

COM/PASSIONATE PROTESTS: FIGHTING THE DEPORTATION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS*

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Despite disadvantageous conditions, various forms of protest by ordinary citizens have emerged in Austria to stop the expulsion of asylum seekers. How can protest activities in favor of refugees be explained? Empirically, this article relies on a protest event analysis (PEA) of media articles and an emotion analysis (EA) of protest material. Following the emotional turn, this study emphasizes that personal ties and closely related affective emotions—friendship and solidarity—between deportees and protesters account for the most relevant resources of protest. Moreover, activists strategically use reactive/moral emotions—fear, outrage, and shame—to mobilize broader support. Protesters are mostly recruited from the personal environment of the potential deportees, and the most salient argument expressed against deportation is that well-integrated people deserve to remain in the country. The article concludes that social ties and emotions are useful in explaining not only the emergence and spread of protests but also certain limitations inherent in them with regard to policy change.

Over the last decade, deportation has become a central element and a normalized practice of immigration control in liberal democracies, and is directed particularly against asylum seekers whose application claim has been rejected (Bloch and Schuster 2005; Gibney 2008). Every year, tens of thousands of asylum seekers and “illegal migrants” are deported from EU territory on the threat or even the use of physical violence. However, these forcible state actions, implemented by police personnel, often at night and out of the public gaze, have not remained unchallenged. In many countries, including Austria, Canada, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the issue of deportation has become a domain of outrage and contentious politics. Ordinary citizens, personal networks, NGOs, churches, and political parties have become sensitive towards the expulsion of the most vulnerable non-citizens from the state territory (Anderson, Gibney, and Paoletti 2011; Ellermann 2009; Freedman 2009, 2011; Rosenberger and Winkler 2012; Versteegt and Maussen 2012).

How are protests against the deportation of failed asylum seekers to be understood? We address this question by studying activism against deportations of asylum seekers in Austria. A movement of small-scale protest activities resisting the enforcement of individual deportation orders emerged in 2006 and continues today. Especially when families and children are concerned, the deportation orders trigger feelings of unease, grievance, and outrage that manifest themselves in different forms of protest and move people to engage in collective activities. These emotional protests usually start within the personal environment of deportees at the local level, where ordinary citizens, acquaintances, friends, classmates, colleagues, or neighbors speak up for “their” asylum seeker. What is puzzling in this respect

* This article is supported by funds of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank (Anniversary Fund, project number: AB14157). Furthermore, we wish to thank two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on prior versions of this article.

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is that these protest activities take place within an overall unfavorable environment, characterized by a generally modest protest culture (Dolezahl and Hutter 2007; Plasser and Ulram 2002) and widely negative political attitudes towards immigrants and, in particular, asylum seekers (Friesl, Renner, and Wieser 2010). Within this context, one would not expect antideportation protest to arise—especially not protests carried out by ordinary citizens.

For a long time, emotions have been widely neglected within studies on protest, political mobilization, and social movements. Only recently have social movement theories have become more aware of the relevance of feelings and emotions as drivers of collective action and, in particular, of contentious politics (Flam 2005; Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2000, 2001, 2004). The “emotional turn” in social movement literature has contributed to an understanding of human beings that, “without denying the rationality and ability to reason of social movement actors, recognizes emotion as a ubiquitous feature of human life” (Gould 2009: 18). Following the emotional turn, this article poses the main question: what role do emotions and social ties among protesters and deportees play in antideportation protests, and what is the relationship between these two phenomena?

We argue that affective, reactive, and moral emotions and personal ties among protesters and deportees are the relevant factors that explain why and how these antideportation protest activities occur despite unfavorable conditions. Drawing on two distinct research foci within social movement research—emotions and social ties—our study demonstrates (a) that the affective emotions of friendship, solidarity, and love, which rely on social ties with deportees, motivate citizens to engage in protest; (b) that protesters make strategic use of different reactive and moral emotions (above all, fear, hope, outrage, despair, and anger) to mobilize supporters and spread protests; and (c) that limitations in the scope of claims and their capacity to bring about changes in legislation can be linked to the individualized and emotionalized nature of antideportation protests. Hence, this article follows the two-fold aim of understanding local, ordinary citizens’ protest and empirically contributing to the theoretical literature on protest and social movements with regard to the effects and ambiguities of emotions and personal relationships between subject actors and object actors. While social ties and emotions play a crucial role in practically every social movement or protest activity, we believe that this case is particularly suited to illustrate their high explanatory value. The objects of protest in antideportation activism are human beings with whom protesters can establish personal relationships. Closely related to this fact, solidarity movements do not rely on material interest but on altruistic feelings of empathy and compassion (Giugni and Passy 2001; see also Goodwin et al. 2001: 7, 2004: 422 on this argument). Finally, the issues of asylum and deportation are themselves emotional—as they are about the existential needs of human beings seeking protection and refer to the emotion-laden construction of “us” and “them”—and take place within the polarizing and emotional environment surrounding public policy toward foreigners in Austria.

CONCEPTUALIZING EMOTIONS WITHIN AND BEYOND SOCIAL TIES

Research on protest and social movements has been dominated for the last forty years by the resource mobilization paradigm (RMP) and the political process theory (PPT). Beginning in the late 1990s, these classical paradigms, as well as the newer constructionist concepts of framing and collective identities, have been criticized for their indifference towards emotional processes that underlie political action (Goodwin et al. 2000, 2001, 2004; Aminzade and McAdam 2002). The emotional turn, still under way within social movement literature, called attention to the strength of affections, feelings, and emotions as factors explaining the emergence, persistence, and decline of social movements and other forms of contentious politics. Emotions are said to affect mobilization processes in manifold ways, as they (de)motivate action, are strategically utilized by protest groups, affect people’s perception of

the world, and shape the goals and arguments of movement actors, as well as the ways they express them and perform in protest activities (Gould 2009; Jasper 1997, 1998, 2010a; Whittier 2001). However, there is still a lack of systematic research on emotion as a variable in protest and social movements.

Unlike emotions, the concept of social ties has been considered by the social movement literature earlier and more extensively, mostly within the RMP (see Diani and Lodi 1988; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; McAdam 1986). Relational resources of protesters are assumed to play a crucial role in mobilizing both new resources and potential supporters. Although some scholars argue that preexisting social ties operate through emotional mechanisms, research on emotions and social ties in protests and social movements has not yet been merged into a coherent thread (Jasper 2007; Yang 2007).

