Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of "Europe"

NEW KEYWORDS COLLECTIVE

A COLLABORATIVE PROJECT OF COLLECTIVE WRITING

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EUROPE / CRISIS: INTRODUCING NEW KEYWORDS OF "THE CRISIS" IN AND OF "EUROPE"

Martina Tazzioli + Nicholas De Genova

"CRISIS"

Charles Heller, Nicholas De Genova, Maurice Stierl, Martina Tazzioli + Huub van Baar

"MIGRANT CRISIS" / "REFUGEE CRISIS"

Nicholas De Genova, Elena Fontanari, Fiorenza Picozza, Laia Soto Bermant, Aila Spathopoulou, Maurice Stierl, Zakeera Suffee, Martina Tazzioli, Huub van Baar + Can Yildiz

NEW KEYWORDS OF "THE CRISIS" IN AND OF "EUROPE" emerged from a meeting of the research network on "The 'European' Question: Postcolonial Perspectives on Migration, Nation, and Race," convened by Nicholas De Genova and Martina Tazzioli at King's College London on June 25–26, 2015, which included the participation of: Soledad Álvarez-Velasco, Manuela Bojadzijev, Sebastian Cobarrubias, Nicholas De Genova, Elena Fontanari, Evelina Gambino, Giorgio Grappi, Charles Heller, Yolande Jansen, Bernd Kasparek, Shahram Khosravi, Sandro Mezzadra, Lorenzo Pezzani, Fiorenza Picozza, Lisa Riedner, Stephan Scheel, Laia Soto Bermant, Maurice Stierl, Zakeera Suffee, Martina Tazzioli, Huub van Baar, and Can Yildiz.

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EUROPE / CRISIS: INTRODUCING NEW KEYWORDS OF "THE CRISIS" IN AND OF "EUROPE"

It has become utterly banal to speak of "the crisis" in Europe, even as there have proliferated invocations of a veritable "crisis *of* Europe" – a putative crisis of the very *idea* of "Europe." This project, aimed at formulating New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of "Europe," was initiated in the immediate aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings in Paris in January 2015, and has been brought to a necessarily tentative and only partial "completion" in the aftermath of the subsequent massacre in Paris on 13 November 2015. Eerily resembling a kind of uncanny pair of book-ends, these spectacles of "terror" and "security" (De Genova 2011; 2013a) awkwardly seem to frame what otherwise, during the intervening several months, has been represented as "the migrant crisis," or "the refugee crisis," or more broadly, as a "crisis" of the borders of "Europe." Of course, for several years, the protracted and enduring ramifications of global economic "crisis" and the concomitant policies of austerity have already been a kind of fixture of European social and political life. Similarly, the events in Paris are simply the most recent and most hyper-mediated occasions for a re-intensification of the ongoing processes of securitization that have been a persistent (if inconstant) mandate of the putative Global War on Terror (De Genova 2010a, 2010c). Hence, this collaborative project of collective authorship emerges from an acute sense of the necessity of rethinking the conceptual and discursive categories that govern borders, migration, and asylum and simultaneously overshadow how scholarship and research on these topics commonly come to recapitulate both these dominant discourses and re-reify them.

As a network of scholars in critical migration and borders studies, we have been particularly concerned to defy the intellectual and political ghettoization of

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these topics in relation to the ordinarily unquestioned manifold and transversal reality of the multiple "crises" that coexist alongside the purported "migration" or "refugee crisis" in (and of) "Europe." How indeed may the "crises" associated with border *control* and asylum and immigration law *enforcement* be apprehensible as co-constitutive of what is otherwise so ubiquitously known simply as "*the* crisis" (the economic crisis), as well as the related "crisis" of "Europe" itself (the political, juridical, and institutional crisis of the European Union, and particularly such "European" institutions as the Schengen zone of passport-free travel that has reconfigured the borders of "Europe" by sustaining an "internal" space of [relatively, albeit differentially] free mobility)? Likewise, this critical angle of vision on "the crisis" in and of "Europe" must be further situated within the context of our global historical moment: the recent and ongoing proliferation of wars, civil wars, military interventions, and neocolonial occupations across the planet in which European powers are and have long been profoundly implicated. This perspective illuminates the dire necessity of radically unsettling any self-satisfied European discourse on "migration" or "refugees" as the *de facto* human refuse of "crises" constructed to be strictly "external" to the presumed safety and stability of "Europe," erupting always "elsewhere." In other words, starting from the dramatic increase in the numbers of people seeking asylum in EU-rope because of the violent convulsions and disruptions of war, but also in light of the preemptive unavailability of any other route for migration to Europe for the vast majority of the world's population, what is at stake here is a rigorously postcolonial critique of the governmentality of migration and asylum and the misleading opposition between "genuine" or "legitimate" refugees and ostensibly"economic" migrants (Garelli and Tazzioli 2013a; Tazzioli 2013; 2014). These contrivances of the global government of human mobility intersect substantially (and consequentially) with the analytical categories that discipline academic research and scholarship. Furthermore, and related to these intersections surrounding human mobility, this project similarly inquires into how these manifold and interconnected "crises" might signal a larger epistemic crisis regarding some of the central and defining categories of thought and action surrounding the contemporary (postcolonial, post-Cold War, neoliberal) constitution of a place called "Europe."

The aspiration and intended purpose of these New Keywords is to effectively "hijack" the dominant discourse surrounding and superintending how we speak of and think about the conjunctures of "Europe" and "crisis." Specifically, we posit our interventions into this contradictory problem space from the distinctive critical vantage point enabled by our engagements with the perspectives and experiences of migration and borders. Hence, the primary motivation behind our collaborative work has been to engage in the kind of theoretical dialogue and debate that aims to interrogate and disentangle the multifarious articulations of "migration" and "crisis," highlighting that the so-called "migration crisis" in fact supplies a crucial lens for grasping the wider dynamics of "crisis" in and of "Europe" and the European border regime (see "Border Regime" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015).

Nevertheless, while we seek to problematize the very language of "crisis,"

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it is imperative to underscore that this collaborative intervention arises also amidst the horrific spectacle of migrant and refugee mass deaths that has been produced as a consequence of the European border regime. Far from downplaying the frequently tragic dramas of the migrants and refugees who have braved the violence of Europe's extended and expansive borders – and the monumental fact that 2015 has been the single most deadly year on record for illegalized migrants and refugees seeking to cross these borders, especially across the Mediterranean Sea – let alone the protracted travails of the hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants repeatedly blocked during their "long march" across numerous borders through the Balkans, this project nevertheless emphasizes the generalized crisis of the government (and control) of human mobility instigated for the European border regime by autonomous migrant and refugee movements that have defied the borders and appropriated the space of Europe. [link to Eidomeni video: https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x3jcq02_open-the-border-22-days-in-eidomeni_shortfilms]

