bien pour toi!*). The classroom burst out into laughter once again. Renata smiled and rolled her eyes, embarrassed and amused.

This preceding scene conveys several of the interactional dynamics that I often observed during the center's French classes. The classes were a theatrical site at which an arguably neoliberal model for migrant social mobility, and its attendant scripts, were rehearsed and enacted, and tensions/contradictions negotiated in ways productive of solidarity between students and their instructors. Interaction was regimented to maintain the Initiation-Response-Feedback form of teacher-regulated talk ubiquitous to classrooms (discussed by Heller 2011). This form of talk is characterized by several interactional conventions: Daria structured communication on a unified discussion floor, created and reinforced by a seating arrangement that emphasized mutual visibility between herself and the students. As in other educational contexts, Daria also regulated how and when students could legitimately deviate from this unified floor; dyadic discussions were generally considered unwelcome interruptions of classroom talk unless they were authorized. As the discussion of skillsets shows, Daria also closely regulated turn-taking. This regulation included the authority to problematize the utterances of others and solicit speech from

particular students in order to render it an example for correction, as when she asked Alicia to present and describe her "baby-sitting" skills.

Notably, interaction was also regimented to maintain a discursive space which upheld the value of equality between and among learners. The practice of sequentially distributing turns "around" the room, asking that each participant speak about their competences before the class, assigned students identical discursive space in an ostensibly egalitarian classroom where differences of age, professional training, skill, gender, nationality, and ethnolinguistic identity were positioned on an equalized and intermixed discursive field. Daria and many other teachers routinely permitted and even solicited codeswitching during lessons, often enacting parity by asking how various words or phrases might be translated into a student's "first language" (*langue maternelle*). The enactment of an egalitarian stance towards linguistic diversity in classroom space could be interpreted as a managerial but also solidary position vis-à-vis migrants' linguistic difference.

While this teacher-regulated sequence of initiation and response is common to most language-learning classrooms, this particular pedagogical encounter takes on additional dimensions when we consider how participant structures positioned students in ways that anticipated future encounters, interlocutors, and roles (Wortham 2001). Here, participant structures rehearsed and anticipated social roles in ways which constructed linkages between French language competences, personal responsibility, and migrant employability. In particular, Daria's solicitation of skills-talk voiced future encounters with prospective employers, positioning migrant-speakers as job candidates under evaluation. This classroom encounter thus arguably stages a collective rehearsal for the job search and interview—a discursive domain where, according to Daria's language lesson, the main barrier to employment is *communicative,*

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to be found at the level of migrant speech, rather than located in the countless contingencies of uptake and evaluation (Allan 2016). The lesson suggests that the better one is able to identify and enumerate one's skills, "put oneself forward," and employ French language competences to showcase one's marketable capacities (amounting, in essence to knowing "how to work"), the greater the likelihood of securing work in one's "profession" (*métier*).

In a site of migrant solidarity, then, French competence is construed in terms quite consonant with neoliberal concepts of agency and value—"French" was constructed as an unmarked medium, a code of accessibility for rendering visible and transparent migrants' existing skill "bundles." Newcomers learned, moreover, that French was the code through which one was to cultivate a specifically entrepreneurial and responsibilized disposition toward these competences—the code in which they were to embody their CV by employing a genre of self-marketing "talk about themselves." Given the often undeclared nature of the jobs commonly performed by members of the school's public—whether babysitting and cleaning in the private space of the home, or else performing after-hours, invisible maintenance work in the public spaces of Geneva's banks, hotels and restaurants—it remains unclear whether Daria's lesson (and her promotion of a vision of worker flexibility) was preparing French learners for further integration into "mainstream" or informal/illicit labour markets.

The linkages between French competences and social mobility, further, draw on a Swiss national discourse which argues that social mobility is reliant on language competences as the vector and index for a more encompassing "cultural" integration. Cultural integration, in this mode, was often construed as commensurate with the display of certain language skills in ways that further rendered the classroom coextensive with the labour market and the workplace. In other words, a linguistically-indexed "cultural integration" is often framed as a felicity condition

for the migrant's successful labour-market integration. Noelle, an instructor and close friend of Daria's, therefore emphasized to me during an interview that it was not possible to teach "the French language" to migrants without also transmitting distinct registers of politeness, instanced by use and knowledge of the Tu/Vous distinction. Indeed, competence in register—knowing when to address someone using *tu* or *vous*—was often made emblematic of "speaking French" in my discussions with various teachers and seen as critical to succeeding in the Genevan workplace. Noelle explained to me: "You don't say 'Hi, how's it going?' to your boss. You say "Hello. How are you?" She underscored that transmitting competences in deference to students from the beginning was important so that "they will not have problems" (*ils ne vont pas avoir des problèmes*) in their future work lives. This metapragmatic discourse—the view that the infelicitous use of register could jeopardize one's social mobility—reflects the multiple orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003) of the French deference register. Here, use of the polite *vous* not only indicates deference to one's employer, but also indexes, at a second order, one's own adherence to and mastery of a valued public register. As a speaker-focused sign, use of *vous* thus "becomes a way of saying what otherwise could be formulated that indexes that the Speaker is upholding standards of good behavior" (Silverstein 2003, 209). The implications of indexing one's adherence to standards of good behavior are particularly salient in Switzerland where, in recent times, talk of "culture" has foregrounded concerns over the comportment and etiquette of migrants in the classroom as a contested site of social, cultural, and economic reproduction. National controversy was thus sparked when, in the canton of Basel-Stadt, the family citizenship application of two Syrian Muslim high school students was halted after the boys refused to shake their female teacher's hand on the grounds that Islam did not permit physical contact with non-relatives of the opposite sex (Bilefsky 2016). In the cantonal ruling that followed, guardians

could potentially be fined up to 5,000 CHF if their children refused to comply with the Swiss

"tradition" of shaking their teacher's hand. Justice Minister Simonetta Sommaruga argued that

handshakes and greetings were part of "Swiss culture," while Basel authorities stated that the

students' private interests were trumped by the "public" interests of fostering gender equality and

integration. Crucially, these authorities also argued that hand shaking would be critical to the

boys' future careers in Switzerland. As a milieu of cultural and economic brokerage, then, the

classroom is a charged site of labor on and around second order indexicality; Daria's lesson

provides instruction not only in displaying the skills of self-presentation, but in displaying, too,

the willingness to acquire and adhere to them.

Together, these concerns point to an irony of integration as practice—an egalitarian

disposition towards diversity concerned with ensuring that migrants are indexing personal

responsibility and the "willingness" to integrate, thereby creating hierarchies within and among

communicative and linguistic repertoires. This disposition was enacted in Daria's own discourse

on her students' multilingualism. When Diego identified his Spanish language competences for

the class, she positioned these not as advantageous to his employability in Switzerland, but

positioned them in the realm of leisure (helping "Spanish tourists"). Where Spanish was framed

as distinct from French and positioned in the domain of "touristic" talk, French competences

remained unmarked, addressed as the most important to Diego's social mobility. This distinction

suggests that practices of "integration" do not aim to produce strictly monolingual subjects, but

envisage speakers as multilingual "bundles" of discrete monolingualisms, revealing the

convergence of neoliberal concepts of "skill" with ideologies of multilingualism. Under

integration, multilingual repertoires are hierarchically ordered within the speaker in ways

reflective of broader Europe-level norms—those which distinguish between the "mother"

tongue, languages of business, and pleasure (Gal 2012).

A further contradiction of integration as pedagogical practice is the implication that the display of communicative "soft skills" can be disconnected from social processes of evaluation and stigmatization. In the language classroom, one was taught that the contingencies of economic crisis and the job market might be managed individually by learning forms of marketable self-presentation. The equalized discursive space of the classroom enacted the construal of an equal access labour market wherein proper comportment and self-presentation held the promise of social mobility. While migrant learners themselves often asked their instructors to render explicit the semiotic economy of the job interview and CV ("I don't know how to do it. Do you have an example?"), the broader social processes by which "foreigners" and "illegal" migrants were already marked as subjects of skills-devalorization was left undiscussed, often by concerned teachers who, as one instructor told me, simply did not know how to broach the subjects of residency, racism, and workplace discrimination in their lessons. While instructors prioritized the importance of "the French language" for their students' social trajectories, often rooting their teaching practice in an ethical stance of solidarity, they were well aware of the limitations of their linguistic empowerment strategies.

While it may be considered an irony that the enactment of a pluralist ethics—combining migrant welcome, voluntarism, and worker solidarity—relies upon neoliberal conceptions of agency (Muehlebach 2012), I suggest that Daria's classroom also created opportunities for re-shaping classroom order and questioning neoliberal logics. In scenes like the one above, students were able to re-direct their instructors' lesson plans and re-define the agenda of a session. This kind of improvisation was encouraged by the school and was reflective of an institutional ethos

that positioned language-teaching at the service of practical exigencies, compelling instructors to enact responsiveness and sensitivity in their own practice. As voluntary mediators and brokers of cultural information, then, teachers often had to accept that language instruction could be eclipsed by other concerns, requiring instructors like Daria to collude with students in the co-creation of new and often tenuous classroom orders which remained open to being destabilized or subverted. In his asides, Jorge demonstrated that entertaining skepticism was an important part of classroom participation. In the utterance that produced the laughter of his peers and instructor ("French… that's all!"), I suggest that Jorge raised unmistakable doubt about and critiqued Daria's claim concerning the primacy of French for migrant social mobility. He pointed, ultimately, to the ironies of a social order where migrants were required to learn a code in order to better sell their labour on an uncertain and all-too-often exploitative job-market. This friendly but clear display of skepticism was not opposed or contested by the instructor, but received acknowledgment. The teasing exchanges between Jorge and his classmates demonstrate that while this language classroom did indeed constitute a site for the reproduction of legitimate language (Bourdieu [1982] 2003) via neoliberal models of agency, this dominant model was amenable to being transformed into critical engagement, rendering the classroom a space of reflexive solidarities often in tension with neoliberal aims and imperatives. The classroom is a site where students can articulate, raise, and reflect on the obstacles to their legal and labour market integration beyond the purely linguistic and communicative barriers commonly emphasized.

"You're leaving through the same door you entered": Produced Precarity and Durable Contingency

In discourses of integration, it is often left implicit that the migrant who is unemployed or undocumented is figured as the site of risk-management—the locus of responsibility for managing social and economic contingency. As the classroom analysis above reveals, language and communication are key terrains on which concepts of risk and responsibility emerge in full relief; responsibility for migrant integration is delegated, in part, to voluntary citizens by the state, is a disposition to be cultivated in educational settings and, at the end of the chain of delegation, is ultimately to be indexed by individual migrant speakers. In a context where an ethics of solidarity is expressed via modes of migrant responsibilization, the concept of integration imagines a social universe in which economic and legal contingency can be communicatively and linguistically managed through the development of individual competences.

In this section, I turn to consider alternative modes of inhabiting and responding to contingency which do not rely on dominant problematizations of migrant communication skills. In particular, I attend to the job-search account of Luis—a Spanish national, a self-identified undocumented person, and an active member and student of The Migrant Center. I employ his account to reflect on how dominant ideologies of communication play a role in what De Genova (2002) terms the "legal production of migrant 'illegality.'"[89] Attending to this production, and to how people inhabit its modes, sheds light on possibilities for questioning the state's narratives of integration, and reveals alternative understandings of agency which strive to transform the lived conditions of contingency into new potentials—potentials which may not seem explicitly

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[89] Following De Genova, I place illegality in quotation throughout so as not to essentialize the term, nor the condition, but to underscore "illegality" as the produced and productive outcome of policies and practices.

counter-hegemonic, but which nonetheless respond to the social and legal erasures of produced illegality by advancing divergent understandings of what "integration" means.