Drawing on and attempting to merge these two research approaches, we aim to conceptualize how emotions, social ties, and their mutual interaction influence the emergence and dynamics of antideportation protests by ordinary citizens. Taking Jasper's work on emotions (1998, 2010a, 2010b) as a starting point, we distinguish between three basic forms of emotions: affective, reactive, and moral emotions¹. This framework enables us to differentiate long lasting and relatively permanent structural emotions (*affects*), which precede and underlie political action and are crucial at the constituting phase of protest, from more unstable dynamic ones (*reactive and moral emotions*), which arise and are constructed, displayed, and mobilized within political processes and interactions among protesters, targets, and the public. Jasper defines *affective emotions* as rather permanent, strong, and abiding feelings that we have for people, places and things, such as love for a friend or loyalty to a group. *Reactive emotions* are short-term responses to new information or events, like anger over a political decision or fear as a result of police brutality. *Moral emotions* are connected to cognitive understandings and moral awareness, such as outrage over human rights abuses. They are the result of moral judgments of what is right or wrong, good or bad, and are thus closely related to cultural meanings (Goodwin et al. 2004: 422).

The Role of Social Ties and Affective Emotions in Protest Emergence

Pre-existing social ties and informal networks among potential protesters function as mobilizing structures. They are commonly used to explain participation in protests and social movements (della Porta and Diani 2006: 115). Differentiating between two basic recruitment mechanisms, Jasper and Poulsen (1995: 508) state that while recruiting strangers requires the creation of cultural meaning, mediated by the media or other communication channels, the mechanism of motivating friends and acquaintances works through proximity and affective bonds. As Yang (2007: 1389) points out, such pre-existing social networks rely on affective emotions like trust and loyalty. Thus, social ties bond people together and form the basis from which affective emotions emerge, which, in turn, can motivate people to take action.

In the context of antideportation protests, where the "objects of protest" are vulnerable human beings, participation derives not only from social ties between protesters and potential new supporters, but also—perhaps more importantly—between subject actors (protesters) and object actors (deportees). Personal links between deportees and protesters often function as a precondition for the emergence of protest (Ellermann 2009; Freedman 2009, 2011). However, as asylum seekers are often excluded and unintegrated, building up social ties is conditioned by structural opportunities, such as access to the labor market, the education system, and the private housing market (Rosenberger and Winkler 2012). In addition, as suggested by the intergroup contact theory, "having friendships with members of minority groups does produce lower levels of exclusionary preferences" (McLaren 2003: 911). Arguably, contacts with deportees takes on even greater importance when the public is biased against asylum seekers, as is the case in Austria.

The Role of Reactive and Moral Emotions within Protest Dynamics

While affective emotions based on structural social ties motivate ordinary citizens to take action in the first place, as the protests take their course protest groups refer to emotions as a mobilizing strategy. Reactive emotions, such as anger over a political decision, form the emotional basis that has to be transformed into morally loaded emotions like moral outrage. Since the distinction between reactive and moral emotions is rather fuzzy in reality—reactive emotions might also be shaped by moral principles—we do not empirically distinguish between them in this study. However, with respect to the different ways reactive and moral emotions affect protest behavior, we differentiate between the two dimensions of valence and activation. First, as most theories of emotions state, at least in an indirect way, emotions can be said to have a positive or negative nature or to be associated with a positive or negative experience (Thamm 2006: 20). Second, as protest mobilization requires a sense of agency, scholars differentiate between activating and deactivating emotions (Goodwin and Jasper 2006: 619; Jasper 2010b: 85). Whereas emotions like hope, anger, outrage, and indignation are energetic and tend to encourage people to take action, others, such as fear, satisfaction, depression, and shame, have the opposite effect. However, the de/activating nature of a specific emotion cannot be determined at a generalized level, because it is dependent on the social context in which it is embedded.

Protesters deploy emotions strategically in the course of protests to mobilize potential supporters. Hochschild (1979) initially spoke about “emotion work” to refer to the management of one’s own feelings—i.e., efforts to evoke, shape, and suppress them. In doing so, protesters try to alter specific emotional responses in observers and targets, thus producing emotions in others too.

One way in which protesters create emotions in others is through generating “moral shocks” as a reaction to perceived injustice. According to Jasper (1998: 409), they “occur when an unexpected event or piece of information raises such a sense of outrage in a person that he becomes inclined toward political action.” Moral shocks are *moral* because the feeling of outrage or indignation is caused by the violation of moral principles that tell us what is right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable (Turner and Stets 2006: 544). Previous research has illustrated that combinations and interactions of different positive and negative emotions are crucial for collective action (Williamson 2011). Jasper (2010a: 291) established the term moral battery to describe that an “emotion can be strengthened when we explicitly or implicitly compare it to its opposite, just as a battery works through the tension between its positive and negative poles.” A moral battery thus consists of a negative and a positive emotion that, in combination, drive action forward. Gould (2009) has shown for the ACT UP movement in the U.S. that different emotions have different effects on mobilization and are thus displayed in different phases of a movement. To sum up, protesters engage in emotion work by displaying certain emotions in specific contexts, combinations, and protest phases.

BACKGROUND, METHODS, AND DATA SOURCES

In the early 1990s, immigration and asylum applications to Austria rose sharply, largely due to refugee flows from former Yugoslavia. As a political reaction to this “immigration crisis” (Bauböck 1996: 19), Austria introduced restrictive asylum and immigration laws. In 1990 the parliament adopted two amendments of the Aliens Police Act that expanded the reasons for the termination of residence, which in turn increased the number of potential deportees. Moreover, the Asylum Act of 1991 introduced fast-track procedures as well as the categories of “safe third countries” and “safe countries of origin” (Kraler and Sohler 2007: 20), extending the number of rejected asylum seekers that could now be deported. Numerous amendments followed, rendering the Austrian asylum and immigration law one of the most

restrictive within Europe.² The creation and implementation of the legal basis for deporting large numbers of “illegal migrants” and asylum seekers led to high deportation rates throughout the 1990s.³

These restrictive legal changes were accompanied by pejorative politicization of asylum and migration issues, especially during elections (Gruber 2010). Moreover, there has been and still is broad popular support for restrictive asylum and immigration laws. Political attitudes are in large part hostile to immigrants and, in particular, to asylum seekers. Moreover, there is only a modest tradition of elite-challenging civic engagement in Austria. The European Values Study as well as other studies on protest behavior provide evidence that protest activities like demonstrations, petitions, or sit-ins are neither common nor popular (Dolezahl and Hutter 2007; Plasser and Ulram 2002; Rosenberger and Seeber 2011).

