

#### EUROPE'S MIGRATION CRISIS

Rejecting claims that migration is a crisis for Europe, this book instead suggests that the 'migration crisis' reflects a more fundamental breakdown of a modern European tradition of humanism. Squire provides a detailed and broad-ranging analysis of the EU's response to the 'crisis', highlighting the centrality of practices of governing migration through death and precarity. Furthermore, she unpacks a series of pro-migration activist interventions that emerge from the lived experiences of those regularly confronting the consequences of the EU's response. By showing how these advance alternative horizons of solidarity and hope, Squire draws attention to a renewed humanism that is grounded both in a deepened respect for the lives and dignity of people on the move, and an appreciation of longer histories of violence and dispossession. This book will be of interest to scholars and researchers working on migration in political science, international relations, European studies, law and sociology.

VICKI SQUIRE is Professor of International Politics at the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, UK, and co-editor of the flagship ISA journal *International Political Sociology*. She is author off *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum* (2009), *The Contested Politics of Mobility* (2011), *Post/Humanitarian Border Politics Between Mexico and the US* (2015), and *Reclaiming Migration* (co-authored with Perkowski, Stevens and Vaughan-Williams, 2020).



# EUROPE'S MIGRATION CRISIS

Border Deaths and Human Dignity

VICKI SQUIRE

University of Warwick





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108835336
DDI: 10.1017/9781108883696

© Vicki Squire 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data NAMES: Squire, Vicki, 1974– author.

TITLE: Europe's migration crisis: border deaths and human dignity / Vicki Squire.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2020004490 (print) | LCCN 2020004491 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108835336 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108793162 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108883696 (epub) SUBJECTS: LCSH: Refugees—Europe—Social conditions. | Refugees—Europe—Death and burial. | Humanitarianism—Europe. | Dignity. | Europe—Emigration and immigration—Moral and ethical aspects. | Europe—Emigration and immigration—Social aspects.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JV7590 .\$725 2020 (print) | LCC JV7590 (ebook) | DDC 325/.21094–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020004490 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020004491

ISBN 978-1-108-83533-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



### Contents

	t of Figures knowledgements	<i>page</i> vii viii
Int	roduction: Europe's 'Migration Crisis': Border Deaths	
and Human Dignity		
	Border Deaths and Human Dignity	I 2
	Europe's 'Migration Crisis'	3
	ntervening 'Crisis Politics'	6
(	Chapter Overview	8
PA.	RT I THE PRODUCTION OF DEATH AND VULNERABILITY	I 3
I	Crisis Politics: The Production of Death and Vulnerability	15
	Introduction	15
	Multiple 'Migration Crises'	15
	Crisis Politics	36
	Conclusion	41
2	Biophysical Violence and Ultra-precarity: The Normalisation	
	of Death and Vulnerability	43
	Introduction	43
	Prevention, Rescue, Containment	43
	Border Security, Humanitarianism and Biophysical Violence	61
	Conclusion	74
3	Human Dignity: The Pervasiveness of Death and	
	Vulnerability	76
	Introduction	76
	Mobilising Dignity	77
	Dehumanising 'Unruly' Forces	86
	Conclusion	100



vi <i>Contents</i>				
PA	RT II THE PRODUCTION OF SOLIDARITY AND HOPE	103		
4	Corridoi Umanitari: Dignity in Motion and a Politics			
т	of Welcome	105		
	Introduction	105		
	Corridoi Umanitari	107		
	Dignity in Motion	109		
	A Politics of Welcome	117		
	Exploiting Prevention	125		
	Conclusion	132		
5	Sea-Watch: Dignity in Danger and a Politics of Witness	134		
	Introduction	134		
	Sea-Watch	135		
	Dignity in Danger	139		
	A Politics of Witness	150		
	The Threat of Criminalisation	159		
	Conclusion	161		
6	Grave Dressing: Dignity in Death and a Politics			
	of Responsibility	163		
	Introduction	163		
	Grave Dressing in Lampedusa	163		
	Dignity in Death	168		
	A Politics of Responsibility	180		
	Conclusion	188		
Conclusion: Beyond Crisis: Horizons of Solidarity and Hope				
	Crisis	191		
	Humanism	193		
	Dignity	195		
	Solidarity and Hope	198		
	Moving Forward	199		
Postscript		201		
No	tes	203		
Bibliography		220		
Index		234		

234



## **Figures**

5.I	Dignity I/Sea-Watch III dinghy	page 158
6.1	Poem at the cemetery gate	169
6.2	Welela's grave	172
6.3	Pavese poem	174
6.4	Esath Ekos' grave	183
6.5	Ester Ada's grave	184
6.6	Yassin's grave	185



## Acknowledgements

This book represents a long journey, which I have been fortunate to share with many generous co-travellers. I will not thank each person whom I interviewed individually here, but instead sincerely thank you all collectively in the hope of having done justice to the thoughtful insights that you have shared with me along the way. Meeting people who deal with the issues discussed in this book every day is a humbling experience, and I appreciate the time, energy and care you have shown in contributing to this book under such circumstances.

I would like to extend my most sincere thanks to all those people who have made perilous journeys across the Mediterranean and who have in various ways shared stories and struggles with me over the past years. This book includes some of you directly, and all of you indirectly. Thanks also to my colleagues whose work on a related project has been invaluable in this regard: Angeliki Dimitriadi, Nina Perkowski, Maria Pisani, Dallal Stevens and Nick-Vaughan-Williams, plus Emanuela Dal Zotto, Vassiliki Touhouliotis, Skerlida Agoli, Alba Cauchi, Sarah Mallia and Mario Gerada. Warm thanks are also extended to Bija Knowles for helping me with translation and Jamila Squire for helping with the footnotes.

The ideas developed here have been fertilised over several years, with the input of many different audiences. I cannot possibly include everyone here who has pushed my thinking forward, but I have been fortunate to travel freely across the world to present this research – a privilege that I appreciate even as I remain deeply uncomfortable with it. Particular thanks are extended to Karina Horsti, Suzan Ilcan, Shinya Kitagawa, Federica Mazzara, Peter Nyers and Federica Sossi, all of whom have given me encouragement and support at crucial moments.

viii



### Acknowledgements

ix

Not least, I would like to thank my colleagues, friends and family for their incredible patience and care as I have struggled to write this book. Special thanks to my wonderful husband and children – Jan, Jamila, Jake and Silvie – to my mum, Ron and sisters – Louise and Charlotte – as well as to my extended Soka family and to my mentor, Daisaku Ikeda.

This research was generously funded by a Leverhulme Trust Research Fellowship, RF-2015-545.