That "putting oneself forward" and honing a register of self-referential skills talk do not suffice to secure legal or economic stability in Geneva became clearly evident to me after meeting Luis who, at the time of my research, was attending an advanced-level French language night class. A professional photographer from Spain, Luis had been employed in Madrid by various museums and a well-known historical cinema society creating film stills and archival images. Spain's financial and unemployment crisis marked the beginning of a new period in his life. "After the crisis, I had no money," Luis told me in an interview conducted at café near the Center. "1 in 4 persons [were] unemployed… There was no consumption, neither good nor bad… Living unemployed, one is capable of buying nothing" (*Après la crise, je n'ai pas d'argent…un sur quatre personnes sont en chômage… Il n'y a pas de consommation, ni le bon, ni le mauvais… Rester dans le chômage, on est capable d'acheter rien*). While Luis made a first attempt to leave for Paris in 2008—when the global economic collapse plunged the Spanish economy into recession—he relayed that a period of depression and personal crisis (*une crise*) made staying in France impossible, compelling him to return to Madrid. Following his recovery, he left Spain once again, this time for Geneva in May of 2012, and found work in the rural commune of Hermance performing undeclared agricultural labour. He told me about how the room provided by this first employer, where he was still living, had insufficient heating in the winter and no hot water line—a fact which forced him to take showers in various health clubs in the city. Since that time, still without a residency document, he had cycled through a number of short-term, undeclared jobs in carpentry, painting, and the restaurant industry to earn a living, and had also endured several bouts of physical illness. When I interviewed him in 2013, he had

recently quit a job in a small restaurant following a quarrel with the manager; he was once again looking for work.

Luis's individual trajectory to Geneva points to the profound contradictions occasioned by "integration" frameworks. As an EU (Spanish) national, Luis's transnational and social mobility were ostensibly unhampered by concerns with language-learning; he benefitted at the time of his arrival in Geneva from the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons (AFMP), the bilateral agreement between Switzerland and the EU which has outlined Switzerland's participation in the Schengen Area since 1999 (see Chapter 2). Since 2007, Spanish nationals— as citizens of the "old" 15 EU-member states—have had rights to free movement into Switzerland. The legal bases of free movement are intended to lift restrictions on the entry of EU/EFTA persons wishing to live or work in the country, granting them entitlements to the recognition of professional qualifications in Switzerland, property ownership and purchase, and the coordination of Swiss and European social insurance systems (State Secretariat for Migration 2016).[90] As discussed in Chapter 2, the AFMP was a policy technology for primarily highly-skilled labour-recruitment—a legal implement of "brain gain." As for other European nationals, Luis' mobility into Switzerland was thus ostensibly facilitated by a set of legal structures which juridically equalized his potential for labour market inclusion with Swiss nationals; in contrast to his "Third country" counterparts, Luis was not legally obliged to attend a language course as a condition of settlement.

"Free movement," however, does not imply the absence of regulation, but bears its own regulatory logics. Luis' enduring difficulty securing stable legal employment—a key condition

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[90] The current terms of the AFMP, however, are being entirely re-negotiated in light of the 2014 success of the popular initiative "against mass migration," launched by the Swiss People's Party and accepted by popular ballot, which aims to limit immigration to Switzerland through the introduction of quotas.

for receiving an enduring residence document for EU citizens—placed his settlement in a legal grey area which became a lengthy state of liminality, or durable contingency. While the AFMP granted Luis legal admission to Switzerland, all of his work and much of his physical presence were "unauthorized" from the vantage point of the state, and he remained uncertain of his prospects of securing the work and residency documents he desired.[91] Revealing the profound paradoxes of "free movement," Luis lived and laboured within a steadily receding margin of legality. It was not uncommon for him to identify himself as undocumented (*sans papiers*) in our discussions.

In an interview with me during a period of intense job-search, Luis emphasized the several impasses that he encountered while looking for work, and the role played by French-language skills in his integration into the Swiss job market. His metalinguistic reflections recount the implication of language in a continued series of legal and economic curtailments:

> With you, I am calm, confident. But in front of a [potential] supervisor… my French …it's not possible. There are no possibilities in this situation because supervisors want people who are capable of expressing themselves in French. It's an obstacle… It's the same situation at the *Office de la population* [migration office] when trying to get permits, [and] the employment office. Similar situations, no?

> My conclusion is that, without a permit, it's almost impossible to find work… It's a legal matter, everyone asks for a permit. The theory is that a supervisor can get you a permit, but in general, no one does that. Everyone demands that you already have one. So, when you go to the employment office to drop off your CV, you find that you're leaving through the same door you entered.

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[91] Swiss federal laws under the AFMP surrounding residency permits are complex: EU/EFTA citizens may reside in Switzerland without a residence permit for a period of up to 90 days within a 6-month period. Past this period, the state recognizes EU/EFTA "jobseekers," who may be granted a short 3-month residence permit (extendable to up to 1 year) provided they demonstrate the resources to finance their job-seeking stay and proof of job-search activities. Holders of the short-term "jobseeker" permit are not entitled to apply for social aid. Longer stays require different procedures. Non-employed EU/EFTA citizens are eligible to receive up to 5-year residency permits whose length and renewal depends on demonstrating "sufficient financial means to ensure that they do not become dependent upon Swiss social security benefits" (State Secretariat for Migration 2016). Under the existing AFMP, then, the granting, duration and renewal of residence permits for unemployed European nationals is heavily dependent on the applicant's existing financial resources—a route to "legality" unavailable to many persons. The settlement of "third-country nationals" (from outside EU/EFTA states) is handled by a separate set of procedures.

So, the solution for me for this kind of thing… is getting to know people. I think it works that way in Switzerland. I also heard that only 20% of job listings are posted, so a large number of jobs aren't listed. That means that things work through personal connections, word of mouth. So, for a foreigner (*étranger*), it's important to connect with people. It's important for finding "white" or "black" work… All the work I've done was "black" (*au noir*) and it was through an acquaintance that I started doing it this way… it was someone who knew my situation, but [then] started asking me for this and that, so I left. Finally, I have the possibility to work legally (*au blanc*). It's someone [else] that I know who gave me that possibility.[92]

Luis's contrasting qualia of work (black/white) did not index differences in professional domains or remuneration, but pointed to a contrast in the migrant worker's relationship to the state, and the attendant extent of their legal and economic contingency. The qualia of "whiteness" (*au blanc*), Luis later explained to me, indexed work performed "with a residence permit, with a contract" (*avec un permis, avec un contrat*) while "black work" (*au noir*) indexed the illicit and unsteady conditions which had characterized his work-life thus far—work performed "without a contract, without a permit, working left and right, not stable" (*sans contrat, sans permis, travailler à gauche et à droit, pas stable*). Such contrasting qualia of work index state logics by which work is constructed as a privilege that can be granted or denied to certain categories of persons (Coutin 2000); it is not primarily the nature of the work performed that makes a task "black" or "white," then, but the status of the person performing it.

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[92] Original transcript: "Avec toi, je suis calme, en confiance. Mais devant un entrepreneur… mon français c'est…ce n'est pas possible. Il n'y a pas de possibilités dans cette situation parce que les entrepreneurs ont besoin des personnes qui sont capables de s'exprimer en français. C'est une difficulté… C'est la même chose à l'office de la population, à la recherche des permis, dans l'office d'emploi, des choses similaires, non? Ma conclusion c'est que sans permis, c'est presque impossible de trouver un travail… C'est une affaire policière, tout le monde demande un permis. La théorie c'est qu'un entrepreneur peut te faire un permis, mais personne en générale ne fait ça. Tout le monde te demande le permis déjà. Alors quand tu vas à l'office d'emploi où tu vas laisser ton CV, tu trouves c'est une porte que tu entres et tu sortes… Alors la solution pour moi pour ce genre de chose… [c'est] grâce à la connaissance des personnes. Je crois que la Suisse, ça marche comme ça. J'écoute aussi que seulement 20% des annonces d'emploi sont publiées. Alors une grande partie des emplois ne sont pas publiées. Ça veut dire que ça marche à travers les connections personnelles, le bouche à oreille. Alors pour un étranger, c'est important de connecter avec des personnes. C'est important pour réussir un emploi blanc ou noir... Tout le travail que j'ai fait était au noir, et c'était par une connaissance que j'ai commencé à faire… c'est quelqu'un qui connaît ma situation mais me demandait ça et ça, alors j'ai laissé. Finalement, j'ai la possibilité de travailler au blanc. C'est quelqu'un que je connais qui m'a donné la possibilité."

Critically, while Luis articulates the importance of French competences in his account, reiterating dominant understandings of language as "key" to integration, he also articulates the highly contingent circumstances in which French "skills" are practiced and evaluated by various social actors. In the latter context, discretionary social valuations surrounding language participate in reproducing and exacerbating migrant contingency which he likens to living in a veritable revolving door[93]—a precarious lived condition in which Luis characterizes laws ("the theory"), state structures, and social actors as appearing to collaborate and collude in producing further instability. He articulates the importance of legal status over language skill ("without a permit, it's almost impossible to find work") and characterizes workplace supervisors, the employment office social worker and the migration office bureaucrat as constituting a network of institutional actors—a collective "everyone"—who, at disparate discretionary points of encounter, enact a unitary governmentality by which exclusion from legal status is legitimated on the grounds of inadequate French competences.

Luis' emphasis on legal status, I suggest, begins to interrogate, uncouple and denaturalize the linkage between language and social mobility. That Luis highlighted the differential ways of being a speaking subject depending on one's interlocutor ("with you, I am calm, confident") further emphasizes the discretionary nature of skills evaluation—the moving target of "competence"—by which national borders are enacted and maintained across an array of multiple and loosely connected ordinary spaces. Rather than being entirely manageable through the aptitudes of confidence or communication, then, judgments on the value of Luis' skills— whether of language or labour—were variable and contingent on the social positioning and expectations of his interlocutors. Urciuoli (2008) writes that, under post-Fordist conditions, "the

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[93] De Genova (2002) characterizes the US border in similar terms—a "revolving door" which simultaneously enables the labour importation and deportation of "illegal" migrants.

perception of use-value at any given moment depends on the user's perspective as framed socially and historically and is, thus, a function of social relations" (221). Likewise, discussing the labour-market integration of credentialed immigrants in Canada, Allan (2016) similarly asserts: "the value of labour in the post-Fordist regime… is produced via contingent events that involve consumer's/employer's subjective interpretations of value" (3). These interpretations were, in Allan's research, often versed in terms of the nebulous criteria of "fit" or compatibility with a particular workplace culture. While integration discourse frames communicative "competence" and its attendant indexes as the responsibility of the migrant speaker, then, Luis' account urges a reflection on how linguistic "competence" is a contingent, contextual, and relational outcome of the encounter between situated speakers—some with whom a conversation (a research interview) "in French" is judged to have happened, others with whom speaking French is "not possible." While Luis did not deny the importance of language competences to his employment and legal trajectory—invoking the same "barrier" metaphor as Daria (in his words, "it's an obstacle")—his account suggests that the tight ideological assemblage that tethers language to labour and legalization is also what made securing authorized work "almost impossible." That discretionary evaluations can deepen forms of migrant contingency is a consideration often overlooked in skills training programs that problematize, solely, the communicative competences of migrant speakers.

It is also critical to note that Luis constructs "white" work as an ever-present possibility—finding work *au blanc* was described as an attainable, hoped-for, possible outcome of cultivating "personal connections" and "getting to know people," and he credited the Center for having enabled these opportunities. For De Genova (2002), this aspirational temporality might express a logic inherent to what he terms the "legal production of migrant 'illegality'"

(429), or a productive mode of legal exclusion wherein the promise and horizon of

"regularization" is what enables a long apprenticeship constitutive of the subordinated worker.

De Genova writes:

> Every "illegalization" implies the possibility of its own rectification. Once we recognize
> that undocumented migrations are constituted in order not to physically exclude them but
> instead, to socially include them under imposed conditions of enforced and protracted
> vulnerability, it is not difficult to fathom how migrants' endurance of many years of
> "illegality" can serve as a disciplinary apprenticeship in the subordination of their labor.
> (429)

Susan Coutin (2000) writes, similarly, of the spaces of nonexistence inhabited by legal

non-subjects. Coutin, like De Genova, sees the lived features of legal nonexistence as the

outcome of a series of productive and enacted erasures: "nonexistence is produced through

[exclusion], limiting rights, restricting services, and erasing personhood" (28). While

"nonexistence" enables various forms of innovation and subversion, Coutin argues, it is largely a

locus of repression, protracted vulnerability, and exploitation; legal nonexistence is officially

prohibited but unofficially tolerated as a profitable source of labour.