The multiplication of borders and border-zones (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013) within and around the amorphous "European" space is seen here as a cascade of reactive responses put into place by a diverse variety of formations of sovereign power. These heterogeneous state formations include the European Union (and various subsidiary agencies such as Frontex, the EU's border policing operation), as well as particular EU member nation-states, European states that are not EU members, as well as the junior partners in the peripheries of "Europe" who have been variously sub-contracted to police the borders of EU-rope, such as Libya prior to 2011 or Turkey now (albeit with much greater and more complex strategic geo-political and military stakes). Despite their significant differences and inequalities, all are substantially dedicated to disciplining migratory movements that objectively challenge outright the regimes enforcing selective access to the "right" of cross-border mobility and the exclusionary criteria of the "right" to asylum. In the face of militarized border police brutality, including rubber truncheons, stun grenades, and tear gas, as well as razor-wire fences, and the ever-present horizon of interdiction, prolonged detention, and deportation, we are reminded nonetheless of migrant and refugee mobilizations, such as the ad-hoc protest march that departed from Budapest's Keleti train station and occupied a six-lane highway heading to Austria, chanting "Freedom!"[link to Budapest video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHXzSWF42Cc] Beyond such dramatic and overtly politicized mobilizations, however, migrant struggles to appropriate movement and claim space – to enter Europe, claim asylum, and move onward to northern countries in the quest for safer and more promising places to stay – are visible in any European border zone, from Lampedusa to Lesvos, from Melilla to Nicklesdorf, from Ventimiglia to Calais (see "Migrant Struggles" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). [link to Ventimiglia video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h_vIxhHbArU] In the face of the "migration crisis" and the "crisis of Europe,"therefore, we are reminded of what Sandro Mezzadra has depicted as "the politicality of migration movements" and must begin to contemplate the politics of "the crisis" from the critical standpoint of what he designates a "Border-Europe," a "Europe" constituted by the proliferation of borders and border struggles (Mezzadra 2016).

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Thus, the collaborative work compiled here operates at a significant distance from the current proliferation of discourses about the "migrant" or "refugee crisis," challenging the taken-for-granted meaning of the term "crisis" by looking at the *productive* dimension that the declaration of a state of "crisis" of "emergency" generates. In the face of the epistemic crisis of both state and other institutional actors (as well as academics) in taking stock of the heterogeneity of practices of migration towards and across "Europe," we seek here to re-craft some of the most commonplace taken-for-granted categories undergirding the dominant discourse from the standpoint of a constitutive *struggle* over mobility and space. That is to say, these New Keywords respond to the urgency of producing a collective counter-discourse about migration and refugee movements and the purported "crisis" that ensues, starting from an epistemological destabilizing and theoretical questioning of the very meaning and function of certain key concepts and categories, such as "humanitarianism," "refugee," "migrant," "mobility," and so forth. By focusing on the (at least) two-fold "crisis" that has dominated the media spectacle and the discourse of the political establishment – "the (economic) crisis" and "the migrant/refugee crisis" – and by refusing the systematic separation of these and other related figures of "crisis," we hope to direct critical scrutiny toward the frameworks and practices of governmental intervention enabled and energized by the proliferation of"crisis." Likewise, yet still more importantly, we aim to call attention to the new spaces produced by the diverse manifestations of the autonomy and subjectivity of the migrants and refugees themselves. The politics of austerity, acutely affecting southern European countries in particular, coupled with border enforcement strategies that preemptively illegalize mobile people seeking asylum, together impact upon both "Europeans" and "non-Europeans" – citizens and migrants alike – and thereby simultaneously re-fortify the "obscene inclusion" (De Genova 2013b) of war refugees and other illegalized migrants into the socio-political fabrics of local "European" economies.

Reflecting upon and engaging with spatial and political transformations that are still underway, however, we are notably confronted with the methodological problem of keeping up with the ongoing border struggles and the concomitant reconfigurations of the mechanisms of capture and control that are at play in governing human mobilities, in the dizzying context of the diverse array of recent events in Europe that have directly affected our areas of inquiry. In particular, we must mention the various closures of EU internal borders in the securitarian aftermaths of both the arrival of large numbers of refugees and migrants in the second half of 2015 and the violent events in Paris on 13 November 2015. We must likewise note the moral panic erupting over the sexual assaults in Cologne/Köln during the 2016 New Year's Eve festivities, which have authorized a new round of debate over the criminalization and prospective deportation of "asylum-seekers." Consequently, ours is necessarily an intrinsically tentative and always-incomplete grappling with the immanent task of theorizing the contingencies and irresolution of socio-political conflicts and struggles in which we are still immersed. Hence, while these interventions can in no way pretend to provide any semblance of an exhaustive account or comprehensive analysis of

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the recent political transformations occurring in "Europe," the keywords that we have chosen – "Crisis"; "Migrant Crisis"/ "Refugee Crisis"; Numbers (or, The Spectacle of Statistics in the Production of "Crisis");"Humanitarian Crisis"; "Mobility"; and (The Crisis of) "European Values" – each of these signal broad rubrics that allow us to repeatedly tackle anew, and from somewhat different critical angles of vision, the larger over-arching question of the relation between (the government of) migration and (the government of) the wider multiplicity of apparently disparate and divergent formations of "crisis" in Europe today.

It is perhaps self-evident, but particularly noteworthy, that these texts have emerged amidst the still-unfolding and unpredictable repercussions of the securitarian and military responses–within Europe and abroad – by numerous EU authorities and member states to the attacks in Paris of 13 November 2015, which will continue to have multiple impacts upon human mobility at large. These ramifications are particularly consequential for the social and political conditions of refugees and migrants, both for those within the space of "Europe" as well as for those beyond the borders who may yet seek entry to "Europe." Nonetheless, and very importantly, this is also true for EU-ropean citizens – especially those racialized as "Muslims" or "Roma" or other supposedly "non-white" ("non-European") "minorities" (De Genova 2010c; De Genova and Tazzioli 2015; van Baar 2016b). On the one hand, all migrants and refugees may now be newly figured as always-already "suspect" – potential "terrorists" who have infiltrated Europe alongside the influx of "genuine" refugees. [link to Greece videos: http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/world/europe-migrants-greece-macedonia-1.3330040 http://deadstate.org/stranded-refugees-facing-greek-riot-police-chant-we-are-not-terrorists/] Moreover, Syrian refugees and migrants, in particular, who hitherto have widely enjoyed a distinctly preferential treatment over and against others seeking asylum in Europe, have now been abruptly re-fashioned as inherently suspect and thus, special candidates for the dubious status of "bogus" refugees, albeit now re-figured as potential "secret agents" with the nefarious mission of entering Europe only to perpetrate "terrorist" atrocities. On the other hand, the repeated and successive closures of various internal EU borders have simultaneously accelerated the "crisis" of the Schengen area of "free" mobility (long celebrated as a paramount achievement of European integration), while nonetheless summoning new formations of still more enlarged powers of integrated sovereignty to be configured at the EU-ropean scale. Therefore, simultaneous with the "crisis" of Schengen, we seem to be witnessing its re-fortification through an aggressive push for the unprecedented securitization of the EU's external borders, specifically targeting EU citizens.

The New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of "Europe" emerged from a workshop convened by Nicholas De Genova and Martina Tazzioli at King's College London on 25–26 June 2015. Notably, this is the second iteration of the "New Keywords" endeavor, and follows an earlier but related dialogue that culminated in the analogous project of collective authorship and collaborative publication, coordinated and edited by Nicholas De Genova, Sandro Mezzadra and John Pickles, which appeared in print as a Special Thematic Section on "New Keywords" of the journal *Materialifoucaultiani* (www.materialifoucaultiani.org).

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words: Migration and Borders" in the journal *Cultural Studies* (Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Both of these experiments in thinking and writing together stem from the meetings of a multi-disciplinary research network on "The 'European' Question: Postcolonial Perspectives on Migration, Nation, and Race," initiated by Nicholas De Genova and Sandro Mezzadra with migration and borders scholar-activists and activist-scholars from the UK, Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Latvia, and the Czech Republic, as well as Turkey, Iran, the United States, and Ecuador.