Given this unfavorable political environment in Austria, one would not expect anti-deportation protests to arise. Yet, beginning in 2006, a series of case-related protests against deportations of asylum seekers occurred, interestingly, at a time when deportation numbers were decreasing. The high deportation rates throughout the 1990s had not provoked anti-deportation activism, with one exception. In May 1999 the rejected asylum seeker Marcus Omofuma died from suffocation during his deportation to Nigeria. This critical event was followed by public outrage manifested in numerous demonstrations against inhumane deportation practices and, more generally, against police violence and racism. However, except for this singular outburst of protests, antideportation protests did not start in earnest until 2006. As an explorative study of media articles in two national daily newspapers (*Der Standard* and *Kronen Zeitung*) revealed, there had not been any media coverage on protests for asylum seekers facing deportation before 2006. From then onwards, however, numerous small-scale protest activities against deportation orders of individuals and families emerged, and have increased in frequency ever since. As a result of the explorative media study, and given the fact that we are especially interested in small-scale political activism by ordinary citizens, the investigation period was set from June 2006 to September 2012.

Protest Event Analysis and Emotion Analysis

The empirical data of this study were generated by a two-step compilation procedure. In the first step, we conducted protest event analysis (PEA) of media articles. Using content analysis of newspaper articles, the PEA-method allowed a systematic gathering of information on both the quantitative occurrence and the qualitative characteristics of protests, such as date, duration, form, actors, action type, claims, arguments, and frames (Koopmans and Rucht 2002). Only those events reported by the media could be considered; unreported forms of protest are not analyzed. Nevertheless, this approach is consistent with protest defined as an activity that is directed at the public in order to influence public opinion and gain support for claims (Kriesi 1993: 3). As Koopmans (2004: 368) states, most observation and interaction between protesters, the public, and authorities are reported by the media.

The universe of this study consists of 330 media articles (newspapers and online news programs of the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation/ORF) that were collected through keyword search in the online database WISO. Through this approach, a broad spectrum of media, ranging from regional to national, daily to weekly, conservative to liberal, and from tabloid to quality newspaper formats, can be included. Table 1 lists the print media and television channels that were considered in the analysis, the number of analyzed articles, and the number of deportation cases reported by each medium. The level of analysis is protest events—i.e., activities organized by protest groups to pursue specific goals. A total of 396 protest events were coded with the MAXQDA tool for qualitative analysis (Rucht, Hocke, and Oremus 1995) along the four dimensions of actors, protest forms, aims, and arguments. In addition, all protest events in which protest actors campaigned for the same individuals or families were grouped into protest cases, yielding 100 deportation cases consisting of one to 14 protest events.

Table 1. Analyzed Media Articles

Media	Frequency of Articles	%	Deportation Cases Involved	%
Der Standard (nat.)	56	17	40	40
Kleine Zeitung (reg.)	51	15	23	23
ORF (reg.)	44	13	26	26
Kurier (nat.)	32	10	22	22
Oberösterreichische Nachrichten (reg.)	28	8	19	19
Salzburger Nachrichten (reg.)	26	8	14	14
Kronen Zeitung (nat.)	22	7	15	15
Die Presse (nat.)	15	5	12	12
Tiroler Tageszeitung (reg.)	13	4	7	7
Österreich (nat.)	11	3	8	8
Neue Kärntner Tageszeitung (reg.)	9	3	4	4
<i>News</i> (nat.)	9	3	8	8
<i>Falter</i> (nat.)	5	2	4	4
<i>Profil</i> (nat.)	4	1	3	3
Heute (nat.)	4	1	4	4
Wiener Zeitung (nat.)	1	0	1	1
Total	330	97		

Notes: Non-italic signifies daily newspapers; italic signifies weekly newspapers. (reg.) signifies regional newspapers; (nat.) signifies national newspapers. For the fourth column, the same deportation case can be mentioned in several newspapers and media articles (multiple selections possible). The sum of represented deportation cases does therefore not amount to 100 (N = 100 deportation cases). ORF is the regional online news programs of the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF); The second column total is due to rounding error.

The second data analysis approach—for which we have coined the term *emotion analysis*—consists of coding the emotions employed in the above-mentioned 330 media articles, as well as in the 89 pieces of text produced by protesters themselves. In attempting to study emotions within protest, we are dependent on what Reddy (1997) calls “emotives” referring to statements in which protesters verbalize their inner feelings that would otherwise not be perceptible. Gould (2009: 37) emphasizes that emotives are only the verbalized and categorized expression of feelings and that what she calls affects⁴ often remain outside of awareness, as they are extradiscursive phenomena.

Similar to PEA, the EA procedure uses MAXQDA to carry out a qualitative content analysis, exploring which specific emotions are displayed and how this is done—i.e., in combination with which other emotions, in what contexts, and attributed to whom. Analysis takes place at the level of emotives or displays of emotions (total 600).⁵ In coding we differentiated between affective, reactive, and moral emotions, positive and negative emotions, and activating and deactivating emotions. Also, the “bearer” of emotions was determined—i.e., the different individuals or groups to whom the emotions are attributed. The protest material is included to compensate for possible bias in media articles. While journalists might prefer to pick up on emotions as a way of increasing the newsworthiness of a report, protest groups use emotions strategically to motivate the public to join. Taking the deportation cases as a basis and using the names of the deportees, we gathered these materials via internet research as well as participant observation of protest events. We arrived at 89 pieces of written protest material, which were associated with 40 percent of all protest cases and 44 percent of all

Table 2. Analyzed Protest Material

	Frequency	%	Deportation Cases Involved	%
<i>Type of protest material</i>				
Homepage / Facebook	47	53	32	82
Open letter	14	16	9	23
Press release	13	15	8	21
Petition	7	8	6	15
E-mail blast	5	6	3	8
Flyer	3	3	2	5
<i>Total</i>	89	101		
<i>Origin of protest material</i>				
Representatives of the political system	32	36	25	64
Personal environment of deportees	25	28	16	41
Associations	23	26	20	51
Unknown	9	10	5	13
<i>Total</i>	89	100		

Notes: As the same deportation case can be mentioned in several pieces of protest material and by the same authors of protest material (multiple selections possible), the sum of represented deportation cases does not amount to the total of 40 deportation cases represented in the protest material (n = 40 deportation cases) The first total of column 2 does not total 100 due to rounding error.

protest events. As table 2 indicates, the written protest materials include internet presence, public letters, petitions, e-mail blasts, and flyers. The gathered protest material was mostly produced by representatives of political parties or single politicians, followed by the personal environment of deportees (friends, classmates, teachers, colleagues) and associations (NGOs and churches).