Elements of Luis' narrative are reflective of the legal production of both "illegality" and

spaces of nonexistence. The state's "blackening" of his various forms of agricultural,

construction, and restaurant work—which were not reported or registered, and whose

performance cannot be proved—rendered his employment history unverifiable vis-à-vis the state,

posing obstacles to Luis' attempts to substantiate his economic activity and means when

applying for a residence permit. Where legal existence bears gradations in Coutin's

characterization, potential employers who turn away candidates without residency documents (in

Luis' words "everyone demands that you already have one") and public servants who withhold

social services, further contribute to erasing the presence of undocumented migrants from legal

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and professional domains. Luis' physical dwelling, located on the periphery of the city and ill-equipped (rendering the act of bathing complicated and semi-public) can also be seen as an expression of the logics of legal erasure. The concept of "leaving through the same door you entered" underscores the conditions of precarity and negated presence that are produced by "free movement" policy.

Limitations in mobility, however, do not entirely foreclose agentive potentials or alternative imaginings of "integration." A key mode of agency revealed in Luis' narrative lies in the negotiation of "possibility"—of distinguishing where "possibilities" are and where they are not, or distinguishing between making an unsolicited visit to a supervisor ("there are no possibilities in this situation") and discovering a promising lead to "white" work and one's own regularization through word of mouth ("it's someone that I know who gave me that possibility").

In this context, imagining and negotiating possibility entailed forms of ethical self-cultivation, attunement, and relational practice that tended to question the very models of entrepreneurial personal responsibility that had so often been presented to migrants as the key to their success. In the same discussion, for instance, Luis described to me his recent consultation with an ethnopsychiatrist in Geneva with whom he had been consulting about his Swiss job search and unemployment:

> [The ethnopsychiatrist] said one interesting thing, at the psychological level. He told me that, if I have a job interview, and I get the usual response of "oh, you're magnificent, but unfortunately…" one should notice, listen to the word "unfortunately," that you should always expect everyone to say "unfortunately" to you… For me, this piece of information can be positive for one's interiority, can't it? Because remember that when you have an

interview and you get a negative response - "yes, you're great, but unfortunately" - each time you hear that, it's like a kind of knife, isn't it? It hurts.[94]

Voicing Swiss employers multiple times in this passage—voices which are parodied as overly polite, complimentary, and apologetic—Luis describes the benefit of a strategy of cultivating a disposition to the "possibility" of his workplace integration which divorces ongoing job-search rejections from the domain of personal responsibility. Providing an alternative to agendas of migrant responsibilization, the formation of subjectivity that Luis describes directly contradicts the framework which holds migrants accountable for their own social mobility; the ethnopsychiatrist's alternative epistemology of responsibility accounts for conditions of enduring unemployment not in terms of the individual's lacking competences, but in terms of broader, enduring, and consistent patterns by which undocumented persons are excluded from legal labour markets. While this might appear to express a negative or fatalistic position—a piece of advice that might be construed as clashing with the "put yourself forward" ethos of the school's French-language teachers—the ethnopsychiatrist's counsel to "always expect everyone to say 'unfortunately'" was construed as "positive for one's interiority," providing an alternative to bearing the burden of neoliberal responsibility. This tactical technology of the self (Foucault 1988) arguably constitutes what can be called a mode of "de-responsibilization" that strives to orient migrants to contexts in which enduring processes of stigmatization and legal exclusion trump attempts at entrepreneurial self-cultivation, providing a reframing of the state's

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[94] Original transcript: "Il a dit une chose intéressant au niveau psychologique. Il m'a dit que, si j'ai un entretien de travail, et je reçois la réponse habituelle de "ah, vous êtes magnifique mais malheureusement…" il faut apercevoir, écouter la parole, le mot "malheureusement" que tu dois attendre toujours que tout le monde va te dire "malheureusement"… Pour moi, c'est une information peut être positive pour l'interiorité, non? Parce que souvenez que, quand tu as un entretien et tu reçois une réponse négative "oui, tu es magnifique mais malheureusement," euh, chaque fois que tu écoutes ça, c'est comme une espèce de couteau, non? Ça fait mal."

governmentality of individual responsibility—one in which agency might be uncoupled from "responsibility."

What results from this attunement is not necessarily the enterprising, activated subject of "responsibility" discourses, but a different disposition—a learning parallel to what De Genova describes as the apprenticeship to labour in which one might transform the circumstances of contingency into possibility. Invoking possibility, Luis reframes concepts of work, migration, and mobility beyond purely economic rationalities, while creating alternative modes of inhabiting space as undocumented—even the ordinary practice of walking constitutes a "spatial practice" (de Certeau 1984) which enacts the capacity to cultivate one's life in unfamiliar and uncertain conditions. Constructing a different framing of risk and mobility, then, Luis describes a flaneur-like figure—an emblem of urban mobility—to describe what he calls an apprenticeship to "trust" as an undocumented productive of economic but also ethical value:

> I think that it's a question of learning to be alone with yourself. This is positive not only for an illegal person, but for people in general, isn't it?…Walking alone in an unknown place…developing this capacity in a place that is not familiar. This gives you the capacity to survive… You're conscious that when you leave your comfort zone… you can go anywhere and you can cultivate a life… But that is rich, it's lovely to learn that of life… I believe that I've developed a trust in life, a trust that 'you will always make it.' This is a very important apprenticeship.

> … One must find work in order to eat, but also to really find a way of living (*une mode de vie*). In my case, I did not come to Geneva merely to work, to improve my material situation. I came because I carried out an investigation… I am looking for a change. I have to work, but at the same time, I am searching for my domain. I still haven't really found it yet… I don't believe in chance. Life is a question of choosing.[95]

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[95] Original transcript: "Je crois que c'est une question d'apprendre à être seul avec toi. C'est positive pas seulement pour une personne illégale, mais pour les gens en générale, non?… Marcher tout seule dans un endroit inconnu…développer cette capacité dans un endroit qu'on ne connaît pas. Ça te donne une capacité de survivre….Tu es conscient que quand tu sors de ton endroit de confort… tu peux aller n'importe où et tu peux développer une vie… Mais ça c'est riche, c'est jolie de découvrir ça de la vie… Je crois que j'ai pris une confiance à la vie, une confiance de toujours tu vas réussir. C'est un apprentissage qui est très important. Il faut trouver un travail pour manger, mais aussi vraiment trouver une mode de vie. Dans mon cas, je ne suis pas venu à Genève seulement pour travailler, améliorer ma situation matérielle. Je suis venu parce que j'ai fait une recherche …Je cherche un changement. Je dois travailler, mais en même temps, je cherche mon domaine. Je ne l'ai pas vraiment trouvé encore….Je ne crois pas au hasard. La vie c'est une question de choisir."

It is critical to note that this appeal to "trust," as a response to economic contingency and legal non-existence, is itself imagined through symbols which engage various scales of mobility. "Walking" is constructed as enacting an embodied mode of integration, "a capacity to survive" in the interstices produced by the state's erasures. In de Certeau's (1984) reflections on the city—which he terms a totalizing "landmark for socioeconomic and political strategies" (95)— walking is characterized as a tactical "space of enunciation" (97) in which pedestrians appropriate topographical systems and enact trajectories which can evade administration, lying "outside the reach of panoptic power" (95). De Certeau writes: "if it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities… and interdictions, then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities... But he also moves them about and invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform, or abandon spatial elements" (98). These spatial practices are not merely constituted by the rational administration of the city, but are themselves constitutive of mobile subjects in transit for whom, in Luis' words, the spatially-framed search for one's domain (*domaine*) necessitates departure from "home." Where mobility is constitutive of subjectivity, and where it is immobility that constitutes the ultimate form of displacement, "home" is no longer the nostalgic site of return (Chu 2006).

Conclusion: The Livability of "Integration"

Does the possibility imagined through a lived ethics of "trust" interrogate the state's produced contingencies, its framework of responsibilized risk management? Does "trust" mark an acceptance or disavowal of one's contingency? My analytic aim is not to characterize Luis' as a necessarily transgressive narrative. Instead, in this chapter, I have tried to characterize some of the situated frameworks of agency, social mobility, and responsibility that are enacted in French

pedagogies of language and communication, and to show how students engage with these, simultaneously reframing and interrogating the state's dominant "language as key to integration" paradigm, while using the gap between official ideologies and lived experience to produce the ethics and substance of solidarity. Migrant-learners produce it in classroom interactions with each other and with their teachers; teachers produce it in framing the incommensurability of welcome work with paid remuneration. It is revealing that, across both accounts in this chapter, *connaissance* is invoked as key to social mobility—in one context, to index "knowledge," in the other to index "relationship" (an acquaintance).

The counter-hegemonic potential of these instances of solidarity-building was limited. While, in the classroom, students were given the opportunity to rehearse a genre of self-referential and self-marketing "talk about themselves," it remained unclear whether lessons in this form of talk could ultimately help migrants evade cycling through the undeclared contingent labour markets that they were likely to enter, or were already dependent upon for their livelihoods. As Luis' account suggests, this condition of durable contingency is not entirely communicatively manageable—evaluations of migrants' competences remained highly situational, contingent upon context and the discretionary judgments of variously positioned addressees. The dominant view of language as the "key" to integration, then, obscures the ways that legal status may be more determining than language competences of the livelihood one can or cannot secure. More, construing legality as a reward or index of integration participates in the production of durable contingency; time spent performing "black" work counts, for instance, towards neither financial nor residency requirements on Swiss permit- and naturalization applications. The official model of "integration" and social mobility—which traces a trajectory for the migrant-speaker from linguistic competence to employment and "regularized"

residency—is thus a difficultly achieved ideal. The school and its integration program is not a pipeline to sites of contingent labour, but is itself constrained by the ironies of a policy framework which, at once, naturalizes the migrant as a subject of both risk and labour while rendering "regularization" dependent on displaying indexes of integration from which many newcomers are excluded.

In acknowledging these limitations of *welcome work*, this chapter has also tried to attend, as Gershon (2011) writes, to the dispositions whereby "neoliberal labor is not merely one of replacement but continual translation, in which people continually struggle to make neoliberal principles livable given their other understandings of how one is social" (544). While neoliberal models of social mobility constitute the encompassing social framework which reproduces migrant "illegality" and vulnerability—where migrants and mobility brokers are made agentive at precisely those points where state protections are withdrawn—teachers like Daria render their role and limitations "livable," in part, by imparting their economically "useful" training and educational work with ethical-moral status, engendering an identity and solidarity with migrants that can sustain (self)critique. Migrants perform a similar reconciliation in attempt to create the livable; the apprenticeship to labour of the *sans papiers* does not foreclose conceiving of work beyond economic value, where neither extremes of "chance" (*hasard*) or "responsibility" adequately account for one's mobile aspirations, and where endured contingency does not erase the conviction, as Luis put it, that living can still remain "a question of choosing."

In the next and final chapter, I consider how teachers and mobility mediators do not merely transmit communicative competences in the classroom, but broker *presence* itself, actively constituting local borders. I examine how the language-legality nexus plays out in Geneva in light of Switzerland's territorially-imagined model of official quadrilingualism which

creates internal linguistic-political borders and thus various scales of integration. I return to the story of Maryam (whom we first encountered in Chapter 2), whose mobility from a German-speaking to a French-speaking jurisdiction placed her in a situation of protracted invisibility which I call "jurisdictional erasure." This very erasure was enabled by a Swiss model of heterogeneous nationhood which determined that Maryam's (German) language competences were not sufficient demonstrations of her "integration" in Geneva. The chapter thus reflects on scale, territoriality, and the often murky terrains of sovereignty occasioned by "integration" policy, examining how mobility brokers directly participate in rendering migrants present and constructing local jurisdiction.