Therefore, this interrogation of the conjunctures of "Europe" and "Crisis" is also a contribution to reformulating and expanding the purview of what Nicholas De Genova (2016) has called "the 'European' Question" – contending that we must recurrently and unrelentingly ask: What indeed *is* "Europe"? and *Who* may be counted as "European"? Posited first and foremost from the conjoined perspectives of migration and race, the "European" Question demands a persistent attention to the postcolonial dimension of the borders of "Europe" and the boundaries of "European"-ness at the core of our analysis. Fundamental not only as a vital corrective against the (re-)bordering of would-be critical reflection within the academic boundaries of migration and refugee studies but also for problematizing the vexed politics of race, national identity, citizenship, migration and asylum in "Europe" today, the "European" Question has supplied a defining framework for debate among the contributors to these New Keywords. Extending this interrogation of "Europe" through the critical lens of "crisis" – the multiplicity of invocations of "crisis" in and of "Europe" – including of course the rationale of "economic crisis" as the presumptive authorization of austerity and reactionary populist backlash – these interventions around "the crisis" therefore emphatically remind us that what is at stake is nothing less than the very question of "Europe" itself. Situated, as we are, in discrepant relations to "Europe" and "European"-ness, we nonetheless seek to seize hold of our moment of "crisis" as a moment of opportunity through which it may be possible to think and act differently in the aspiration to make the place where we live into a place where life is worth living, together.

Martina Tazzioli + Nicholas De Genova

"CRISIS"

Over recent weeks, months, and indeed, years, there has been an astounding proliferation in public discourse of the word "crisis," particularly in the European context. Most recently, we have seen the repeated invocation of a "refugee crisis," alternately labeled a "migrant crisis." Similarly, this same phenomenon has been depicted in terms of a "humanitarian crisis" while nonetheless depicted always also as a "crisis of the asylum system" and a "crisis" of Europe's borders, which is to say, a "crisis" of "border control" (simultaneously signaling a "crisis" of enforcement and policing and a "crisis" of refugee "protection"), and thus, a "crisis of the Schengen zone." Notably, alarmist reactions to the mul-

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tifarious "crises" relating to the ("unauthorized") movement of people – particularly across and within the EU's borders – have largely served to justify the necessity of new "emergency" policies and the deployment of new means of control. Nonetheless, migration is sometimes figured as the necessary "solution" to what is often depicted as Europe's "demographic crisis." Furthermore, this particular conjuncture of "crisis" talk (and crisis-mongering) cannot be separated from the more pervasive discourse of "*the* crisis": "economic crisis," "financial crisis," "debt crisis," "crisis of Euro-zone," "banking crisis" and the attendant recourse to a widespread promotion of the notion that "austerity" is necessary and inevitable. Within this wider framework of austerity policies, moreover, we likewise have become attuned to a more or less permanent "housing crisis." Alongside this more narrowly economistic (neoliberal) repertoire of "crisis" discourse, therefore, we have been subjected to a parallel invocation of a "crisis of European institutions," associated with the perennial problem of the European Union's "democratic deficit" and thus also a "crisis of democracy," sometimes equated even with a "crisis of the idea of Europe." As scholars of critical migration and refugee studies, we propose that the so-called "crisis" – currently mobilized in the face of the horrific effects of the EU-ropean border and immigration regime and visa policies by the mass media, politicians, policy makers, and other state as well as non-governmental authorities – can provide a prism for unpacking and interrogating these numerous interlocking "crises."

Notably, it is another "crisis" – a "crisis" of "the Arab world" or "the crisis in the Middle East" – which is figured as the source of an inordinate portion of the illegalized migrants and refugees entering EU territory through its external borders. Syrian nationals fleeing the civil war have been particularly prominent, but the collapse of the Gaddafi regime in Libya, previously one of the advance outposts of the externalized EU migration regime (see "Externalization," in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015), has consequently enabled illegalized migrants from across Africa, the Middle East, and beyond to cross the country's porous frontiers in their quests to access Europe by braving the European border zone in the Mediterranean Sea. Libya's "failed state" thus re-appears now as one of the "weak links" in the chain of "European" border control. Thus, the "migration crisis" is often discursively and analytically represented as a byproduct of "the crisis in the Middle East," the labeling of which is inseparable from justifications for renewed military interventions in an amorphous geo-political region from Afghanistan to Somalia to Mali (with repercussions even further afield, as in Nigeria and Cameroon).

Indeed, it would appear that the externalization of "the migration crisis" has become a key strategic objective of the EU. Insinuating that the "crisis" itself has been, in effect, inflicted upon "Europe," the highest ranking figures in the EU have concurred that it is the proper role of the states in its wider "neighborhood" to solve the "crisis." Accordingly, under the cloud of this abnegation of EU-ropean responsibility, the EU and numerous African states engaged in a two-month long tug of war, culminating on 11–12 November 2015 in the summit in Valetta, Malta. The Valetta negotiations reiterated a well-worn managerial concern "to address the root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement,"[1] and declared a new "advance" with respect to "returning persons who

1. European Union, Valetta Conference, Final Declaration <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2015/nov/eu-africa-Valletta-Summit-declaration-final.pdf>

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are not entitled to stay in Europe,"[2] a very tired euphemism for the obligatory neocolonial collusion of "sending countries" in the deportation of their nationals from EU-rope. Despite the proclamations of mutual "interdependence" between "Europe" and its African "neighbors," therefore, Valetta exposed the extent to which the ongoing "migrant crisis" has served to authorize anew the protracted (post-)colonial struggle over dominance and power. Hence, EU-rope's highest ambition has been to find ways to export its "crisis" to its poorer "neighbors," and thus has sought to convert its "crisis" into a neoliberal test of post-colonial "responsibility," whereby the ostensible legitimacy and sovereignty of African nation-states is presumed to derive from dutiful service to the mandates of re-fortifying the borders of "Europe." Nonetheless, despite these rhetorical gestures and extortionist power plays, the Valetta Conference appears to have produced little substantive action: at present, no African country has any "readmission" agreement in force with the EU (Bunyan 2015).

Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the attacks of 13 November 2015 in Paris and the resultant proclamation of a "state of emergency" in France – although virtually all of the alleged culprits in this attack appear to have been EU citizens – multiple European authorities have resorted to calls for the reactivation of internal borders within the EU, in an abrupt departure from the Schengen agreements, as well as an unprecedented securitization of the Schengen area's external borders. In fact, over the last year, we have repeatedly witnessed the alternation of the opening and closure of various EU border-crossing points – between Greece and Macedonia, between Croatia and Slovenia, between Italy and France, between Sweden and Denmark, among many others – and the temporary suspension of Schengen in the name of "emergencies" associated with what has come increasingly to be represented as a twofold "human threat": a bewildering and uncontrollable "mass influx" of refugees escaping war zones, and an amorphous "invasion" of migrants or refugees re-figured as potential "terrorists." Furthermore, following the moral panic over sexual assaults during the 2016 New Year's Eve festivities in Köln/Cologne – allegedly perpetrated by unruly "North African or Middle Eastern" young men (purportedly including "asylum-seekers") – newly arrived, "culturally alien," "unassimilated" (and by implication, unassimilable) "Muslim"/"Arab" "asylum-seekers" are similarly re-figured now as potential "criminals," and particularly as "sexual predators" and "rapists," prone to dangerous and violent types of "deviancy," to be rendered deportable and expelled. Hence, the "emergency" associated with the uncontrolled arrival of migrants and refugees has quickly become not only a matter of border enforcement but also mundane policing, and signals an incipient "crisis" of social order.