SOCIAL TIES AND EMOTIONS

Based on the empirical data gathered through PEA and EA methods, we argue that, first and foremost, social ties between citizens and deportees, as well as affective emotions that come with them, motivate citizens to participate in protests. In addition, protesters deploy emotions as a mobilizing strategy in the course of and in order to spread protests. However, the focus on social ties and emotions also reveals limitations inherent in antideportation activism with respect to protest claims and policy change.

Social Integration as a Prerequisite and a Means of Protest

Empirically, the topic of social integration of asylum seekers plays a two-fold role in mobilizations against deportation. First, social integration of asylum seekers with the local population is often a prerequisite for the emergence of protest activities by ordinary citizens. Second, the social integration of asylum seekers serves as the predominant frame underpinning the claims of antideportation protests.

As protests mostly arose to prevent deportation orders in individual cases, we first took a closer look at the objects of protest—i.e., the people directly affected by deportations (see table 3). Most deportees receiving support from antideportation activists are families with

children at kindergarten or school (almost 80 percent), as opposed to single men and women. Furthermore, the affected deportees have lived in Austria for a long time: almost 80 percent have spent more than three years in Austria prior to receiving the removal order. On average, the families and individual asylum seekers in the 100 deportation cases had spent 5.7 years in Austria when protest activities began. Both findings—the fact that most deportees were families with children and their long average duration of stay— indicate that the persons concerned tend to be socially integrated. Although asylum seekers face high barriers to civil, social, and political participation in Austria and their overall opportunities for social integration are rather closed (Kraler and Sohler 2007: 26; Rosenberger 2010), a long duration of stay might facilitate learning the language, building up contacts with the local community, accessing the labor market, etc. Furthermore, families have somewhat better opportunities for integration, as children, unlike adult asylum seekers, have access to the education system, and kindergartens or schools are places where social contacts can be developed (Rosenberger and Winkler 2012: 116-18).

Table 3. Characteristics of Deportees in Antideportation Protests

Characteristics of Deportees	Deportation Cases
<i>Family status</i>	
Family with children	77
Single woman	18
Single man	3
Unknown	2
<i>Length of stay in Austria</i>	
1-3 years	16
4-6 years	42
7-9 years	30
10 or more years	6
Unknown	6

Notes: Authors' own compilation, using data from a PEA between 2006 and 2012; N = 100 deportation cases.

Regarding the identification of actors engaged in protest activities, this study discovers that there is almost no overlap between the group of potential beneficiaries of protest and the protesters. With very few exceptions deportees do not themselves protest; instead, others speak up on their behalf.⁶ Depending on the social closeness to deportees, four different types of protesters can be detected: the *personal environment* of deportees, consisting of acquaintances, friends, neighbors, classmates, and colleagues that maintain day-to-day contact with deportees; *professionals*, such as lawyers and doctors with direct professional relations with deportees; representatives of *associations*, including NGOs, interest groups, and churches, which do not necessarily have social ties with deportees; representatives of the *political-administrative system* (members of the local, regional, or national government, parliament, or immigration bureaucracy) who, above the very local level, do not normally have personal ties with deportees. Politicians engage in protests to advocate more liberal asylum and deportation regulations or in response to demands by the general public or their constituency.⁷ This distinction between several types of protesters should not create the impression of exclusiveness; there are potential overlaps between categories. Representatives of NGOs and advocacy groups that provide care and support for asylum seekers can, for example, develop strong social ties and friendships with deportees in the course of their care work, thus

Table 4. Actors Involved in Antideportation Protests

	Personal Environment				Political-Admin System				Total	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Family	155	38	27	6	124	30	107	26	413	100
Single Man	23	24	4	4	42	44	26	27	95	99
Single Woman	0	0	0	0	5	71	2	29	7	100
Group	2	25	1	12,5	4	50	1	12,5	8	100
<i>Total</i>	180	34	32	6	175	33	136	26	523	99

Notes: Authors' own compilation, using data from a PEA between 2006 and 2012; N = 523 protest actors. Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding error.

becoming a part of the personal environment of deportees. They are especially likely to engage in cases where one of their “clients” is at risk of being deported. As reflected in table 4, most antideportation protest actors are recruited from the personal environment of deportees. Moreover, the importance of social ties in antideportation protests is emphasized by the fact that the personal environment is engaged in almost 80 of the 100 deportation cases, whereas other groups are represented far less often. Arguably, the most important mobilizing structures in Austrian protests against deportations of rejected asylum seekers are thus informal, everyday social networks of acquaintances. This empirical finding is further reflected in the fact that antideportation protest does not spread over time but repeatedly sparks case-specific protest events when individuals or families are threatened with deportation. Therefore, personal contacts are important relational resources of deportees and a precondition for protest activities by local citizens. However, although these social ties are played out at the very individual level, it must be borne in mind that, for them to be formed at all, political and social opportunity structures are prerequisites—such as access to the labor market, the education system, and the private housing market.

Having described the deportees and the antideportation protesters, we now turn to the goals these protests pursue. In accordance with the fact that antideportation protests mostly arise as a reaction to single cases of impending deportation, the claims raised by protesters are predominantly individual and case-related as well. In other words, only 17 percent of all antideportation claims go beyond the individual case level and ask for legislation amendments (see table 5). Yet, as a closer look at the table reveals, the scope of antideportations claims, ranging from case-related goals to general claims, varies between actor types. Actors from the personal environment almost exclusively raise case-related claims in order to prevent an impending deportation, whereas organized groups and political actors, who might have no social ties with deportees, also mobilize for liberal immigration laws.

Table 5. Claims of Antideportation Protesters

	Individual Right to Stay		Legislation Amendment		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
<i>Protest actors</i>						
Personal environment	138	94	9	6	147	100
Professionals	15	88	2	12	17	100
Associations	104	78	29	22	133	100
Political-admin system	85	75	29	25	114	100
<i>Total</i>	342	83	69	17	411	100

Notes: Authors' own compilation, using data from a PEA between 2006 and 2012; N = 411 protest claims.

We use the concept of framing to explore how activists underpin their claims with political values and cultural meanings. This concept refers to “the production of mobilizing [. . .] ideas and meaning” (Benford and Snow 2000: 613), and especially to the ways protesters make sense of and give meaning to protest and their claims. Since frames need to resonate with their intended targets—the media and the general public—in order to receive support, they have to somehow build on dominant interpretations and yet translate them into the given context. In doing so, they might be transformed and gradually loaded with new meaning. In the case at hand, the overall framing of the claims applied by antideportation protesters is social and structural integration of asylum seekers into the main institutions of the society.