Mediating Misdirection: Jurisdictional Limbo and the Brokerage of Presence

Dominant models of national space, and their attendant models of cohesion and administration, typically frame migrant integration and presences in terms that envision the migrant's incorporation into a political unit imagined as culturally and linguistically homogeneous. Blommaert and Verschuren (1998) characterize this tendency as an enduring "norm of homogeneism" which, in linguistic domains, for instance, constructs multilingualism as a threat to national cohesion—a legacy of Herderian thought which posited the isomorphism between language, territory, and statehood. The case of the French state provides a clear example. French discourses surrounding migrant "assimilation"—an enduring criteria in France's naturalization procedures—not only entail expectations around proficiency in standard French, but also entail evidencing espousal of Republicanism and its model of *laïcité*—aspects of French social life which, it is commonly argued, safeguard national unity and define the very nature of Frenchness (Scott 2007). French discourses on migrant "assimilation" are, further, historically informed by a centralized model of administration; assimilation reflects a model of nationhood in which the process of administration itself is imagined as issuing out from a metropolitan center, the heart of a radially-imagined territorial unit. At the end of the 19th century, assimilation referred mainly to the incorporation of France's colonies into the political and administrative system of the metropole; the full assimilation of colonial subjects into metropolitan society was still held as impossible. As Abdellali Hajjat (2012) explores in his work on the French assimilation concept, the goal of this juridical assimilation was to establish a single legislative body that, to cite French jurist Arthur Girault writing in 1895, could govern all the parts of the territory without distinction

(62). A model of governance without distinction meant that colonies thus received "representation" at the level of a metropolitan Parliament in a colonial system that strived to establish uniform and seamless administration over various "like" units.

As Benton (2009) explores, however, the image of a seamless and uniform application of governance was far from the realities of colonial administration. Colonial political geographies were not characterized by the steady homogenizing rationalization of space, Benton argues, but instead proliferated a diversity of spatial formations, producing an administrative field and fabric that was uneven, differentiated, and highly fragmented—in a word, colonial geographies were "lumpy" (8). Jurisdictional borders were often ambiguous and indeterminate as colonial law grappled with, and was co-constituted by, geography. In Benton's account, for instance, the British administration of India's mountainous and hill regions—often treated as resistant sites of legal "primitivism"—created spaces of quasi-, divided, and graduated sovereignties, while the legal enforcement of maritime jurisdiction (in the form of routes and corridors) proved the practice of sovereignty to be as inconsistent and murky as the waters it attempted to govern. Critically, the varying spatial forms of colonial sovereignty included prominent breaks, gaps, cracks, and crevices in jurisdictional continuity. In sum, the lumpy fabric of empire was also full of holes. For Benton, such holes did not constitute "legal voids" (30) but created arenas where new procedures, experiments, and forms of mediation could emerge.

In this chapter, I draw on Benton's (2009) insights into the variegated spaces of colonial governance to examine how jurisdictional borders are enforced and enacted in present day Switzerland. While Switzerland is a quite different context from Benton's imperial administrations, the Swiss system of de-centralized governance offers valuable insight into how jurisdictional discontinuities bear implications for migrant integration. In particular, I suggest not

only that *presence* is a site of local-scale social brokerage, but that the mediation of migrant presence at the quasi-sovereign scale of the cantons constitutes a key site at which local jurisdiction is itself made and maintained; the practices which define migrant "presences" and "absences," in other words, are part and parcel of the process of jurisdictional border-making.

In a state imagined in terms of multiethnic and multilingual differences—and where the aim of administrative de-centralization is to preserve the political autonomy and distinctiveness of the constituent parts—processes of migrant integration prove much more complex than analyses of a national "norm of homogeneity" might account for. In Switzerland, integration is jurisdictionally imagined and evaluated. One's integration is always gauged with respect to some or another "local" site, whether the municipality or the canton. Jurisdictional borders, in turn, condition when, where, and how individuals are incorporated. In this context, attempts to move from one canton to another complicate incorporation; relocations that cross jurisdictional and linguistic borders can be risky and destabilizing, and require migrants to negotiate novel legal orders and integration criteria. Critically, as Benton directs us to observe, the jurisdictional bounding of integration in Switzerland proliferates its own forms of variegation—the produced gaps, breaks, and discontinuities in administration that, themselves, produce quite variegated possibilities for subjecthood vis-à-vis legal orders.

One common consequence of such a legal order is that many migrants find their legal status and physical presence positioned in enduringly indeterminate states of ambiguity vis-à-vis the law—what Bianca, in the preceding vignette, referred to as "life in suspension." Borrowing from that exchange, I term this condition *jurisdictional limbo*. It encompasses states of uncertain transition and their consequences—the condition of having one's legal status and presence lie betwixt and between two jurisdictional regimes, as well as the state of having one's physical

presence erased by the bureaucratic rationalities of jurisdictional practice. Like Benton, I do not treat this condition as one of "legal void," nor as a space of exception, but as an arena of interstitial mediation by which "presence" is itself brokered. Through a set of linkages, migration mediators interpret and influence the enactment of legal understandings of integration and, by influencing who counts as present or absent within cantonal borders, delineate the very bounds of jurisdiction. I thus pair Benton's insights with Bruno Latour's (2005) analytic insistence on re-distributing the local, or examining the circuits and associational linkages by which a local scale is itself constituted. To the extent that "every local site is being localized by a flood of localizers, dispatchers, deviators, articulators" (203), I suggest that the jurisdictional unit of the canton is, in part, "localized," constituted, and maintained through the interventions of migration brokers.

In the first half of the chapter, I historicize the canton as a particular kind of jurisdictional form. I suggest that the canton is imagined, in Switzerland, as a unit of intra-national sovereignty whose moral responsibility historically included, through the scale of the municipality, the care of individuals. Determinations around who might benefit from entitlements to aid, poverty-relief, and other forms of care were arguably constitutive of Swiss frameworks for cantonal and municipal belonging and locality.

I bring these considerations to bear on the second half of the chapter, where I examine one instance of jurisdictional limbo and its resolution. I analyze the trajectory of Maryam (discussed in Chapter 2), a migrant who, at the time of my fieldwork, was attempting to relocate from the canton of Bern to the canton of Geneva. She was thus traversing not only jurisdictional borders, but a major line of separation in the variegated Swiss geo-political imaginary—the *röstigraben*, or the linguistic-cultural "ditch" (Ger. *Graben*) to which differences between francophone and Alemannic Switzerland in everything from voting patterns in national

referenda, openness to Europe, and cuisine are often ascribed. The process of Maryam's "legalization" (*régularisation,*[96] as it is termed in Geneva) into her new canton illustrates how the brokerage labour of various interstitially-positioned actors mediates migrant presence, residency, and access to cantonal resources. Throughout my research, various workers in the field of migration and integration referred to this kind of inter-institutional collaboration as "network labour" (*travail en réseau*). I examine network labour, then, not only as a key modality of emplacement but as a key site where cantonal jurisdiction is practiced and enacted.

Small-scale Sovereignty: The Swiss canton

In Switzerland's decentralized model of politics, the state is composed of cellular units of administration and delegated decision-making; it is at the scale of the cantons, and the communes constitutive of the cantons, where the majority of critical decisions regarding integration, residency, and naturalization are made. For migrants, this system of intra-national divisions entails that evincing the so-called will to integrate means demonstrating that one has developed social, cultural, and linguistic ties to a very specific jurisdictional unit.

As a political form, the Swiss canton reflects the development of a distinctly Swiss model of administrative decentralization. During the 14th century, loose-knit political leagues with largely "overlapping membership" (Steinberg 1976, 23) formed between "free" alpine/valley communities and lowland towns in what is present-day Switzerland.[97] In conventional Swiss historiography, these leagues united the country's three "originary" alpine communities—the

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[96] Throughout French-speaking Switzerland, the status of *régulier* is contrasted to that of *sans papiers* or *clandestin* (clandestine).

[97] Members of free alpine societies bore arms and did not live under conditions of feudal servitude, maintaining shared pastures through extensive and collaborative alpine networks (Steinberg 1976, 17).

"Ur cantons" of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden—with a number of city-states and independent townships. By 1353, the three cantons had formed a league with the towns of Luzern, Zurich, Glarus, Zug and Bern in a political unit against Habsburg incursion. Such town-country alliances formed proto-cantonal units known in Alemannic Switzerland as *Orte* (places), and this early union was recognized as the *Acht Alte Orte,* the "union of 8 places" (23). The expansion of this initial alliance was furthered by conditions of economic bankruptcy which compelled smaller 14th century feudal lords to pawn land rights to the more prosperous and neighbouring cities. By the period of the French Revolution, this "Old" Swiss Confederation[98] had grown to include 13 *Orte,* or members (Linder 2010).

Despite membership in a common league, the units that formed the early Swiss confederation largely remained self-governing, constituted by over two hundred sovereign villages, communes, and districts. Historically, the union's only central institution was an assembly of ambassadors, the Diet, bearing, according to Steinberg, "no power to coerce its member states" (Steinberg 1976, 30). Alpine communities were known to reject confederal decisions if their members decided to do so, often through local practices of public voting by assembly known as *Landsgemeinde*. In the context of the 15th century class conflicts which fissured town and country, and the subsequent Protestant-Catholic religious conflicts of the 16th and 17th centuries, it was not unknown for the *Orte* or cantons to further fission and subdivide along new administrative lines, drawn by confession or between *Stadt* (town) and *Land* (country). This re-partitioning of cantons into smaller "half-cantons" was a common Swiss political strategy; this form of fissioning was a mode of negotiating disagreement and difference,

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[98] A political scientist, Linder (2010) makes a distinction between *federation* and *confederation*, and points out that this "Old" Swiss union was the latter—not a "power-sharing" arrangement between a central government and a number of non-centralized governments, as in a federation, but a "treaty-based system of independent states" (2010, 6).

and enabled diverse communities' enduring membership in the confederacy by delineating ever-smaller units of sovereignty which, while self-governing, had no capability for collective enforcement (136). The historical urban-rural divide is preserved, for instance, in the present-day half-cantons of Basel-Land and Basel-Stadt. Likewise, a confessional divide constituted the half-cantons of present-day Appenzell: Catholic Appenzell Innerrhoden, and Protestant Appenzell Ausserrhoden.

The practice of proliferating small, self-governing political units was briefly interrupted with the attempt to impose a French-modeled system of central administration on the Swiss confederacy—the Helvetic Republic (1798–1803) saw the attempt to establish, in Switzerland, a system of uniform weights and measures, a uniform legal code, and concepts of equality before the law (Steinberg 1976, 9). The refusal of the Swiss alpine communities of the Helvetic Republic's centralized, French-style administration saw local sovereignties officially restored under an Act of Mediation (1803). This official restoration brought with it the increased use of the term *Kanton* (Fr. *canton,* It. *cantone*) over *Ort,* in Alemannic Switzerland to refer to Switzerland's largely autonomous administrative units. A commitment to cantonal sovereignty was subsequently re-affirmed in the Swiss constitution of 1874 (ratified by popular ballot) following the 1848 formation of the Swiss federal state. Revealing the influences of its American counterpart, the Swiss constitutional model of cantonal self-government issues from a federalist system of delegation. Namely, the constitution ensures that the cantons are "sovereign, in so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the federal constitution, and exercise all those rights, which have not been transferred to federal power" (cited in Steinberg 1976, 52).

As self-governing units, cantons and communes have long constituted key sites of belonging and moral responsibility; at the scales of the canton and commune—a nested series of

local memberships—current policies of migrant integration find resonances with historical frameworks for the administration of care. Before the formation of the Swiss federal state in 1848, cantonal sovereignty entailed that each of the cantons not only employed their own currency and kept their own individual standing armies, but that cantonal governments held responsibility for regulating residency and mobility across their territorial borders. At a still smaller scale, the municipal communes which constituted the cantons took on a particular moral responsibility vis-à-vis their inhabitants. The Diet of 1551 required that all Swiss municipalities assume the responsibility of feeding and lodging their poor (Helbing 2008, 12). Such entitlements to poverty relief were granted according to the Swiss concept of the "commune of origin" (Ger. *Bürgerort,* Fr. *commune d'origine*). Reflective of historical alpine social structures of collective obligation (Steinberg 1976, 81), the administrative concept of *Bürgerort* was not merely one's birthplace, the site at which one's citizenship was conferred, or an imagined site of enduring ancestral ties; it was where the municipalities ultimately determined an individual was *heimatberechtigt*—"entitled to be at home." The quality of being *heimatberechtigt* in a given municipality was, at first, thought to endure irrespective of an individual's own territorial mobility or physical presence—one could retain entitlements to aid and poverty-relief in one's commune of origin even after having relocated. Historically, then, entitlement and access to local systems of aid entailed not only that jurisdictional borders were themselves mobile—borders went where individuals did—but that such borders were primarily established to regulate access to political participation and resources on a local scale. Concepts of the *heimat* kept the ineligible *out* of domains of local entitlement, creating a differentiated administrative terrain of moral responsibility and delegation. Helbling (2008) describes citizenship during this period of the Confederation as a system in which "It was… in the interest of every municipality to control

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access to local citizenship and to send beggars and other people in need back to their home-municipalities" (12).