Notably, the European "debt crisis" also seems to be deeply intertwined with the "migration crisis": among the countless criticisms of fiscal "irresponsibility" leveled against Greece (now more than ever severely debilitated by EU austerity policies), for instance, it is crucial to recall the allegation regarding the Greek state's apparent incapacity to "manage" the influx of an estimated three-quarters of a million refugees and migrants who arrived on its shores in 2015 alone, leading to threats to suspend Greece's inclusion in the Schengen zone "unless it overhauls its response to the migration crisis."[3]

2. http://www.statewatch.org/news/2015/nov/eu-africa-Valletta-Summit-tusk-final-remarks.pdf

3. http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/463dc7a0-982b-11e5-9228-87e603d47bdc.html#axzz3wM7qdqSu

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The wild proliferation and continuous eruption of the language of "crisis" evidently commands some critical scrutiny (cf. Agamben 2013; Béjin and Morin 1976; Foucault 2007; Klein 2007; Koselleck 2006; Roitman 2013; Shank 2008; Starn 1971; Parrochia 2008). First of all, if the term "crisis" is commonly used to denote a situation of disruption within a prior situation of stability, and thereby associated with imminent danger demanding immediate action, we must recognize that – regarding illegalized migration into and across Europe – the very distinction between (and separation of) what is ostensibly "stable" and "in crisis" is altogether tenuous, indeed, dubious. Illegalized migration in Europe arises as a very predictable and inevitable effect of a migration regime that forecloses mobility for the great majority of people from most of the world. The illegalized migration regime is geographically heterogeneous and extensive and temporally enduring. Furthermore, it operates through the putative "failure" of multiple states to prevent the exit or entry of migrants and refugees who have been effectively denied any legal right to access these various states' territories. A state of "crisis" with regard to illegalized migration across the EU's frontiers is therefore the norm rather than the exception, and the convulsive but plainly routine government of illegalized migration appears to both operate through "crisis" and yet to be in a permanent crisis itself. Likewise, the global financial "crisis" of 2007–08 and its continuing repercussions within the EU and the Euro-zone are best understood to be unsettling, destructive, and violent features of the normal functioning of capitalism, rather than some unforeseen or unfathomable anomaly. As David Harvey demonstrates, "crises are essential to the reproduction of capitalism. It is in the course of crises that the instabilities of capitalism are confronted, reshaped and re-engineered to create a new version of what capitalism is about" (Harvey 2014:ix). Furthermore, the ongoing turmoil of war and civil war across multiple regions of the globe, and particularly in the Middle East and Africa, can only be adequately comprehended as the very predictable result of colonial and neocolonial occupations and military interventions during not only the last several years but rather over the last century or more (Gregory 2004). Hence, we can only ask: When was the Middle East *not* "in crisis"? When was Africa *not* "in crisis"? While we must be wary of recapitulating well-worn colonialist and Orientalist tropes attributing violence and volatility to these regions, it is imperative to draw attention not to any supposedly inherent proclivity toward violence or incapacity for self-government but rather to the contradictory legacies of conflict and the enduring realities of social and political fracture that originate with European (and Euro-American) imperialism and their deeply destabilizing effects.

Hence, it is doubtful whether the "crisis" label can serve to clarify anything, and rather more likely that it serves instead to further obfuscate. As Janet Roitman (2013:5) cautions, "through the term 'crisis,' the singularity of events is abstracted by a generic logic, making crisis a term that seems self-explanatory." It is therefore instructive to recall the political uses that "crisis" may be pressed to serve. Labeling a complex situation (such as that of the contemporary dynamics of mass migration and refugee movements) as a "crisis" and therefore as "exceptional" tends to conceal the violence and permanent exception that are

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the norm under global capitalism and our global geo-politics, and may serve to perpetuate the conditions that have led to the purported "emergency" in the first place. Reinhart Koselleck (2006) offers a useful genealogy of the term "crisis," underscoring that the concept originally evokes decision and judgment, helping to draw our attention to the new spaces of intervention and government that discourses about the (multiple) European "crises" have opened up. Indeed, the proclamation of "crisis" consequently serves the ends of particular forms of governmental intervention, usually through the deployment of authoritarian measures: a situation of "crisis," after all, appears to demand immediate responses that cannot afford the more prolonged temporalities of democratic debate and deliberative processes, or so we are told. In this regard, Giorgio Agamben (2013) has incisively remarked:

> *The concept 'crisis' has indeed become a motto of modern politics, and for a long time it has been part of normality in any segment of social life . . . 'Crisis' in ancient medicine meant a judgement, when the doctor noted at the decisive moment whether the sick person would survive or die. The present understanding of crisis, on the other hand, refers to an enduring state. So this uncertainty is extended into the future, indefinitely. It is exactly the same with the theological sense; the Last Judgement was inseparable from the end of time. Today, however, judgement is divorced from the idea of resolution and repeatedly postponed. So the prospect of a decision is ever less, and an endless process of decision never concludes. Today crisis has become an instrument of rule. It serves to legitimize political and economic decisions that in fact dispossess citizens and deprive them of any possibility of decision.*

As if to illustrate Agamben's contention, the EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, Gilles De Kerkove, glibly remarked to the European Parliament's Civil Liberties Committee in a meeting following the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings: "Never let a serious crisis go to waste."[4] Here we confront the well-worn sensibility that has always informed the most reactionary political forces as well as the most parasitic forms of disaster capitalism (Klein 2007; Loewenstein 2015; Mirowski 2013) – that "crisis" always signals "opportunity."

What "crisis"? Whose "crisis"? Who gains, and who loses, from the labeling of the present conjuncture as "crisis"? These are the urgent and critical questions that we must ask every time we encounter the word "crisis." If we are skeptical of the language of "crisis" in analytical terms and critical of the political consequences that this rhetoric facilitates, we nevertheless certainly cannot deny that we have been confronting a period of momentous transformations in and around Europe, which is still unfolding rapidly before our eyes, and for which we are at pains to provide an account. If the term "crisis" can be of any use, then, it is in recalling its etymological meaning, from the Greek *krisis* (from *krinein*): "to separate, decide, judge, a distinctive force" (Starn 1971:3; cf. Agamben 2015; Koselleck 2006). A crisis, rather than referring to an external and objective state of affairs "out there," would instead point to a moment of deep change that challenges our capacity to judge and make sense of it. If there is in

4. < http://www.statewatch.org/news/2015/jan/com-pnr-plans.htm>. This phrase has often been attributed to Winston Churchill, but there appears to be no firm evidence for this claim. More recently, it was popularized by Rahm Emmanuel, current Mayor of Chicago and former White House Chief of Staff for Barack Obama. The promiscuous circulation of this sensibility among political elites internationally would seem to verify that unabashed opportunism regarding "crisis" has emerged as part of the political grammar of neoliberalism (see also Mirowski 2013).

fact any use in naming any crisis at all, therefore, it may be first and foremost an *epistemic* crisis – a crisis of knowledge and the categories of knowledge.

How do we, as scholars of borders and migration, propose to contribute to the considerably more expansive collective task of producing a critical "history of the present" (Foucault 1984), in a way that would be grounded in our particular field of inquiry but extend beyond it? How might we, in Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson's terms (2013), use borders and migration as "epistemic devices" to interrogate our contemporary historical and sociopolitical conjuncture? Some of the conceptual repertoire that has been developed to critically analyze borders and migration may be instructive, we propose, for making sense of some of the wider socio-spatial recompositions at work in the present historical conjuncture. Migration and borders undoubtedly serve as "political seismographers" of sorts, registering, through their movements in time and space, some of the deep transformations affecting the wider historical and geo-political scene, in this instance, "Europe" and its vicinity. However, the movements of migrants and refugees themselves are not simply "moved" by deeper or greater forces, and rather must be understood to constitute subjective and autonomous motive forces of social and political change in their own right (see "Subjectivity" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015).