In the same way that the context and claims of antideportation protests are case specific, most frames are also tailored to individual cases of deportation. Antideportation activists adopt what we call the strategy of personalization. In doing so, they criticize individual deportation decisions as “unfair” or “inhumane” and refer to the “high degree of integration” of the affected asylum seekers. As the following quotes reveal, in the protesters’ rhetoric the particular asylum seeker deserves to stay in Austria because of being “well integrated”:

The Simjonov family must count as an ideal example of successful integration. Ms. Simjonov has worked at the local McDonalds for years, ensuring the livelihood of the small family. Mr. Simjonov wasn’t able to obtain a working permit and is thus taking care of their four-year-old son who attends the local kindergarten, was born in this country, and speaks perfect German but no Macedonian, which he can at best understand. Both Ms. and Mr. Simjonov speak German very well. Mr. Simjonov is involved in the parish and has volunteered many hours to renovate the local church kindergarten. The family has thus—especially within the parish—many Austrian friends.⁸

She has successfully integrated herself into the class and she has many friends, also outside of school. I just cannot see why she should have to leave Austria.⁹

The integration-frame as used in antideportation protest covers good language skills, gainful employment, success in school or at work, integrity, involvement in community or association activities, and, most importantly, social ties or friendships with the local population. As the asylum seekers have settled and developed roots in Austria, they have become “one of us” and are therefore not “deportable” any longer (De Genova 2002). Deporting them would mean uprooting them and bringing them to a foreign country and would thus be morally indefensible.

Apart from the powerful integration frame, activists also employ human rights frames. Yet, arguments stressing rights and principles, such as a child’s well-being, protection of privacy and family life, or protection against torture, are almost always made by NGOs and political actors. However, the dominant moralized and personalized line of argumentation emphasizing integration is in part caused by the legal situation. Once a negative asylum decision has been issued, the only chance for rejected asylum seekers to remain in the country legally is to apply for a residence permit on humanitarian grounds. Granting such special residence permits, however, is tied to the verification of individual integration requirements.

Having assessed the asylum seekers’ social integration as both a structural prerequisite for protests and a compelling frame to underpin the claim of an individual’s right to stay, we move on to discuss the emotional dimensions of antideportation protests and the way the two factors of social ties and emotions interact in the mobilization process.

Emotional Dimensions of Antideportation Protests

As the EA of antideportation protests revealed, media articles on protest events as well as written protest material produced by activists include a multitude of emotional displays. The analysis reveals that the emotional repertoire of protest groups ranges across almost 30 types

of emotions, from affective emotions of friendship, solidarity, and love to reactive and moral emotions, such as fear, hope, outrage, grief, and anger.

Social ties largely operate through emotional mechanisms. The following quotations from our material exemplify that personal relationships with asylum seekers form a compassionate and empathetic basis from which emotions such as outrage or sadness about a deportation order may emerge:

The local inhabitants who gathered last Friday and marched in front of the district commission don't understand why their friends, the Gjoni family of refugees, should be deported to Kosovo. They are outraged.¹⁰

Marcel, a soccer teammate of Edin, whose family is threatened with being deported, says in a sad voice, "My friend must stay. What should we do without him in our team?"¹¹

In other words, personal contacts are decisive for protest recruitment because of emotions that come with social proximity and motivate citizens to take action. Apart from the fact that affective bonds with deportees may trigger reactive and moral emotions, the EA shows that the affective and compassionate emotions of friendship, solidarity, and love are among the most frequently displayed emotions (they account for 41 percent of all emotional displays; the remaining 59 percent consists of more than twenty different reactive and moral emotions; see table 6). Within the group of affective emotions, there were only three different emotions, namely friendship, solidarity, and love—all positive in nature. Overall, friendship was the most frequently displayed emotion in the material—it accounts for 71 percent of all emotional displays within the category of affective emotions and for 29 percent of the overall emotional displays. The numerical importance of friendship as well as the fact that the three emotions of friendship, solidarity, and love account for 41 percent of all emotions displayed in our material reflect the crucial role of social ties and the affective emotions that come with them in antideportation protests. However, while these affective emotions that are based on social ties with deportees exist prior to protest activities, protesters develop further emotions, display them strategically, and try to arouse certain emotions in bystanders and audiences at later stages in a protest. They engage in emotion work in order to mobilize support and spread protest.

In this vein, reactive and moral emotions are of crucial importance. The repertoire of reactive and moral emotions arising and being generated within protest dynamics comprises more than 20 different emotions, ranging from positive emotions like hope, gratitude, joy, happiness, and pride to negative emotions such as fear, anger, outrage, indignation, grief, despair, consternation, shame, and concern. Using emotions as a mobilizing strategy means to display them timely, selectively, and in specific combinations. The emotion work of anti-deportation activists takes different forms at different stages of protest. In the beginning, protesters try to create moral shocks; in the course of protest they present different emotions, allocate different types of emotions to the groups of deportees and protest actors, and charge moral batteries. The detailed analysis of emotions reveals that at the very beginning of case-related protests, negative emotions like anger, fear, and disappointment, as well as the more morally loaded emotion of outrage, function as a catalyst for moral shocks in order to draw people into action. Yet, at a later protest stage, positive emotions of joy and happiness are better able to keep people motivated for further actions by attributing success/effectiveness to past protest efforts and generating hope for future success, such as the suspension of the deportation order.

Trying to generate moral shocks in the public means "to shock the onlookers out of their everyday routine compliance or indifference, cynicism or resignation" (Flam 2005: 12). As many Austrians are poorly informed and possess little or no knowledge about the conditions of asylum seekers' lives and about deportations (UNHCR 2011), this is a critical task for

Table 6. Emotional Displays in Antideportation Protests

	Media Articles		Protest Material		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Affective emotions						
Friendship (+)	141		33		174	
Solidarity (+)	29		25		54	
Love (+)	11		6		17	
<i>Subtotal</i>	181	40	64	43	245	41
Reactive/Moral Emotions						
Fear (-)	68		11		79	
Hope (+)	39		12		51	
Outrage (-)	27		12		39	
Gratitude (+)	20		11		31	
Grief (-)	19		8		27	
Despair (-)	20		4		24	
Joy (+)	19		5		24	
Dismay (-)	7		10		17	
Anger/Rage (-)	11				11	
Disappointment (-)	10				10	
Concern (-)	9		1		10	
Shame (-)	6		1		7	
Consternation (-)	6				6	
Pride (+)	5				5	
Distraction(-)			3		3	
Upset (-)	3				3	
Depression (-)			2		2	
Shock (-)			2		2	
Nervousness (-)			1		1	
Discontent (-)			1		1	
Overpowering (+)			1		1	
Satisfaction (+)	1				1	
<i>Subtotal</i>	270	60	85	57	355	59
Total	451	100	149	100	600	100