This system of "home-entitlement" underwent subsequent transformations. Switzerland's first federal constitution (1848) held that the right to vote and participate in local politics be accorded to Swiss citizens after residing in a canton for 2 years (then, in 1874, after only 3 months of residence). Currently, there is no waiting period for Swiss citizens who relocate (Helbling 2008, 12). In the domain of aid and poverty-relief, the Confederation eventually required its municipalities to support all citizen-residents of their territories in 1975; the current constitution now places matters of aid and poverty-relief in the hands of the cantonal authorities, although, in many cases, the cantons delegate, or restore, this responsibility to the municipal level. What I emphasize, however, is that entitlements to aid and political participation are still evaluated on a decidedly "local" scale.

The same holds true for processes of residency and naturalization. Citizenship and residency are conferred in Switzerland, first, at the level of the municipal commune, then at the level of the canton. Procedures, criteria, and fees are known to differ from locale to locale, making (as we will see) the role of interstitial mediators and on-the-ground contacts critical to trajectories and procedures of social incorporation. The linkage of migrant integration to a specific commune and canton thus enacts a logic of emplacement that was historically employed to determine not only who, within Switzerland, were the proper subjects of cantonal administration and taxation, but also who the rightful and legitimate recipients of local aid-entitlements. It is in this context that the contemporary practice of foreigner "integration" must be understood.

As a further illustration, the current domain of asylum reveals how cantonal governments partition responsibilities in ways that highlight the perils and erasures of jurisdiction. In present-day Swiss asylum procedures, refugees and asylum-seekers are initially received in reception centers managed by the Federal Office for Migration (the federal State Secretariat for Migration ultimately decides on whether to confer refugee status). While applications undergo federal review, however, asylum-seekers are assigned to residences in specific cantons and communes. During this review period, the individual cantons bear responsibility for accommodations,[99] provisional residence documents (in Switzerland, the N and F permits), and social aid. Cantonal agents will also decide whether or not to confer individual refugees with work-authorization while asylum interviews and hearings are conducted (which are also, in large part, performed by local cantonal actors). If an asylum-request is granted by the federal State Secretariat for Migration, it is the canton where the refugee resides that confers the longer-term residence permit which recognizes the family's or individual's refugee status in that locale. When the federal State Secretariat rejects an asylum-request, it is cantonal authorities and police who enforce the departure deadlines imposed at the federal level. This includes, in Switzerland, the physical detainment of the refugee in cantonally-operated administrative detention centers prior to federal-ordered deportation (Swiss Refugee Council 2017; Global Detention Project 2017). This cantonal enforcement of federal asylum decisions entails that the practices and conditions of both detainment and deportation differ markedly across cantonal contexts. The Frambois administrative detention center is one such site of migrant detainment in Switzerland—while located in the canton of Geneva, Frambois is jointly managed by the cantonal governments of

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[99] In recent years, living quarters for refugees in Switzerland have included accommodations in converted underground nuclear bunkers, lacking windows and adequate basic living facilities. In the canton of Vaud, protestors who advocated for better living conditions for the canton's refugees appealed directly to the cantonal rather than federal government (Swissinfo 2014).

Geneva, Vaud and Neuchâtel. Because Frambois lacks a single overarching authority, the facility's detainment criteria are highly contingent and variegated: it is not unknown for migrants processed in one canton to be detained in Frambois according to legal criteria that another canton might not have employed (Global Detention Project 2017).

The jurisdictional partitioning of detainment and deportation procedures produces spaces of violent erasure in ways that both confound and evade accountability. A combination of federal decision-making and cantonal police forces, the practice of the deportation flight, euphemized in French-Switzerland as the *vol spéciale* (the "special flight" of forced repatriation) drew international attention from both Swiss and international human rights agencies when, in March 2010, 29 year-old Joseph Chiakwa, a Nigerian refugee denied asylum, died after being physically restrained by police at Zurich's Kloten airport before a scheduled deportation flight to Lagos.[100]

The recent decades have, indeed, seen increased efforts at harmonizing Swiss and European policy in the domains of migration- and mobility-management (e.g. the 2011 introduction of biometric identity documents in Switzerland as part of the country's participation in the Schengen Information Service (SIS), the Schengen zone's transnational border-control and law enforcement database, managed by the European Commission). Within Switzerland, however, Europe-ward policy harmonization exists in clear tension with a decentralized system of jurisdictions which enables local cantonal actors a wide margin of discretionary maneuver. At

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[100] The testimonies of other deportees confirmed that Zurich police routinely use physical force to search and immobilize detained refugees—9 police officers were involved in restraining Joseph Chiakwa, who was physically bound to a wheelchair with restraints placed on his legs, torso, and head. This extreme form of immobilization, termed a "Level IV" deportation by Swiss authorities, includes being tied to one's airplane seat for the entire duration of the flight. Chiakwa's death was preceded by two other deportation-related deaths in Switzerland: the 1999 death of a 27 year-old Palestinian refugee, Khaled Abuzarife, who suffocated in his restraints in an airport elevator while being taken to an airplane, and the 2001 death of Nigerian national, Samson Chukwu, who died in detainment, awaiting deportation. Swiss deportation practices are critically examined by Swiss film maker, Fernand Melgar, in the 2011 film *Vol Spéciale*.

present, each Swiss canton—varying significantly in size and population—has its own

constitution, legal system, as well as its own executive, legislative and judiciary branches; each

bears a distinct cantonal flag and coat of arms; each recognizes its own official language(s); and

each levies taxes from its residents and thus bears responsibility for healthcare, welfare, and

public education (Steinberg 1976, 78). [101]

An important implication of this recursively cellular political topography for migration is

that locally situated and interconnected intermediaries are essential to practices and processes of

social and legal incorporation. Indeed, the domain of mobility management is what, in part,

maintains the boundaries of such cellular sovereignties—decisions regarding which migrants and

individuals lie within or "outside" of local jurisdiction are part and parcel of the practice of

jurisdiction-making itself. Intermediaries, operating as a network, broker resources, negotiate

regional legal frameworks, mediate movement from one jurisdiction to another, and thus actively

co-constitute jurisdictional lines. In the following section, I explore the system of Swiss

residence permits and illustrate the implication of interstitial mediators in the "legalization" of

Maryam, a woman whom I met at a migrant women's center in Geneva.

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[101] The primacy of the canton is significant enough that the Swiss have a word for it. The Swiss-German term *Kantönligeist* (loosely translated into Italian and French as *campanilismo* and *cantonalisme,* respectively), or "(little) canton spirit," points to the primacy of locality, local matters, and "smallness" characteristic of the Swiss political system. The diminutive form (-*li*) suggests the concept's use in a register of affection. The ethic of *Kantönligeist* is characterized by Steinberg (1976), somewhat disparagingly, as a "stubborn parochialism" (48)—a protectiveness of local autonomies over and against impositions of central authority. Less pejoratively, Robert Brooks (1930) described *Kantönligeist* simply as devotion to locality.

Brokering Mobility, Bounding Jurisdiction

Despite their particulars, each Swiss canton recognizes the same spectrum of residency categories and permits. The majority of these categories authorize their holders to temporary residency in Switzerland. In ascending order of residency-length, the F permit for "provisionally admitted foreigners," for instance, is given to migrants whom the state determines are to leave Switzerland (and are deemed ineligible for other residency categories), but whose departure is not enforced, either because the state determines that a forced departure violates international law or endangers the individual. The N permit, another short-term category, is a residency and work status accorded to refugees whose asylum-request is undergoing review. Switzerland's significant transnational workforce is officially recognized by the annual G permit, which authorizes the employment of cross-border "commuters" (in Geneva, the *frontaliers)* who are employed in Switzerland but whose permanent address is in surrounding France, Italy, Germany, or Austria.[102] The main condition for holding the G permit is that commuters must legally return to their non-Swiss residence at least once a week, typically on the weekends. Beyond this commuter status is the L permit, a slightly longer residency authorization which is valid just up to one year and is delimited by an individual's work contract or course of study. The B permit, which is valid for 1 year and is renewable, is granted to individuals under longer-term employment contracts or courses of study, or to individuals able to provide proof of financial resources to support an extended stay in Switzerland. The B permit is the most common residency category held by non-naturalized "foreigners" living and working in Geneva. Of the

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[102] Though essential to Geneva's economy, such cross-border *frontaliers* are nonetheless often the topic of discourses of disparagement; it was not unknown for "local" Genevans to point out that commuters were adding to the city's already significant levels of road congestion. Similar discourses concern Geneva's international expat population (see Adly 2011, 2013).

16,392 residency permits that were conferred in the canton of Geneva in 2016, 65% of these (10,721) were of the short-term, renewable B permit (OCSTAT 2017). The prominence of the B permit category reflects the significant number of European nationals temporarily working and residing in the canton. Indeed, the clear majority of B permit recipients in 2016 were EU or EFTA citizens (67% of all B permit-holders), most of whom also held short-term employment contracts (OCSTAT 2017).

Cantonal statistics reveal that the C permit is far less often conferred. The C permit is a non-temporary residence category. The C permit authorizes permanent settlement in Switzerland and also enables its holder to apply for naturalization after a number of years of uninterrupted residency.[103] Indeed, only persons who hold a C permit are eligible to apply for Swiss naturalization. Following a kind of probationary 5-year period, the C permit becomes indefinitely renewable. Legally, the C-permit enables its holders to move around the country and work where they desire. Getting one is not easy, and the C permit is itself granted on the basis of longstanding residency in Switzerland: EU and EFTA nationals must prove 5 years of continuous residency before applying for the C permit, while non-EU/EFTA nationals must prove double this number (10) in years of authorized residency before applying for permanent settlement.

The question of who is most often granted the C settlement permit in Geneva reveals clear disparities between EU/EFTA and non-EU "Third country" nationals: in 2016, the 809 C-permits that were conferred accounted for only 5% of all residency permits granted in the canton; 75% of these C permit recipients (604 persons) were EU/EFTA citizens (OCSTAT 2017). The

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[103] In most cases, the naturalization requirement is 12 years of uninterrupted residency in Switzerland.

prominence of European nationals in Geneva's longer-term residency categories reflects the impact of the bilateral 1999 Swiss-EU Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons—a policy which facilitated the entry, residency, and employment of European nationals in Switzerland. A key objective in this mobility facilitation was to render the legal incorporation of EU/EFTA citizens legally exempt from the same expectations surrounding "integration" faced by non-EU/EFTA nationals (see Chapter 2). "Third country" citizens in Geneva, and in broader Switzerland, then, are not only far less likely to receive the C permit—and the permanent settlement and naturalization rights it confers—but the processes by which they do receive it are far more stringent and conditioned by evaluations of cultural-linguistic integration into the "local" milieu in which they apply.