Furthermore, it is crucial to note that the proliferation of a "crisis" of borders and migration "in" Europe also involves a kind of spatial proliferation that makes it impossible for any of these phenomena to be neatly confined within the presumed parameters of "Europe": we cannot "contain" our analysis within "European" (much less, EU-ropean) geo-political boundaries (see "Counter-mapping" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Indeed, the very borders and boundaries attributed to "Europe" are unsettled by the transnational dynamics and inter-continental scale of migrant and refugee movements, and therefore by the spatial multiplication of socio-political interconnections among and across these different but interrelated "crises." Moreover, the prevailing focus on the "problems" that these "crises" cause for and in "Europe," or on how these "problems" would appear to have been caused somewhere "outside" of "Europe" or on its "margins," persistently portrays these "troubling" movements as chain reactions that originate somewhere "external" to "Europe" (or at least outside of its "core"). Affiliated thus to what always seem to be endemically chaotic borderlands or warzones – and only worsened through the opportunism of "smugglers" or "corrupt" government officials in these spaces ostensibly marred by lawlessness or, at best, a deficit of the "rule of law" – such illegalized migrant and refugee mobilities are depicted as moving always through regions that are insufficiently policed, finally to end up in "Europe." Apparently compounding lawlessness with still more lawlessness, defying the "rule of law" with their blatant "illegality," these "irregular" migrants and refugees can apparently only corrode the socio-economic, cultural, political, legal "order." Such imaginings and representations of contemporary illegalized migration suggest not only that "Europe" is confronted with a "crisis" that originates "elsewhere," therefore, but also that "Europe" is a kind of "victim" of unfathomable conflicts erupting elsewhere, derived from the incapacity or incompetence of (postcolonial) "others" to adequately govern themselves. By implication, the "unwashed masses"

who flee such places similarly can be presumed to be essentially incompetent for properly "modern" ("democratic," self-governing) citizenship (De Genova 2013b). Likewise, such representations insinuate that "Europe" (with its multiple contradictory regimes of citizenship, security, and border and migration management) is somehow an "innocent" bystander, not implicated in the "causes" of these "foreign" conflicts and "crises," whether in direct and immediate socio-economic, developmentalist, and (geo-)political senses, or in the more complex and mediated historical sense (Walters 2010).

Thus, critically analyzing the "European" border "crisis" involves repudiating at the same time the sort of methodological Europeanism (and methodological Eurocentrism) that sustains many analyses about migration and borders "in" Europe, by refusing to uncritically assume "Europe" (or indeed, EU-rope) to be the singular or primary spatial referent of these multiple crises (Garelli and Tazzioli 2013b; van Baar 2016a). What is more, from the point of view of sheer numbers, the "refugee crisis" has a far greater magnitude in other places, particularly in the immediate borderlands of the various conflict zones, and thus, represents a far more dire "crisis" for many countries of the so-called Global South. Nevertheless, the current transformations have in common the distinguishing characteristics of profound spatial upheaval both in Europe and beyond, and involve a veritable re-drawing of borders and other spatial boundaries (see "Counter-mapping" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Again, to make sense of what otherwise presents itself as a "crisis" of border control for the various sovereign powers implicated in the heterogeneous and externalized superintendence of the European border regime, the primacy of the autonomy and subjectivity of human mobility is paramount.

Let us briefly examine two illustrative and instructive examples:

Migration and "the Arab Spring": The series of Arab uprisings that ensued from the catalytic events in Tunisia, which culminated in the fall of the Ben Ali regime on14 January 2011, eventually included the fall of regimes in Libya and Egypt and situations of severe political unrest in other countries such as Bahrain and Yemen, as well as protracted civil wars in Libya and Syria. Not unlike the protracted formations of migrant and refugee movements from Afghanistan and Iraq, the plight of Syrians fleeing violence since 2012 exemplifies the paradigm of migration as a mere "reflection" (or byproduct) of wider global geo-political dynamics, since we may perceive these mobilities as "determined" by the successive phases of the conflict. However, such an account fundamentally fails to account for the collective movement that these migrants and refugees constitute, overcoming each and every border that has been erected to obstruct their pathways and impede their trajectories, and therefore apprehensible – objectively speaking – as one of the most important instances of mass transnational civil disobedience in recent history. Perhaps in hindsight, we may one day regard these mass global movements of border defiance as we now understand such historical events as the Salt March led by Gandhi or the March on Washington led by Martin Luther King. The migration of nearly 30,000 Tunisians in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Ben Ali regime allows us to think further about the articulation between migration and revolutionary processes, rather than conceiving of migration as merely a secondary effect of

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an apparently more primary political process that may be imagined to be strictly confined spatially and delimited temporally to an "elsewhere," ostensibly outside of Europe (Garelli et al, 2013; Garelli and Tazzioli 2013a; Tazzioli 2014). Tunisians seized the opportunity of the temporary power vacuum in January 2011 to cross the sea to Italy in broad daylight, often to the sound of songs and the beating of drums. By seizing their freedom to move across the borders that had been sealed to them through the collaboration between the Ben Ali regime and the EU, they indicated that their aspirations to freedom and justice were directed not only in opposition to the way their country was governed within, but also against the way they were governed by the EU's violent and discriminatory migration regime from beyond (but also encompassing) Tunisia's borders (Garelli et al, 2013). Once they arrived on Italian territory, Tunisians succeeded in evading controls for a time, sending a crisis of control rippling through the Schengen zone – with particularly de-stabilizing consequences between Italy and France. In the summer of 2011, having arrived in Paris, Tunisian migrants occupied a building and posted banners audaciously announcing their own spirit of revolutionary generosity toward a Europe wracked by "the crisis": "We've come to help you do the same." Notably, European social movements contesting the imposition of austerity policies thereafter resorted to the repertoire of occupying the central squares of their most important cities, often explicitly invoking the inspiration that came from their counterparts during the dramatic events of the so-called "Arab Spring."

Migration and the EU's Uneven Geography: The European "debt crisis" and the "crisis of the Euro-zone" have been both the product of EU's uneven geography and a catalyst further aggravating this unevenness (Gambarotto and Solari 2014; Hadjimichalis 2011). As Étienne Balibar (2012) has incisively noted, "one part of Europe is transforming another part into an internal post-colony" through a process of "zoning" in which "the inequalities of globalization reproduce themselves" in the heart of these countries and regions. However, "the limits between the zones," Balibar continues, "are blurry, unpredictable," contributing to the destabilization of "historical nations": it is difficult to anticipate "between which countries will they pass, or within which country, between which regions." It seems to us impossible to apprehend the current rippling effect of the "crisis" of migration and borders without inscribing it as a volatile force co-constituted with these shifting zones, the moving contours of which can be partly read through the very mobilities of migrants and refugees. Migrants and refugees have crossed the sea or trekked across the Balkans, but have consistently sought to move further onward from their ports of arrival or border crossings by land in the southern and eastern European "peripheries," and aimed for northern and western countries where they may have better prospects of receiving legal protection and social benefits, as well as finding jobs or linking up with already existing migratory networks. Migrants' movements thus register and maneuver among the increasing differentials within EU-ropean territory – not only in terms of narrowly economic gaps between standards of living, but also with regard to social welfare provision, legal protection, and so on – and thus constitute a kind of "rating agency from below"[5]: migrants are not only "voting with their feet" through "strategies of exit" (Hirschman