Notes: Authors own compilation, using data from an EA between 2006 and 2012; N = 600 displays of emotion. (-) signify negative emotions; (+) signify positive emotions.

antideportation protesters to fulfill in order to gain support for their claims. Antideportation protesters try to create feelings of outrage and indignation in the public by adopting the strategy of personalization. In doing so, protesters frame single deportation cases as unjust and inhumane and point at the high costs that individual, well-integrated deportees have to bear. That realization that individuals and families that are perceived to be parts of our society are uprooted from their local community and taken away by police forces, quite often under the use of physical violence and in the night, has quite a potential to arouse moral concerns and feelings of unease, discontent, and even outrage.

By employing the strategy of personalization, protesters also challenge the logic of anti-immigration mobilization—i.e., to generalize negative stereotypes, for example, by portraying asylum seekers' applications as bogus (Krzyzanowski and Wodak 2008). Because personalization focuses on single deportation cases, asylum seekers *as a group* (who often are

labeled with negative characteristics) can be transformed into individuals with human faces and specific biographies. This enables segments of the population to develop affective bonds with and feelings of compassion for deportees, even though no direct social ties exist. As Goodwin and colleagues (2001: 7; 2004: 422) point out, such compassionate, empathetic feelings are highly relevant for movements in which beneficiaries and activists are not the same, and in which motives for participation stem not from material self-interest but from altruism. However, within the mobilization process the media play a crucial role, as the efforts of protesters to be heard publicly depend to a large degree on the willingness of the media to report about deportation cases (Koopmans 2004). Furthermore, the likelihood of people getting morally shocked by reading about deportation stories in the press depends on the way in which the media present deportation cases—whether they adopt the protest frames or use other frames that are critical of the protest. As a matter of fact, the Austrian media have mostly been supportive of the antideportation protests, both in frequently reporting about deportation cases and in adopting the dominant protest frames. Although the media advocate the protest claims, it becomes evident that the representation of emotions in the media is different from the depictions in the protest material. Not only are different emotions present in media articles and protest material, but journalists and protesters also allocate different emotions to the groups of protesters and deportees (compare tables 7 and 8).

A prominent example of a successful production of moral shocks is the deportation case of Arigona Zogaj, a girl born in Kosovo, who went into hiding and announced that she would commit suicide rather than face deportation. In the context of intense media coverage in late 2007, many outraged and morally shocked individuals and organizations sided with Arigona Zogaj and the issue remained prominent on the news agenda (Gruber 2010).

Table 7. Display of Negative and Positive Emotions in Antideportation Protests

Emotions Displayed in Media Articles				Emotions Displayed in Protest Text Materials				
	Negative (-)	n	Positive (+)	n	Negative (-)	n	Positive (+)	n
<i>Protesters</i>	Outrage	27	Hope	26	Outrage	12	Hope	1
	Anger/Rage	11	Joy	7	Dismay	10	Gratitude	1
	Disappointment	10	Gratitude	2	Distraction	2	Joy	4
	Grief	7	Pride	2	Fear	1	Overpowering	1
	Dismay	7			Grief	1		
	Shame	6			Concern	1		
	Consternation	5			Shame	1		
	Concern	3			Discontent	1		
	Fear	2						
<i>Subtotal</i>		78		37		29		2
<i>Deportees</i>	Fear	66	Gratitude	18	Fear	10	Hope	2
	Despair	20	Hope	13	Grief	7	Gratitude	1
	Grief	12	Joy	12	Despair	4	Joy	1
	Concern	6	Pride	3	Depression	2		
	Upset	3	Satisfaction	1	Shock	2		
	Consternation	1			Distraction	1		
<i>Subtotal</i>		108		47		27		4
<i>Total</i>		186		84		56		2

Notes: Authors' own compilation, using data from an EA between 2006 and 2012; N = 355 displays of emotion; this table refers to reactive and moral emotions.

Table 8. Display of Activating and Deactivating Emotions in Antideportation Protests

Emotions Displayed in Media Articles				Emotions Displayed in Protest Text Materials				
	Activating (+)	n	Deactivating (-)	n	Activating (+)	n	Deactivating (-)	n
<i>Protesters</i>	Outrage	27	Grief	7	Outrage	12	Gratitude	10
	Hope	26	Shame	6	Dismay	10	Distraction	2
	Anger/Rage	11	Consternation	5	Hope	10	Fear	1
	Disappointment	10	Concern	3	Joy	4	Grief	1
	Joy	7	Fear	2	Discontent	1	Concern	1
	Dismay	7	Gratitude	2			Shame	1
	Pride	2					Overpowering	1
<i>Subtotal</i>		90		25		37		17
<i>Deportees</i>	Hope	13	Fear	66	Shock	2	Fear	
	Joy	12	Despair	20	Hope	2	Grief	10
	Pride	3	Gratitude	18	Joy	1	Despair	7
	Upset	3	Grief	12	Nervousness	1	Depression	4
			Concern	6			Distraction	2
		Consternation	1			Gratitude	1	
		Satisfaction	1				1	
<i>Subtotal</i>		31		124		6		25
<i>Total</i>		121		149		43		42

Notes: Authors' own compilation, using data from an EA between 2006 and 2012; N = 355 displays of emotion. This table only refers to reactive and moral emotions.