The scale of the local, of course, is itself the product of reproductive labour. A contingent arena of interlinked agents and institutional actors make decisions and interventions that mediate and animate cantonal residency laws, influence outcomes of applications for legal status, and thereby contribute to drawing the very contours of cantonal jurisdiction. Michael Lipsky (1980) wrote of the inextricable link between political membership and participation, and "street-level bureaucrats"—the face-to-face public-service providers who wield significant discretionary power over service-recipients. For Lipsky, the street-level bureaucrat is a key agent in defining the very parameters of citizenship:

> [Street-level bureacrats] socialize citizens to expectations of government services and a place in the political community. They determine the eligibility of citizens for government benefits and sanctions. They oversee the treatment (the service) citizens receive in those programs. Thus, in a sense, street-level bureaucrats implicitly mediate aspects of the constitutional relationship of citizens to the state. In short, they hold the keys to a dimension of citizenship. (1980, 4)

This mediating role—holding the "keys" to social membership—is no less salient in instances that might be considered legally unambiguous—that is, instances where an applicant has very clearly fulfilled the legal and integration-based requirements of eligibility for a specific residency-category. In the next section, I provide an ethnographic account of one such process of incorporation, and discuss the "street-level" processes and agents that mediated one migrant's mobility from one local jurisdiction to another. I reveal the ways that the arena of what can be considered "legal entitlement" becomes a site not only of networked mediation but of jurisdictional boundary-drawing.

Bureaucratic Limbo and Networked Labour

A short bus ride away from the Migrant Center (on which this dissertation has focused thus far) is a community center for migrant women. It is situated on the second floor of a small building, located steps away from an anti-poverty organization, and surrounded by a series of apartment complexes. Although they share no institutional affiliation, the women's center is linked to the Migrant Center by the students who routinely circulate between both institutions—the women's center is another key node of mobility mediation in Geneva, host to a French language learning program,[104] regular outings, and referral services for migrant women in the canton. In separate interviews, personnel at both centers tended to agree that the two institutions—the Migrant Center and the women's center—had two very distinct approaches to migrant education and integration. Members of the Migrant Center, for instance, often suggested that the support services and teaching methods at the women's center involved too much "hand-holding" in ways

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[104] The women center's French instruction methods differed somewhat from other language-learning programs in Geneva. French-instruction was guided by the Gattegno Method of language-teaching, also known as the "Silent Way"—a pedagogy that foregoes classroom "drills" and pronunciation repetitions and relies, in part, on colour-associations and sound-colour charts to teach various phonological lexical items. This method was often used in contexts in Geneva where migrants were assumed to have had shorter personal histories in formalized schooling.

that risked hampering what they saw as the necessary development of a migrant woman's autonomy. One staff member at the Migrant Center argued that migrant integration was served best when migrants were given room to find things out for themselves; she critiqued what she and others termed the protective "cocooning" (*le cocooning*) of migrant women in a women's-only language-learning environment. Framing the classroom as a social microcosm where values of gender equality ought to prevail, she argued that such spaces risked further isolating an already invisible and vulnerable population.

The personnel at the women's center, however, saw the matter entirely differently. Chantal was a key and active member of the women's center team during my fieldwork and is presently the center's director. In interview, Chantal pointed out that while migrant pedagogy at the Migrant Center is far more conventionally modeled after traditional (*classique*) classrooms, the women's center serves a different and often underserviced public which includes, she explained, students who themselves preferred and sought out an all-female learning environment, women with children (who benefit from the center's built-in childcare space), and women who claim their husbands are uncomfortable with their attending French classes in mixed-gender spaces. She took this last point as an unfortunate fact, but one that required gender-sensitive models of language-instruction and programming. In a similar vein, another women's center staff member offered the view that Migrant Center French classes were "too competitive" and "stressful" for women with few experiences in formal schooling who may not be able to "catch up." She explained that the women's center offered a smaller-scale and more collaborative environment than those found at other adult learning-centers, describing the ethos of the women's center as one where "you take the next step only when you are ready" (*tu avances quand tu es prêt*). Still other personnel framed the inter-institutional relationship in terms of a

kind of linguistic-developmental progression: women who successfully completed a beginner

course of study at the women's center were often urged to continue their language-learning

trajectory at the Migrant Center (and referrals in this direction were common). As two distinct

nodes in the network of Geneva-based integration services, members of both institutions

acknowledged a complementarity in mandate and method between the women's center and the

Migrant Center, but this was not without its tensions.

I first met Maryam (introduced in Chapter 2) at one of the women's center's weekly

French conversation circles, led by Chantal. Our classmates were a cross-generational group of

women who had resettled in Switzerland from Bosnia, Serbia, Algeria, Morocco, Afghanistan,

Ghana, and Vietnam. Several students were new and or expectant mothers; several were

grandmothers. A number of women in the class were refugees; others, like Maryam, were not

under refugee status, but were struggling to find the steady employment that would help them to

secure a Geneva-based residency permit. For most people, attending classes at the women's

center was a way of demonstrating to cantonal authorities the voluntary "will to integrate," often

in the context of individual "integration contracts" (*contrats individuels*) made with migrants by

the state. Women who attended 90% of the courses in which they were enrolled were given a

certificate by the women's center; this document was, in turn, considered by authorities when

making decisions to enable or maintain access to sources of cantonal aid. The classes were thus

characterized by a key contradiction or irony of state practices migrant "activation" (Flubacher

and Yeung 2016): rendering compulsory "voluntary" displays of incentive and initiative.[105]

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[105] The irony of making such displays of "will" a requirement for aid characterizes other such migrant "activation" strategies. During my fieldwork, other methods included the requirement to provide cantonal authorities, on a regular basis, with a written list of places to which one had applied for employment—a document of job-search incentivization that often failed when migrants could not produce residency-documents for their prospective employers (recall Chapter 5).

Chantal's particular conversation group centered on topics of health and well-being. While the class was designed with both an informational and preventive mandate, an essential function of the conversation-classes, Chantal explained in interview, was to link new migrants to social services in the canton. The discursive format of the meetings was explicitly designed to encourage interactions and the formation of linkages between migrants and various municipal and cantonal agencies by bringing various "local" agents in to classroom space. As such, the majority of Chantal's conversation sessions were conducted by guest-speakers—physicians, nurses, and other specialists—working in various health-related institutions in the canton that provided free or affordable services. The topics of weekly discussion linked personal well-being (breast cancer screening, reproductive health and HIV-testing, balanced dieting, sun protection, and stress-management, to name a few) with topics such as garbage-sorting and household waste-management, suggesting, as Foucault (1988) does, that in the domain of "technologies of the self," self-care is continuous with care of the *polis*.[106] Each presentation was followed by informal chats—often candid conversations about personal illness, childbirth and family life, health practices, and negotiating the Swiss healthcare system. Oftentimes, informational pamphlets were offered and photocopies of Powerpoint slides circulated. A concluding open question period was moderated by Chantal.

As a further effort at creating a sense of "locality," the women's center also hosted regular luncheons in its cafeteria to which state agents working in the domain of migration were often invited to meet the center's migrant public and observe its everyday workings. During one such gathering, I recall sitting across the table from a local councilor (*conseillère),* a recently

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[106] One conversation-session on the importance of drinking plenty of water transitioned into a slide-presentation on the canton's plumbing systems and the provision of the canton's drinking water, along with the injunction never to throw cooking-grease down the drain.

elected member of Geneva's cantonal council (*Conseil cantonal*) who had also previously served on a municipal naturalization commission. When I asked her how "integration" was defined by naturalization commissions for the purposes of making decisions, she explained that opinions on the matter differed markedly from member to member, and consensus on the topic was rare. "Not everybody agrees with each other," she told me. "Some people are very open, some are very closed. Integration is a topic of debate and discussion." As a cantonal councilor, however, she held the view that current language- and literacy-based integration criteria asked too much of migrants. Demanding that migrants speak "perfect French," as she put it, before being accorded residency-rights was, in her words, "too hard." She conveyed that not all Swiss citizens could, themselves, pass the B2-level language exams that were, at the time, being proposed at the national level as the residency litmus test. On the other hand, she replied assuredly, "a woman who stays at home all by herself is not integrated either." Ultimately, she explained: "If we're going to demand that people are integrated, then we need to give people more opportunities to join social clubs and be part of society." This councilor's account echoed the view, found at the women's center and elsewhere, that the integration of migrant women was a "public" affair, vexed by a tension and antagonism between public and private spheres. Here, "private" domestic space is constructed as the site of a solitary, willful refusal (staying "home all by herself") and is pitted against the need to actively forge and proliferate the public linkages of being "part of society" (this distinction regarding migrant women's integration is also explored in Chapter 4). As a set of co-constituted signs, the indexicality of the public-private distinction is context-specific (Gal 2002). Here, the distinction—and the councilor's attendant description of what an "integrated woman" looks like—constructs the women's center as a necessary site of migrant

socialization, a place where excessive "privacy" and its risks are warded off by including migrant women in local-scale networks.

For cantonal political actors and the center's staff members, then, making linkages and connections between migrants and certain "local" actors was crucial. This work constituted what Chantal and other personnel at the various institutions I encountered termed *travail en réseau*— "working within a network" or, loosely translated, networked labour. Networked labour collectivizes individuals through the creation of informational and physical relays to the "local community." The women's center, for instance, regularly directed migrants to sites, events, and dates of "local" import: the nearest farmers' markets, City Hall (with accompanied field-trips), the celebration of Easter, tax month and how to render one's tax documents to the canton. Networked labour also individualizes through the division of tasks and responsibilities; it is an approach to migrant integration that acknowledges that no individual agency can foster "integration." Rather, the meditation of mobility must include the referral and deferral of various forms of expertise. Indeed, the logic of *travail en réseau* as a mode of expertise lay in the awareness of one's institutional limits, and in an adeptness at referral within the domain of the network itself—a knowledge of which institutional and individual connections might be salient and called upon for collaboration.

During the months that I attended Chantal's conversation-class, I came to better understand the importance of how *travail en réseau* directly mediates social and legal incorporation into the "locality" of the canton. After first meeting Maryam in Chantal's discussion circle (where I was known to the students simply as "la Canadienne"), Maryam and I soon developed the habit of riding the tram together to the Cornavin train station in the city

center. During these rides, we talked about the class meeting and other goings-on at the women's center, then parted ways until next week's session.

In one such discussion, still in the middle of the center's program-year in mid-winter, Maryam looked particularly fretful. I asked her what was wrong. She explained that she was having a lot of trouble with her residency status and permit, and that the difficulties were weighing on her. Originally a resident of the canton of Bern, she had tried, numerous times, to renew her permit with the Geneva authorities. She had even been consulting a state-appointed social worker who was supposed to help her with the residency application and with her communications with the cantonal migration office, the *Office cantonal de la population et des migrations*. Despite her efforts, Maryam had received the same outcome time after time: no response. This pattern of contact and unresponse had continued for the 3 years following her relocation, she told me. The residence permit she held at the time was set to expire in a few months —a full C settlement permit granted by the canton of Bern which marked her presence as falling under Bernese jurisdiction. Recall from Chapter 2 that, following her husband's auto-accident, Maryam left Bern as a widower in 2010 with no Swiss work experience. She relocated to Geneva to join an aunt who had agreed to help her find employment and help her transfer her Swiss residency. This transition period included spending 6 months in a short-stay "hotel" in Geneva—a stressful time during which Maryam fell ill with a respiratory condition and could not actively search for work. By the time Maryam had begun attending programs at the women's center in late 2012 (I met her there in 2013), she had already taken steps to apply for legal status in the canton of Geneva.

The ostensibly straightforward legal procedure of "transferring" her settlement rights from her former canton of residence proved difficult. She did not know why the Geneva

migration office had been consistently unresponsive about her permit and application, what to do about it, or whom she could to turn to. Unable to return to Bern, she told me that she feared the ultimate consequences of having her documents expire entirely: the inability to find employment and support herself, and the possibility of receiving a departure notice from cantonal authorities. She knew the latter was an all too common possibility, recounting the story of a close friend of hers, an Iranian citizen and owner of a successful nearby *tabac* (tobacco shop), whose residency documents lapsed and, for reasons unclear to me, were not renewed in spite of his business. She told me of how he had recently received a 30-day departure notice from the Geneva migration office. "He lived in a beautiful apartment and drove an Audi!" Maryam told me, dumbfounded. After receiving the departure notice, he took an overdose of Dafalgan (Acetominophen) and was taken to the cantonal hospital after developing serious complications. She told me that, apparently, not even an entrepreneurial spirit and commercial success could protect one from having everything taken away.