5. We are thankful to Eyal Weizman for suggesting this phrase.

1970), but also "rating with their feet," down-grading or disqualifying countries that they deem to be not sufficiently "European" – not fulfilling their ideal of "Europe" as an obscure object of desire. However, these aspirations defy the Dublin regulations – according to which the first EU member state to register an incoming migrant/refugee's petition for asylum is responsible for processing the individual applicants' claim, and to which the "asylum-seekers" are thereafter to be spatially confined. Thus, migrants and refugees' desires have instigated a deep political crisis at the level EU institutions as well as between member states, as exemplified by the tense situations at the borders between Italy and France (Ventimiglia), between France and the UK (Calais), as well as between the numerous countries of Eastern Europe and their more prosperous neighbors to the west and north, such as Germany and Sweden. Both in terms of the comparative attraction for migrants, and in terms of the lines of conflict surrounding the different states' duties and competencies for border enforcement, an increasing core-periphery dynamic is at work within the space of the EU. The pressure being currently exerted on the so-called "frontline states" (the member states located at the EU's southern and eastern borders) further confirms that the uneven geography of "Europe" is continuously being reconfigured. Hence, we are observing forms of internal externalization (see Heller and Pezanni, in their adjoining contribution to "Near Futures Online"), reminiscent of the processes of externalizing migration enforcement and border control to various non-EU countries since the beginning of the 2000s (see "Externalization" in Casas-Corte et al. 2015). In the process, the increasing role of Frontex calls for new EU-level border policing and asylum processing agencies, and the more general pressure of states such as France and Germany on member states at the "front lines" of the European border regime, demanding greater vigilance and dedication to the ceaseless task of controlling human mobility, begins to more and more resemble the troikaization of migration control.

It is impossible to understand the current rapidly shifting trajectories of illegalized migrants and refugees, and the volatile bordering practices that are desperately aimed at containing them, short of articulating them within these wider socio-economic and political processes. Nevertheless, as these examples show, migration and borders are deeply enmeshed and participate in the wider transversal transformations affecting the meta-"European" region, and conversely provide a productive and indispensable perspective from which to interrogate them. Through the critical lens of migration and borders, therefore, "the crisis" in and of Europe – ramifying across the full spectrum of economy, politics, law, and policy – may be revealed in a radically new light.

CH, NDG, MS, ZS, MT, HvB

"MIGRANT CRISIS" / "REFUGEE CRISIS"

Mass media news coverage has vacillated remarkably between depictions of a European "refugee crisis" and the implicitly more derisive label "migrant crisis." It is a telling fact that literally every BBC News article related to these topics

posted is accompanied with a kind of disclaimer: "A note on terminology: The BBC uses the term migrant to refer to all people on the move who have yet to complete the legal process of claiming asylum. This group includes people fleeing war-torn countries such as Syria, who are likely to be granted refugee status, as well as people who are seeking jobs and better lives, who governments are likely to rule are economic migrants." In short, in this example and many others, the epistemic crisis related to migration and refugee movements is deflected and displaced: the vexed question of how most appropriately to characterize people on the move without "authorization" across nation-state borders is deferred to a presumed eventual decision on the part of the "proper" governmental authorities, the ostensible "experts," who purport to manage Europe's border regime by assessing asylum claims and adjudicating the matter of who may qualify as a "legitimate" and "credible" refugee (see "Politics of protection" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Until such a day of reckoning, however, all refugees may be reduced to the presumed status of "mere" migrants. Indeed, in the discourse of the "migrant crisis," it would seem that the term "migrant" in fact refers exclusively to "illegal" migrants, and therefore is profoundly implicated in the rendering of "migration" as inextricable from a global / postcolonial politics of class and race. Here, we are reminded furthermore that the very term "asylum seeker" is always already suggestive of a basic suspicion of all people who petition for asylum within a European asylum system that routinely and systematically disqualifies and rejects the great majority of applicants, and thereby ratifies anew the processes by which their mobilities have been *illegalized* (De Genova 2002; 2013b). As the outcome of the exclusionary politics of asylum, the current "refugee crisis" is in fact producing an enormous expansion of the *rejected* refugee population in Europe, and thus recomposing their "migrant" / (rejected) "refugee" "illegality" in relation to new formations of class and race inequalities (see "Migrant labour," in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015).

To begin with, it is crucial to highlight the fundamentally misleading and unstable character of the opposition of the terms "refugees," "asylum-seekers," and "migrants." Unlike "refugee," for instance, the term "migrant" does not strictly correspond to a specific legal status and by implication does the work of consigning various people on the move to the nebulous category of presumptive "irregularity" or "illegality." Nonetheless, as suggested above, the more rarefied term "refugee" can tend to relinquish any analytical substance to the narrowly juridical (and highly exclusionary) determinations of governmental authorities. Meanwhile, the term "asylum-seeker" overtly signals the subjection of people on the move to the asylum application procedure, but commonly encompasses both those who will and will not ultimately be granted the status of "refugee," as well as various intermediary juridical categories of partial recognition and provisional (often precarious) "legality." Yet, "asylum-seeker" in no sense adequately describes the complex historically specific social and political trajectories of those who find themselves compelled to apply for asylum in the absence of any other "legal" routes for mobility and access to Europe.

Furthermore, migrant subjects who come to be officially recognized as "refugees" and find themselves in possession of a temporary "legal" status nonethe-

less experience the precarity that is produced by the EU's exclusionary politics of asylum. Indeed, the contradictory polices of abandonment and control that are deployed by governmental authorities (both EU institutions and national states) in order to govern asylum are characterized by a profound ambivalence that generates various absurd hybrids for those who inhabit "the margins of the state" (Das and Poole 2004), who come to resemble "half-citizens" or "illegal citizens" (Rigo 2007). Subjected to contradictory legal conditionalities, these semi-"legal" migrant/refugee subjects are sometimes trapped in protracted conditions of precarious "legality" and legally enforced immobilization, while at other times, the uncertainties of their juridical condition compel them to move restlessly across state borders under conditions of illegalized mobility and irregularized (temporary) residence (Picozza n.d.). For example, some refugees (originally from sub-Saharan African countries, who had been living and working as migrant workers in Libya for years) escaped persecution and civil war in Libya in 2011, and upon arrival in Italy, were treated as "asylum-seekers" or "temporary refugees" under the North Africa Emergency plan. Then, after enduring homelessness and unemployment in Italy, sometimes for more than three years, when they decided to abandon their destitution and move on in search of better life prospects, crisscrossing Europe, they were abruptly converted into "illegal migrants." Those who have been registered as "asylum-seekers" or granted tentative "legal" statuses in an EU member state, such as Italy in this instance,fall under the EU's Dublin regulation: hence, when they relocate to other EU countries to temporarily live and work "irregularly," they are re-illegalized (reduced to the status of mere "migrants"), and upon apprehension by authorities, may be deported back to Italy. A juridical instability and a geographical hyper-mobility results, which can be understood as an effect of the tensions and conflicts between migrant subjects' attempts to freely move and make their lives in Europe, on the one hand, and the efforts of EU and nation-state authorities to control and manage these contested mobilities. "Europe" thus emerges as a space of competing practices where borders are continually contested, negotiated, and re-defined, with the vexed question of asylum figured as a central contradiction of the taxonomic power and mechanisms of border control and migration "management" (see "Politics of protection" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). This condition of subjection to the Dublin regulation is in no sense unique to this example, however (Brekke, J. and Brochmann 2015; Kasparek 2015; Picozza n.d.; Schuster 2011a,b), and increasingly reveals how thoroughly the EU-ropean asylum system works effectively as a machine for the production of migrant "illegality" (De Genova 2013b).