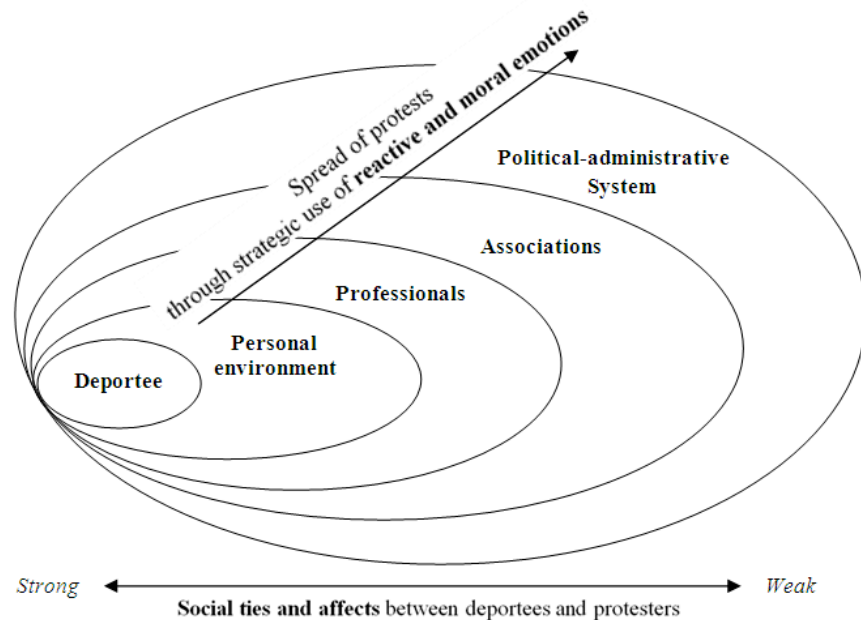
While emotion work mostly takes the form of creating such moral shocks at the beginning of protest cases, in later phases feelings are displayed selectively along two analytic dimensions. First, different emotions are allocated to different actor types involved in protests, i.e., protesters and deportees. Second, emotions are depicted in certain combinations. Though the data reveal that both protesters and deportees are primarily depicted with negative emotions, the proportion of negative emotions is higher in the case of deportees compared to protesters. Protesters are depicted in the press or depict themselves in the protest material with the negative emotions of outrage, anger/rage, dismay, and disappointment. Deportees, in turn, are mostly associated with fear, despair, and grief. By contrast, only a third of all reactive and moral emotions displayed in the material are positive in nature. The most frequently presented positive emotions are hope, gratitude, and joy. Unlike negative emotions, the same positive emotions are allocated to protesters and deportees. Considering the activating/deactivating axis within the category of reactive and moral emotions, it becomes apparent that protesters are primarily displayed with activating emotions such as outrage, hope, anger, and dismay, whereas deportees are depicted with deactivating or passive emotions like fear, despair, grief, and gratitude (see table 8). Statistically speaking, 75 percent of the reactive and moral emotions allocated to protesters are activating. Deportees, in turn, are primarily depicted with deactivating emotions, while activating emotions only account for 20 percent. The emotional representation of deportees can be interpreted as showing them as helpless, vulnerable victims, trying to arouse feelings of pity and compassion in potential protesters. Yet recruiting new members and motivating existing ones also requires a sense of agency. The emotional display of protesters provides an orientation for action by presenting them as the ones who actively try to change the miserable situation of the “helpless” deportees. The following quote exemplifies the contrast in how deportees and protesters are portrayed in protest materials:

There needs to be a clear sign for us and our children that we do not want or support the deportation, for our friends and their children that have to live under fear and panic of being deported and for all those that still cannot see that injustice is committed under the cloak of justice in this case.¹²

With respect to the combination of different emotions, the results demonstrate that protesters frequently combine the positive emotion of hope with negative emotions like anger, fear, despair, and outrage. As the following quote of a representative of an association active in antideportation protests illustrates, negative emotions of the present are combined with the positive emotion of hope for future change: “We fear and tremble. But we also have great hope: we simply have to succeed in convincing the authorities that Yasar must not be sent to her death!”¹³ In this vein, Jasper (2010a: 291) explains, “Most successful organizers exaggerate the promise of the future as well as the suffering of the present. The excruciating contrast between the way things are now and the way things might be helps motivate protest and political action.”

To sum up the findings on emotion work, protesters present their own emotions, as well as those of the people directly affected by deportations, in order to motivate potential protesters. In doing so, different emotions are put forward in different contexts and, at various stages of the protest, different emotions are allocated to protesters and deportees, and certain combinations of emotions are displayed. Having identified social ties and emotions as mechanisms of mobilization during the emergence and the course of protest (as visualized in figure 1), we now argue that the very same concepts bring to light certain limitations to these protests.

Figure 1. Social Ties and Emotions in Antideportation Protests



Limitations to Personalized Protest

Antideportation protests often emerge as reactions to single deportation cases against individuals or families on the basis of personal ties between deportees and protestors. Moreover, they are predominantly directed against the implementation of specific deportation orders, trying to obtain an individual’s right to stay in Austria. Yet such a protest is neither a rejection of the restrictive immigration laws that legalize and justify deportations nor the assertion of a universal right of freedom of movement in a globalized world (Peutz and De Genova 2010: 3).

Deportation is not fundamentally questioned as a forcible state practice that goes against the right to move and stay. Instead, the emotional protest is in favor of one well-integrated individual or family that deserves to stay in the territory.

But how exactly can social ties and emotions contribute to understanding the political limitations to the protest claims? First, the personal consternation of protest actors on the basis of affective emotions keeps these protests from broadening their scope in terms of supporting a general rule. In other words, social ties with deportees or the related affective emotions might motivate citizens to side with close acquaintances but not with asylum seekers in general who may be threatened with deportation. Thus, individual cases repeatedly spark antideportation protests, at times gaining far-reaching, supralocal support. Yet, they do not spread in terms of claiming a right to stay as a general principle. Rather, the individual right to stay is presented as an exception of the general rule. Second, although important in the course of protests, reactive emotions are short-lived responses to events and interactions. They are bound to specific situations and might decrease or even vanish in the absence of the original trigger. Finally, the moral emotion of outrage in antideportation protests is closely bound to the individual deportees and/or their integration. What becomes manifest within the adopted personalization strategy is the assumption that individual deportations are immoral and unjust if asylum seekers are “well integrated.” It is not the violation of general principles or human rights that arouses these motivating feelings in protesters.

However, the argument that the relational/emotional character of antideportation protests accounts for the limited scope of claims and their lack of focus to bring about policy change must be relativized in two respects. The issue of deportation is itself laden with emotion, as it is about the lives of human beings in need of protection. These emotions, in turn, are reflected in the triggering of protests as well as in the mobilization mechanisms. Therefore, one might argue that the reason for the emotion-related limitations to antideportation protests is to be found in the issue of deportation itself. Furthermore, the limited scope of antideportation claims that come with the personalization of case-related protests can in fact also account for the relatively broad support these protests receive at times. Given the strong backing for restrictive policies within the Austrian population, a more strongly articulated political mobilization against the restrictive asylum and deportation regime would get far less or no support (on this argument, see also Freedman 2009, 2011). In other words, using individual cases to mobilize against deportation is not per se a limitation but can also be understood as a wise strategy of protest groups facing a public with predominantly anti-immigration attitudes. With regard to the limited capacity of antideportation protests to bring about policy change, it must also be emphasized that the implications and outputs of case-related antideportation protests are not examined in this article. However, these protests might have more far-reaching consequences than initially anticipated or intended by protesters, ranging from individual (politicization of citizens who would not normally participate in contentious politics) to political consequences (increasing the likelihood of further protests or raising the pressure for policy change).