In later discussions with Maryam and others in similar struggles over legal status, I came to discern an enduring pattern of non-response among local authorities which appeared to constitute an unspoken strategy of what might be considered routine disincentivization, or a politics of discouragement. In the long term, these everyday instances of disincentivization positioned migrants in protracted states of bureaucratic limbo. By disincentivization, I identify practices whereby persons are commonly discouraged from applying for residency, routinely ignored, rebuffed, subtly misdirected, or provided with vague and unclear information about procedures despite bearing formal legal entitlements to settlement-rights. During my research, it was very common to hear stories of individuals having to return to the Cantonal Office for Population and Migration multiple times (in some cases, over 10) in order to secure a simple

residency application form. Indeed, disincentivization was a theme that resurfaced time and again in Maryam's various accounts of her legalization process.

One night, during dinner at Maryam's home, she told me about her frustration with her state-appointed *assistante sociale* (social worker) whom she was assigned to consult with about her legal status and employment-search. The problem seemed easily remedied, but remained intractable: the *assistante* routinely failed to honour scheduled appointments. Maryam recounted travelling across town to her *assistante*'s office for a pre-scheduled meeting only to be told that her social worker was absent that day.[107] After the same incident had occurred a number of times, Maryam told me of finally going directly to the receptionist to show her the appointment letter, received in the mail, which confirmed the date and time of her meeting. The receptionist dismissed Maryam, and told her to come back the next day. When she returned, the *assistante* was still unavailable and Maryam was offered no alternative meeting time. At this second disappointment, Maryam recounted, she lost her patience with what amounted to being continuously "driven away," as she described it.[108] Maryam told me of how she had raised her voice and insisted on speaking to "the boss" (*le chef*). When the receptionist snapped that "there was no boss" to be spoken to, Maryam's insistence on her physical presence was her only recourse: she refused to leave until someone agreed to redress the situation.

Such difficulties in securing her residency documents had cascading effects on Maryam's ability to access local sources of social aid—effects which were only compounded by the

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[107] Note that the fixing of such appointments is highly formalized and unilateral; the dates and times of appointments with state-appointed social workers are decided by the office, and meeting-notices are sent to recipients by post, weeks in advance.

[108] Michael Lipsky (1980) describes this as the experience of being "shuffled, categorized, and treated 'bureaucratically' (in the pejorative sense), by someone to whom one is directly talking and from whom one expects at least an open and sympathetic hearing" (9).

complexities of cantonal jurisdiction. Three years after relocating to the canton of Geneva, Maryam decided to apply for subsidized housing at Geneva's *Hotel des Finances* (Department of Finances) and was told to expect a roughly 4-year wait for an apartment. Accepting this time-frame, she began to compile the documents that would constitute her housing-application's required dossier: an attestation of wages for the past three months (from a baby-sitting job she held at the time) and residency documents. She had been told that eligibility for subsidized housing in Geneva required a minimum of 2 years of residency in the canton. Maryam included her current lease in the dossier to provide evidence for what was, by then, nearly 3 years of stable settlement at the same Geneva address—a small studio apartment just outside of the city center. In the end, despite her paperwork and multiple visits to the Department of Finances, the housing application failed. It did so on account of jurisdictional regulations that, Maryam told me, had not been fully explained to her. Shaking her head, she relayed that, despite her history of childcare work and settlement (rent paid) in Geneva, only a Geneva-granted residency permit older than 2 years could stand as legitimate evidence of her physical presence in the canton. Since she had not yet secured this permit, as far as the authorities were concerned, she was not a "local" resident under their jurisdiction, and could make no claims to assisted housing.

While she had been socially and economically integrated into Geneva life for several years, then, her Bernese residency permit placed her under the jurisdiction of a canton where she no longer lived and had no social ties. This enforcement of jurisdictional borders thus constitutes the scale of the "local" in ways that erase physical presence. Such jurisdictional erasures of presence, and the lived condition of day-to-day invisibility and bureaucratic limbo they imposed, caused Maryam significant distress. Worry about her future in Switzerland made her efforts at language-learning at the women's center more difficult. "Trust me, I'm tired (*Vertraue mir. Ich*

bin mude),” Maryam told me, after recounting this specific story over supper. Of her frequent, fruitless and repeated visits to the authorities, she quipped: “I've made more trips to the migration office than Pierre Maudet!” the head of Geneva's state council at the time. After repeated encounters with multiple, face-to-face forms of bureaucratized disincentivization, Maryam became well-versed in the painful experience of thwarted mediation—the condition of exerting a great deal of effort and energy pursuing forms of brokerage that offered no discernible progress towards her legal incorporation. Knowing that Maryam's French instructor, Chantal, had knowledge of a network of migration agencies and services that Maryam had not yet consulted, I suggested, on one of our habitual bus-rides together, that she share her legal difficulties with Chantal. Even though Chantal's expertise was in the domain of health care, she was quite well-connected to other migrant-service providers. Maryam agreed that speaking to Chantal could be a helpful direction.

By mid-June, the women's center was beginning to wind up its year of programming. With the summer break on the horizon, the directors of the center threw an end-of-year breakfast party for the women and the center's staff. The gathering was held along Lake Geneva, near a pier amidst seagulls, small boats and a saturated blue and cloudless sky. When I arrived, Chantal and the other center's staff members were setting out slices of baguette, jam jars, and Styrofoam cups of hot chocolate. I joined Maryam, who was already seated by herself at a nearby picnic table. As we were discussing her plans for the summer, her cell phone rang. It was Monsieur Deschamps.

I had heard Maryam mention “Monsieur Deschamps” a few times in our conversations over the course of the preceding few months, but I remained unclear about his role beyond that he was someone who was trying to help with her residency application. I learned, that morning,

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that he was a local immigration lawyer affiliated with Geneva's Protestant Social Center (*Centre Social Protestant*), an aid-agency whose range of social services include no-cost legal consultations for migrants and refugees. Maryam explained that she had met M. Deschamps several months before by way of Chantal; she had sought his help after Maryam approached her at the women's center. At once, Maryam seemed flustered at the unexpected phone call from him. She hastily stood up, sought out Chantal who was serving food by the breakfast table, and passed—tossed—her the cellphone, indicating the caller. Chantal immediately and willingly took the phone call, completing the communicational relay. She walked to a spot off by herself at the far end of the pier.

When Chantal returned, she approached Maryam and conveyed, to those within earshot, that the news from M. Deschamps was very good: in his communications with the migration office, he had been successful in getting Maryam's residency application not only processed but approved. Chantal announced that Maryam would be getting her Genevan residence permit that summer. At the news, Maryam stood up and embraced Chantal. I congratulated Maryam, and a number of women also approached her to express their happiness at the good news. Tearfully, and with her cell phone still in hand, Maryam addressed the small circle that surrounded her: "That permit is my only happiness."

The tenuous and uncertain trajectory of Maryam's Geneva-legalization highlights the multiple possibilities for mediation lying not only between the individual migrant and the canton's juridical framework for residency and integration, but the space between jurisdictions. These interstitial spaces constitute arenas of contingent social practice in which networked labour, as a mode of brokering presence, forms a mobility infrastructure (Lindquist et al. 2012). As I have tried to demonstrate, mediation may take several forms. It can entail, on the one hand,

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the condition of being enduringly positioned in a bureaucratic, inter-jurisdictional grey area—a zone of "limbo" in which the formal possibilities for legal incorporation are practically foreclosed. Such bureaucratized erasures may themselves be open to mediation by the networked-actions of other key mobility-experts—here, a French instructor acting in collaboration with a community lawyer at a Protestant social center—whose street-level interventions can, as we have seen, significantly shift enactments of the law. As I have tried to show, having access to the networked labour of such mediators can often make the difference between waiting months rather than years to have one's papers processed and approved.

I emphasize that this networked labour is no less critical to mediating migrant-state relationships in which an individual's formal legal entitlements can be said to appear unambiguous. A look at Geneva's official regulations on attaining permanent residency in the canton suggests that Maryam had, in fact, long been formally eligible to receive a Geneva permanent residency document. The official website of the Republic and Canton of Geneva (accessed in 2017) specifies the two formal requirements:

> You may apply for a C [settlement] permit if 1) you have a total minimum of 5 years of uninterrupted residence in Switzerland while holding a durable residence permit… and 2) your integration is successful (a respect for Swiss legal order and the values of the federal Constitution, knowledge of the French language at A2, the will to participate in economic life, and to pursue education).[109]

The first requirement was easily verifiable: by the time Maryam had relocated to Geneva in 2010, she had already fulfilled 7 years of uninterrupted residence in Switzerland while holding a

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[109] Original text: "Vous pouvez demander un permis C anticipé si 1) vous totalisez au minimum 5 ans de séjour ininterrompu en Suisse au bénéfice d'une autorisation de séjour durable… 2) et que votre intégration est réussie (respect de l'ordre juridique suisse et des valeurs de la Constitution fédérale, connaissances de la langue française niveau A2, volonté de participer à la vie économique et de se former)." I note that this critical information was near impossible to find easily. It was hidden on the canton's website at least 9 submenus away from the website's homepage (http://ge.ch/population/extra-europeen/pratique/FAQ?page=0%2C5)

durable residence permit (a total of 10 years of residence by the time I first met her at the women's center in 2013). The second, more vague requirement was a matter of discretion, but even here, its criterion of "successful integration" might easily have worked in Maryam's favour from a number of vantage points: a long-time resident of Bern, Maryam had no police record, suggestive of an enduring "respect for Swiss legal order," and her stable address in Geneva, her familial and social contacts both within and outside of Geneva's Iranian community, her child-care work, and her steady participation in Chantal's conversational French classes (as well as her stated plans to continue studying French at the Migrant Center in the subsequent Fall) might have, taken together, easily served as clear indices of the "will to participate in economic life, and to pursue education."

Swiss criteria of integration, however, are like the variegated administrative terrains described by Lauren Benton at the start of this chapter. In the context of a Swiss model of what Marc Helbling (2008) calls "heterogeneous nationhood," such legal criteria not only vary across jurisdictions, but in their effects, entailments, and the ways in which criteria are recognized as applying to a given candidate in the first place. This is not merely to say that policies of "integration" select for certain kinds of candidates over others, but to suggest that the very processes of "integration's" application and interpretation are themselves riven with holes and discontinuities. Maryam's trajectory suggests that "integration" into one region, for instance, places some limits on one's incorporation elsewhere. And, despite one's good will in demonstrating otherwise, the gap between what individuals do and the legal criteria used to evaluate individual action requires translational mediation by interstitial agencies. If Maryam's case is illustrative, ostensibly "obvious" signs and indices of integration (durable settlement, employment, language-study) must still be rendered legible to the state. In this case, the state's

recognition of her integration efforts—and the fulfillment of her formal legal entitlements—relied on a series of key institutional and communicative relays. Networked labour included Chantal's (and my) listening to Maryam's individual story, remarking it as worthy of intervention; Chantal's performance of phone calls, her strategic referral to a legal expert; the agreement of M. Deschamps to take on Maryam's case, to correspond and advocate on her behalf vis-à-vis local authorities (such that any developments regarding Maryam's application were conveyed directly to M. Deschamps rather than to Maryam herself); M. Deschamps' relaying of important messages from cantonal authorities back to Chantal, who was tasked with updating Maryam whenever she visited the women's center.[110] The quite salient role played by street-level migration mediators was only further revealed in the months that followed: when Maryam finally did receive her settlement permit, the cantonal authorities did not post it to Maryam's apartment, as she requested, but sent it instead directly to M. Deschamps' mailbox at the Protestant Social Center where she was required to pick it up.

The constelled mediators that perform the labour of making "integration" legible to local authorities are thus key agents not only in migrant socialization, but in the interpretation of often vague and inconsistently implemented policy guidelines. This suggests that the individualized subject of integration policy—the ostensibly elusive individual "will to integrate" that requires demonstration—is, in fact, an effect of networked labour. The recognition of such "will" relies on a number of networked mediations—the account, the "good word," or the advocacy of a lawyer, a language-teacher, or another trusted spokesperson of the local. In mediating migrant mobility in this way, networks of interstitial agents shape and enact practices

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[110] While I was not able to directly confirm this with Chantal, my own experiences with securing my Swiss research visa leads me to presume that her contribution to the "networked labour" that brought about Maryam's legalization included providing a positive evaluation of Maryam's attendance at the women's center.

of "locality" and emplacement, translate a migrant's lived particulars into criteria posed by legal frameworks, and thereby differentiate a canton's residents from its visitors—the temporary sojourner from those who are, to invoke the Swiss-German term, *heimatberechtigt,* entitled to call the canton home. In these ways, migration-mediators are more than a bridge "connecting" migrants to socio-legal orders; they participate in drawing and stabilizing the very contours of jurisdiction itself.