Germany's much-celebrated putatively "humanitarian" response to the dramatic influx of refugees and migrants, implemented over the summer of 2015 – effectively opening its borders (albeit very selectively, primarily for people from Syria) and notably, partially suspending the Dublin regulation – has to be understood as a retroactive adjustment to the fact that migrants and refugees have been crossing these same borders for at least two years and have been living "irregularly" on German territory in ever-increasing numbers. Moreover, in Germany as elsewhere, this sort of *de facto* "amnesty" (masked

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as a "humanitarian" policy) has been accompanied at the national as well as EU levels by the implementation of new restrictive asylum policies for other (illegalized) migrants and refugees. With the summary designation of various states as "safe third countries," for instance, a policy of relative "welcome" for some has allowed for the preemptive exclusion of other refugees based only on their national origins, as well as the prospective deportation of many more refugees who have been petitioning for asylum in EU-rope for several years.[6] Such national-level measures must be seen alongside the new forms of EU-level border control and migration management, such as the proposals for a new system of asylum-seeker allocation and distribution among member states – the so-called "quota system" – which would impose new forms of coerced mobility as well as forms of forced immobilization, analogous to those long instituted through the Dublin regulation, for migrant subjects.

Indeed, over the course of 2015, European responses to the arrival of people in search of asylum has been increasingly characterized by a politics of containment, aiming to block migrants and refugees prior to entering the territory of EU member states, at the "pre-frontiers" of "Europe." The bilateral agreements signed by the European Union with Turkey at the end of 2015, as well as the EU military operation European Naval Force Mediterranean (EUNavFor-Med) to "fight migrant smugglers," have resulted in increasing numbers of refugees and migrants halted in Turkey or Libya. Yet, the politics of containment has been enforced within the "European" space as well: with the creation of new detention camps – the so-called "hotspots" – points of entry such as Greece and Italy have been transformed into spaces of detention, sorting, and deportation, where the crude criteria of nationality has commonly become the main distinction utilized for partitioning those who are permitted to enter EU-rope to seek asylum and those who are blocked or illegalized (see "Differential inclusion/exclusion" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Thus, an expedited asylum procedure is meant to also serve the ends of expedited deportations for all those who are disqualified.

As a new and ambiguous form of detention center, "hotspot" emerges as the name for a new strategy for the capture of migrant mobilities: they reconfigure the demarcation of borderzones at the external frontiers of EU-rope (and also within the "European" space) that trace exclusionary partitions among migrants and refugees, giving some a pass as "legitimate" while illegalizing others as "unworthy" of asylum. The "hotspot" system, first launched in May 2015 and officially implemented in September in Italy and Greece, represents the restructuring of mechanisms of capture and identification in response to the migration "turmoil" at the external frontiers of Europe. According to these "hotspot" logics, Greece and Italy should operate as border zones for the enactment of a sort of pre-selection process, identifying and fingerprinting as quickly as possible all new arrivals and partitioning them as either "genuine" prospective refugees and all others, who promptly become deportable. Lampedusa and Lesvos will hereby function increasingly as island prisons, where the supposedly accelerated temporality of fast identification procedures – conducted "on the spot" – is combined with an indefinite detention (and protracted immo-

6. Germany, for instance, has designated most of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, as well as Albania, to be "safe third countries," even while several human rights organizations have collected evidence that many of these states cannot be considered to be "safe" for Roma. This recent German decision has impacted not only on former Yugoslavian citizens who fled to Germany in the 1990s to claim asylum under highly disputed circumstances (many of whom have recently been deported to their putative "countries of origin"), but also for asylum-seekers who have tried to enter Germany much more recently from the same purportedly "safe" southeastern European countries (Sardelić 2015; van Baar 2016c).

bilization) for any migrants or refugees who refuse to be fingerprinted.[link to Lesvos video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LDOAYSjmDPc; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1GZVF1dUbmk] In December 2015, 250 Eritrean refugees organized a protest on Lampedusa, demanding to be released from the camp where they had been detained for two months for refusing to give their fingerprints.[link to Lampedusa video to be shared via WeTransfer] Thus, centers of first "reception" in EU-rope become spatial traps for migrants. Likewise, the so-called "military-humanitarian" modes of border government are transformed into a police function, performed by EU-ropean actors (such as the border enforcement agency, Frontex) alongside humanitarian ones (such as UNHCR).

These new forms of bordering only exacerbate the uneven geographies of "Europe," however. For example, on the Greek islands of Lesvos and Samos, local governments have largely acquiesced and accepted the transformation of their islands into "hotspots," welcoming the arrival of assorted humanitarian agencies such as UNHCR, the Red Cross, and Doctors without Borders. In striking contrast, the local governments of other prospective Greek island "hotspots," such as Kos and the small island of Agathonisi (near Leros), have persistently refused the implementation of "hotspot" camps and the installation of humanitarian NGOs, claiming that both the border policing and humanitarian functions will merely convert these islands into magnets attracting the arrival of more migrants and refugees on their shores and, consequently, damage the local tourism-driven economies. Hence, in the context of the economic "crisis," authorities and many other local interests on these islands perceive the EU-ropeanization of their management of the "migration" and "refugee crisis" as simply another manifestation of a larger "European threat" that has devastated Greece's economic viability, more generally. From the standpoint of some of EU-rope's beleaguered borderlands, therefore, the deepening integration of military tactics and humanitarian techniques reappears not as a "solution" to the "crisis" of the border but rather as one more series of measures that will further escalate the (double) "crisis."

Furthermore, transit zones such as the Eidomeni camp at the Greek-Macedonian border – where the deeply consequential partition between "refugees" and "everyone else" is made on the crude basis of nationality (such that only Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans are allowed to cross) – or the makeshift self-organized refugee/migrant camp at Calais near the entrance to the Channel Tunnel leading into Britain – where many migrants are periodically apprehended and deported by French authorities – operate informally as *de facto* "hotspots." Reacting to the practices of mobility and the spaces of transit instigated by migrant subjects, these official and informal "hotspots" are simply among the most prominent signs of the new compulsion for EU and nation-state institutions to re-organize their responses to the autonomy and subjectivity of migration, in a feckless effort to sort, rank, and manage these human mobilities – all the while callously eroding any presumed "right" to asylum, and re-instituting the larger mechanisms for the preemptive illegalization of cross-border mobility on the part of the majority of humankind.

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The multiplication of borders and the heterogeneity of border zones (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013) have been the hallmark of the ongoing "crisis" of migration in Europe. The perfunctory and euphemistic expression "mixed migration flows" is increasingly used by policy makers to reflect the veritable impossibility for states and migration agencies to fully domesticate and discipline the unruly practices of mobility that constantly exceed the boundaries of existing governmental categories and criteria for partitioning distinct formations of human mobility. What is commonly called "the migrant crisis" or "the refugee crisis" actually reflects the frantic attempt by the EU and European nation-states to control, contain, and govern people's ("unauthorized") transnational and inter-continental movements. Indeed, the naming of this "crisis" as such appears to be precisely a device for the authorization of exceptional or "emergency" governmental measures – and then their normalization – toward the ends of enhanced and expanded border enforcement and immigration policing. It could be said, then, that the "crisis" itself operates as a critical moment that allows governments to push through controversial policies while citizens are too intellectually distracted, emotionally manipulated, or otherwise paralyzed by the border spectacle to organize any adequate or consequential form of resistance (De Genova 2002; 2013b; see also "Border Spectacle" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015; cf. Klein 2007). The ongoing "crisis" therefore corresponds above all to a crisis of sovereignty and the exercise of a power over classifying, naming and partitioning the "migrants"/ "refugees."