CONCLUSIONS

This article has dealt with small-scale protest activities against a coercive state measure, namely, the deportation of failed asylum seekers. As an empirical case, we studied protest participation and mobilization among citizens in Austria between 2006 and 2012. Initially, the observation that people engage in pro-asylum seeker activism under rather unfavorable political conditions and widely shared adverse opinions towards migrants seems puzzling. Against this background, we asked how protest for asylum seekers is to be understood. Following the emotional turn within social movement literature, the article argues that, instead of

political opportunity structures and resource mobilization, social ties and emotions are key factors to analyze (altruistic) protest activities.

The findings are based on protest event analysis and emotion analysis of media articles and pieces of protest material. They reveal that the deportees are mostly “well-integrated” families with children who have resided in Austria for a long time and that the protesters are mostly recruited from the personal environment of deportees. Moreover, antideportation protests can be viewed as an altruistic form of mobilization, because protesters act on behalf of and for the sake of asylum seekers, who play a negligible role in protest organization. Furthermore, protest against deportations of asylum seekers mainly takes the form of case-specific grassroots activities. In other words, it is overwhelmingly the personal environment of deportees at the community level that mobilizes protestors against a specific deportation order “their” asylum seeker has received. Yet the affective emotions on the basis of social ties that motivate people to take action make it slightly problematic to use the term altruistic. Social ties are by definition reciprocal, thus blurring the line between acting out of self-interest and acting for the sake of others. Interestingly, these activities, although mostly taking place at the local level, have gained substantial regional and national media coverage and are thus visible far beyond the local community. Even more importantly, the media are not only reporting about those protests very frequently but are also presenting them in a rather supportive way.

Theoretically, we conclude that the concepts of social ties and emotions help to comprehend the emergence and spread of protest against the odds. The evidence underlines, first, that social ties between asylum seekers and ordinary citizens form the basis for protest involvement of the latter. In fact, these ties operate through affective emotions of friendship, love, and solidarity that come with social proximity. These emotions bond people together and give motivation for action. In this respect, social ties and emotions are intertwined factors that encourage the participation of ordinary citizens in protest activities.

Second, while the affective emotions of friendship, love, and solidarity rely on social ties and motivate people to take action, protesters also refer to (reactive and moral) emotions as a mobilizing strategy in later protest stages. More precisely, antideportation activists engage in emotion work in order to mobilize new supporters and spread protests. As emotions differ in their effects on protest motivation and mobilization, protesters deploy them in a strategic manner. They selectively display positive and negative as well as activating and deactivating emotions in different combinations in certain contexts or protest phases, and in relation to different actor types—i.e. subject and object actors.

Personal ties, as well as the protest-relevant affective, reactive, and moral emotions, operate at the individual level. This individuality is reflected in both the triggering of protest activities and the claimed consequences. Antideportation protests usually arise in reaction to individual deportation cases and are thus predominantly directed against the implementation of a given deportation order. The protests are in favor of known individuals or families that are perceived as people who have earned the right to stay in the territory through being “well integrated.” The case-related protests against deportations of asylum seekers in Austria are directed against the single implementation but not the general idea of deportation. The claims made within these protest activities may not be identified as “political” in the sense of pursuing general goals. Instead these protests were formed on an issue- and case-specific basis. As such, they ignore political ideologies and transgress party affiliations. This non-partisan character of the protest activities, which is partly due to the limited scope of antideportation claims, enables the recruitment of people across all political spectrums and thus makes it possible to reach out beyond the part of the population that can always be relied on to be supportive of asylum seekers and their rights. Paradoxically, it is the limited scope and the nonpolitical but emotional/relational character of these protests that make them so successful at times.

NOTES

- ¹ Jasper conceives of emotions as a continuum ranging from the more physiological end of *urges* to the more cultural end of *moral emotions*. In between, he situates *reactive emotions*, *affective emotions*, and *moods*.
- ² For a more exhaustive overview of past migration and asylum policy making in Austria see: Bauböck 1996; Kraler 2007; Kraler and Sohler 2007.
- ³ Between 1991 and 2000, Austria deported nearly 100,000 illegal migrants and rejected asylum seekers. Towards the end of the 1990s, deportation numbers started to fall, settling down at about 2,000 deportations annually in recent years (see: http://www.bmi.gv.at/cms/BMI_Niederlassung/statistiken/; note that these numbers only include *Abschiebungen* and no other forms of forced return such as *Zurückschiebungen* or *Dublin transfers*).
- ⁴ Gould (2009: 19) uses the term *affect* in a different way to refer to “unconscious and unnamed, but nevertheless registered, experiences of bodily energy and intensity that arise in response to stimuli impinging on the body.” Although we use the term according to Jasper’s usage, we try to keep in mind the less perceptible, unconscious, and bodily dimensions of feelings to which Gould refers.
- ⁵ Seventy-five percent of all emotional displays were discovered in media articles, and the remaining 25 percent in the protest material. Although the absolute number of coded emotions is therefore higher in the media articles, relatively more emotional displays were coded in the protest material if one takes into consideration the number of coded media articles (330) and pieces of protest material (89).
- ⁶ However, in late 2012, two public events were staged by asylum seekers, namely, a two-day rally by Somali refugees in front of the Austrian parliament and a protest march from the refugee camp in Traiskirchen to Vienna, attracting strong public attention.
- ⁷ Ellermann (2009) arrives at the conclusion that, because of the political pressure antideportation groups impose on local government officials, the state capacity to deport foreigners is higher the more autonomous immigration bureaucrats are from the local political authorities.
- ⁸ Regional party homepage of the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ), 2007, website no longer active, transl. by the authors.
- ⁹ Classmate of deportee, cited in: ORF Salzburg online, May 5, 2012, <http://salzburg.orf.at/news/stories/2533082/>, translated by the authors.
- ¹⁰ Profil, August 9, 2009, translated by the authors.
- ¹¹ Kleine Zeitung, May 5, 2007, translated by the authors.
- ¹² Homepage of an antideportation initiative in Vienna, 2010, <http://www.freundeschuetzen.at>, translated by the authors.
- ¹³ Verein Trans X, 2011, http://transx.at/Initiativen/Yasar/Yasar_EN.htm, transl. by the authors.

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