Conclusion

The night before Maryam's official legalization in the canton of Geneva—that is, the night before she was to present herself to the Office for Population and Migration to be photographed for a biometric C-permit, having received an official "convocation" letter from the authorities in the mail specifying that she visit on July 12th—Maryam was already concerning herself with the various mediating details and articles of the encounter. Presuming I had some experience in this respect, she recruited me to help her navigate. That night, Maryam invited me to her apartment for dinner. She had invited some friends over on the weekend, she told me, to celebrate the approval of her residency application. I noticed that several woven red rugs had been layered on the living room floor, forming a larger, rectangular area rug; a dozen balloons, in various shapes and colours, adorned the usually bare, white walls. The night I visited her, however, the celebratory mood had given way to what I sensed was Maryam's preparatory anticipation. She was resolutely focused on ensuring that her trip to the OCPM the next day go as well as it could.

During dinner, with her partner Hamid beside her on a laptop that streamed news and music from their favourite radio station, Radio Farda,[111] Maryam showed me the set of four

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[111] Radio Farda is a Persian-language broadcast service, U.S.-funded and broadcasting from headquarters in Prague.

glossy, passport-style photos she had paid to have taken the day before, in case the authorities asked for additional images of her. After showing me the professionally-taken photos, she gingerly returned them to the blank white envelope that kept the images scuff-free, placing the envelope, in turn, in a large stack of paper. The stack consisted of torn-open envelopes, previous letters received from the OCPM, and her current apartment lease—a multi-page contract in fine print whose text, Maryam admitted, she could not understand in full, but whose evidentiary significance she had learned to anticipate in her encounters with cantonal agents. Midway through the meal, she re-arranged and shuffled the mountain of papers on the dinner table, and placed the newly re-ordered stack in a black canvas knapsack that she planned to bring with her to the OCPM. I had seen that bag with Maryam before; she often brought it to our conversation meetings at the women's center; I learned that it constituted a kind of mobile filing cabinet that she brought with her and wore on her back whenever she left the apartment.

It was clear that Maryam wanted to leave few details to contingency, and the planning continued after supper was done. Sitting in the still-decorated living room, she turned on the television and set the channel to a French-dubbed episode of the American soap The Bold and the Beautiful. Maryam laughed that soaps were an enjoyable way to practice French at home. While catching me up on the series' complex plotline, Maryam went to her closet and pulled out an array of dark blouses, asking for my opinion on the best choice for her photo and presenting herself to the authorities. She decided, in the end, on wearing a solid black blouse—the least adorned of the choices she was considering—and commented to me that she would not wear what she called her *foulard* to the OCPM, either; in fact, she told me, she no longer wore a headscarf outside of Iran and visits to the Iranian embassy in Bern. She had also, in recent times, dyed her naturally dark brown hair a dark blonde.

With the television still on, she then unlocked a cabinet beside the TV set with a small key. From it, she retrieved the Quran and pulled from between its pages the Bernese residence permit she had kept during her years in Geneva, another passport-sized headshot of herself, taken a number of years ago, in which she wore a *hijab*, and a colourful billfold amounting to 142 CHF to pay for the required permit-processing fee. She placed these items on the coffee table, to be added later to her other documents in the black knapsack. At the time, it was nearing mid-July, at the very start of the Ramadan calendar (which began on July 9th in both Iran and Switzerland that year). She explained that while she had been observing, and was to fast until 9:30 pm, she broke her fast that evening in order to be relaxed and prepared for the next day. Hamid was supportive of her and equally eager for a successful meeting. Well-acquainted with the vagaries of bureaucratic process, Maryam's religious practice—her own inclusion of a transcendent intermediary—appeared to reflect the hope, among other concerns, that she might more effectively fulfill the Geneva authorities' expectations, criteria, and demands. When the final decisions and documents were in place, Maryam asked to spend the rest of the night rehearsing her questions for the authorities about her new permit with me—the means of its delivery to her, how long this would take, the length of the document's validity, and whether, upon receiving it, she would finally be able to leave and return to Switzerland without worry. She longed to visit her family in Shiraz and hoped that having her official permit would finally enable her the transnational and economic mobility that she had lost during the years she was unable to have her documents processed. Maryam's negotiation of the various religious, linguistic, and bureaucratic expectations placed upon her was careful, considered, and adept; it was remarkable to me that her painstaking efforts to "integrate" into the canton of Geneva had gone unacknowledged for so long.

Like other such administrative activities which reproduce jurisdictional boundaries, "legalization" entails a mediating network of agencies which help to render apparent the very signs and artefacts of "effort" and "individual will" for authorities. The efforts and exertions of "will" that are invoked in integration policy discourse, then, are arguably the "achievement of a composite assemblage" (Latour 2005, 208) of interlinked agents and institutions whose linkages can be provisional and tenuous.

In this chapter, I have tried to follow one trajectory of legalization to reveal the variegated administrative spectrum wherein migrant presences may either be indefinitely erased—rendered "illegal" by positioning presences outside of jurisdictional limits—or else included within the jurisdictional limits of the canton through the agencies of locally embedded actors. In an administratively decentralized Switzerland, crossing cantonal lines entails the risk of falling through several cracks. Indeed, the "crack" is a prominent and ubiquitous metaphor in what is Switzerland's variegated political landscape, and Maryam was attempting to cross the deepest and most overdetermined of these: the *Röstigraben* "ditch" separating French and Alemannic Switzerland. Further, bureaucratic processes, themselves, present migrants with forms of routine disincentivization—cumulative encounters with bureaucratic misdirection and unreliability which reinforce conditions of jurisdictional limbo. This potential for indefinite waiting, I have tried to show, is precisely where the networked labour of interstitially positioned mediators can and does intervene. This intervention can ensure that the very legal framework that creates conditions of limbo around vague concepts of "integration" might also enable a migrant's legal inclusion.

In the weeks that followed my visit to her home, Maryam received her C-permit for the canton of Geneva—not in the mail, as she had requested, but from M. Deschamps, to whom the

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document was directly sent by the migration office. Maryam told me of her profound relief, but also of an exhaustion that had pervaded her past and present when she considered the time and resources that were lost over the course of her legalization—a process that ought to have been relatively straightforward. She conveyed that the difficulties and costs of negotiating her residency status over the last few years had interfered quite directly with her language study; had she been legalized sooner, she said, she would surely have been able to devote more time and energy to her French language-learning. "Who knows," she said emphatically, "I might already be working by now." All things considered, she had waited over 4 years to secure her Geneva residence permit, spending, during that time, upwards of 800 CHF in transportation, processing, and passport-renewal fees. She described the experience as one of paying into a system that only made one "wait longer and longer."

Just before I left the field, Maryam and I met once more. This time, she appeared calm and hopeful about the new possibilities the permit would enable for her and her partner, Hamid. Perseverant and timely, she had already returned to the *Hotel des Finances* to re-apply for a subsidized apartment. She knew that the potential wait for an apartment might be another five years, but was counting on a better outcome this time.

CONCLUSION

The Hospitable Stranger

I began this dissertation on migrant integration and mobility mediators by contrasting two scenes of (in)hospitality: one, a finishing school, where migrant labouring enables the reproduction and staging of a distinctly "Swiss" brand of commodified "hosting expertise" for consumption by elite transnationals, the other scene, an elementary school, where the "guest" status of Muslim schoolchildren and their families was converted into that of the "stranger" when the students opted not to participate in a Swiss greeting, the threat of revoking their citizenship applications an enactment of the Swiss state's estrangement from both the children and their family. The juxtaposition highlighted two poles between which migrants are often made to oscillate that has animated much of this dissertation: the migrant as economically necessary labourer, and the migrant as problematically "culturalized" person. In the second case, Swiss and European self-understanding projects, constructs, and asserts itself in contrast with the imputed difference and "illiberalism" of the other. In such stories, the secular/Christian heritage aligned with Swissness (and Europeanness) appears as cosmopolitan, unmarked, and "open"—in a word, hospitable. In this ethnography of "integration," I have tried to show how this hospitable self-understanding was produced and recuperated by migrant mediators during a period of border closure and crisis through what I call *welcome work*. And I have tried to say something about the welcome workers themselves—neither fully "host" nor "guest" in Switzerland, their ambivalence and liminality allows them to engender solidarity with migrants, making welcome work a key site where the economic and the moral dimensions of "integration"—its politics and ethics—are negotiated.

I conclude with a shorter scene, on a much smaller scale of hospitality—that of the neighbourhood, the household. The Migrant Center was not the only place where immigrants

were recruited into the practice and role of "hosting" towards the rendering of ethical substance for the community. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I learned of a local "integration" initiative in the diverse Genevan district (*quartier*) of Charmilles; it was spearheaded by an elementary school and involved the neighbourhood's residents. The project's aim was to better "integrate" the area's Swiss and migrant populations in the context of a neighbourhood game. Named "Ethnopoly," after its popular Parker Brothers counterpart, the event turned the community's familiar streets and apartment buildings into a living board game for the school's students. Organizers lauded Ethnopoly as an "intercultural game of encounter" (*un jeu de rencontre interculturelle*); the day involved over 100 schoolchildren, 20 volunteer guides, and numerous community members.

In the game, teams of players were given a local "map"—a circuit of neighbourhood households where the groups were to circulate and make visits. The hosts, in this case, were the district's immigrant residents who had transformed their apartments and households, for the day, into hospitable-educational spaces. Often leaving their doors ajar, these migrant hosts talked to the children about "cultural" goods—food, clothing, artwork, landmarks, and music from their home countries. In anticipation of their visitors, residents covered their livingroom walls in colourfully scenic pastoral landscapes and national flags, placed bite-sized handmade snacks on coffee tables, cleared their sofas, and queued up scenes of costumed dancers and musicians on their television screens.

For the children involved, scoring "points" in this game meant conducting themselves as model "guests" which, in this case, meant adopting certain forms of addressing their host and talking about cultural difference in ways that valorized diversity. In preparation for the communicative task ahead of them, the teams were given sample cues and questions to use if

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conversation faltered. At the end of the visit, each host pasted a series of stickers (stars) on the team's sheet to evaluate how well they had done as guests and visitors. During a planning meeting, an organizer explained to me that, as migrants, the participating hosts could specifically evaluate the children's "respect," "politeness," "interest," and "participation." "Ask plenty of questions," the children were told (do not merely enter, eat the snacks, and leave).

I traced a trajectory with my team across the numbered sites on their maps; between visits, the occasional argument broke out about which apartment to see next, the name and address of each host placed by their nationality, the private space of their home rendered into a living artifact of difference. I recall my team's urgency, near the end of the game, to accumulate as many stars as possible in the remaining time, causing an episode of anxious rehearsal in an apartment elevator as the children strategized how to ask the (Indonesian) host we were seeing about herself. A motto of the event organizers was "Our doors are open!" and, to be sure, Ethnopoly was deemed a success for integration and diversity in the *quartier*. At its close, the 20-plus teams of children regrouped in the school's parking lot and were greeted with juice, baguette, and bowls of Swiss chocolate. Parents soon arrived and made the acquaintance of their now-familiar neighbours while schoolteachers poured seemingly unending bottles of wine into clear disposable cups. In the swelling crowd, I recognized a volunteer French-teacher from the Migrant Center; her daughter was among the players that day. I went to say hello, but wondered about several things—the possibilities of an incentivized hospitality in a social world where intercultural respect seldom garnered gold stars, the fraught relationship between neighbourhood and nation in this period of crisis and closure and whether, ultimately, the dream of the Genevan cosmopolis, celebrated in our scene of conviviality, would ever be fully realized.

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