Notably, the very terms "*migrant* crisis" and "*refugee* crisis" tend to personalize "crisis" and relocate "crisis" in the body and person of the figurative migrant/refugee, as if s/he is the carrier of a disease called "crisis," and thus carries the contagion of "crisis" wherever s/he may go. Most importantly, the figure of the migrant/refugee hereby threatens "Europe" with its incurable and contagious malady. Whether this figure of personified "crisis" appears in the Mediterranean or Aegean Seas, or at the barbed-wire barricades on land – from Calais to Ceuta to the small border towns of Hungary or Bulgaria – the illegalized migrant or refugee's physical presence and transgressive mobility delivers "crisis" to the amorphous symbolic membrane surrounding amoeba-like "Europe," whenever and wherever it is "violated" by "foreign" bodies. Some of these embodiments of "crisis" are literally converted into figures of death as the corpses of migrants and refugees become spectacularly visible through the proliferation of images of dead bodies floating in the sea or washing upon the shores of "Europe"; others are hunted, wounded, exhausted, covered in dust and mud, or depicted in frenzied crowds, charging fences or climbing through the windows of trains – like cockroaches, commonly likened to a menacing "invasion" or catastrophic "floods," if not outright "infestations" or "swarms": wherever they are heading, they appear to bring "the crisis" with them. These spectacles sterilize Europe and divorce it from its "umbilical connection" (Hall 2008) to the diverse regions from which illegalized migrants and refugees come, and thus systematically dissimulates Europe's precisely (post-)colonial interest in the natural resources and human labor of these (usually) formerly colonized lands. Migration thus presents itself as a disruptive manifestation of the postcolonial heritage of

Europe (De Genova 2010c;2016). The terms "migrant" or "refugee crisis" therefore seem to be aimed at compelling us to imagine a "crisis" embodied in the human beings who, through their illegalized mobilities, now come to be racialized as "migrant." In this context, the migrant struggle slogan, *We are here, because you were there!* continues to afford a resounding understanding of this phenomenon called "crisis" inasmuch as it invites us – indeed, requires us – to recognize Europe's role in the very production of this "crisis."

However, it remains crucial to underscore that the current "crisis" of border control and migration "management" is instigated, first and foremost, by the sheer autonomy and subjectivity of human mobility itself, and arises as an effect of the multifarious and entangled reasons for which people move across state borders without "authorization" or, alternately, find themselves stranded en route, stuck someplace along the way in their migratory trajectories. In this regard, in the face of the proliferation of alternating and seemingly interchangeable discourses of "migrant" or "refugee crisis," the primary question that must be asked is: *Whose "crisis"?* In fact, this is fundamentally a "crisis" of (postcolonial) state power over the transnational human mobility of those whose movements are otherwise presumptively disqualified as "illegal" (effectively, on the grounds of global class, race, or nationality inequalities). Thus, we may begin to appreciate that this "crisis" is really a moment of governmental impasse that is being mobilized and strategically deployed for the reconfiguration of tactics and techniques of border policing.

This "crisis" therefore must also be seized as an opportunity for re-thinking and re-inventing border struggles toward the ends of reinforcing and enhancing the elementary human freedom of movement (De Genova 2010b). In particular, it is crucial to call attention to the new spaces of "transit" opened up by the migrants and refugees themselves, and consequently the ways in which these "irregular" human mobilities have scrambled and re-shuffled the social and political geography of "Europe." Furthermore, we must begin to recognize and theorize the convoluted (un-mapped and potentially un-mappable) migratory routes that correspond to migrant and refugee movements across the European space that do not abide by the unidirectional (Eurocentric) arrows of the hegemonic cartographic representations of "the crisis" propagated by Frontex or the IOM (see "Counter-Mapping" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). In this respect, the "crisis" of the European border regime provoked by the myriad autonomies and subjectivities of human mobilities presents us with a moment replete not only with as-yet unresolved conflicts but also unimagined potentialities.

NDG, EF, FP, LSB, AS, MS, MT, HvB, CY

NUMBERS (OR, THE SPECTACLE OF STATISTICS IN THE PRODUCTION OF "CRISIS")

A significant practice deployed to instill a sense of "crisis" with regard to contemporary movements of people into "Europe" is the constant circulation of accounts of dramatically rising *numbers* of recent migrant and refugee arrivals.

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In short, there is a *politics of numbers* that is crucial for any critical migration and borders scholarship or activism to expose. This numbers game, exploited by national governments, EU institutions, and international organizations, as well as fear-mongering news media and right-wing populist political parties, routinely serve to fortify the more general staging of a spectacle of "invasion" or "inundation" conjured by images of seemingly desperate "foreign" (orientalized) masses seeking entry to places where they ostensibly do not belong, have no legitimate claim, and are presumably unwelcome. The Mediterranean Sea in particular has long been a space for the staging of continuous "border spectacles" (De Genova 2002; 2013b) where migrant vessels arriving on European shores evoke phantasmatic imaginaries of "siege." Alongside this proliferation of images and discourse, an incessant circulation of numbers thus plays a crucial role in the production of a "crisis" of migration and borders.

The strategic use of statistics generates the homogenized and aggregate representations that are decisive for erasing the individuality and political subjectivity of people on the move as well as effacing their collective struggles and hardships, and thus for portraying "unauthorized" border crossers as a menace. Some political collectives, such as United, have offered counter-counts, emphasizing the urgency of circulating data and other information with respect to those who have lost their lives braving European borders, but whose tragedies have largely gone uncounted by state authorities and border policing agencies such as Frontex. Here, we seek instead to interrogate how the discourse and sense of "crisis" is produced through the politics of counting, or, what we will call *the spectacle of statistics*.

Notably, the imaginary and rhetorics of migrant "invasion" seem reserved for the countries of the so-called Global North – the EU, the United States, and Australia, in particular. However, the statistical graphs and maps representing numerical data quantifying the supposed "mass influx" of migrants or refugees into the sacrosanct space of "Europe" – themselves echoed by the wave shape that high and low points of interceptions predictably produce in graphs – conceal as much as they reveal. In the first place, by focusing exclusively on the movement of people across the frontiers of the EU, they by definition leave out the reality that countries neighboring conflict zones have borne the inordinate burden of providing safe haven for people fleeing violence, taking in hundreds of thousands, and sometimes millions, of refugees, usually for several years if not decades. Of the millions of Syrians who have fled their country since 2011, more than 2 million re-settled in Turkey, more than 1 million in Lebanon (where Syrians now make up roughly a third of the total population), more than half a million to Jordan, and several hundreds of thousands to Iraq and Egypt. Likewise, hundreds of thousands of Eritrean refugees and about half a million South Sudanese refugees have relocated to Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. The same is true for the disproportionate number of refugees from Afghanistan and Iraq, who have primarily moved into neighboring countries. That some among these untold millions of displaced people would also seek to move toward Europe cannot be surprising. Any of these countries of the so-called Global South would surely have far greater grounds to speak of a "refu-

gee crisis" than the EU. Indeed, by contrast, British politicians and news media began to refer to a "crisis" at Calais in the summer of 2015, when the border barriers were charged by only several hundred (or at most, two or three thousand) migrants and refugees, whom the British Prime Minister himself depicted as "swarms." Moreover, it is also vital to recognize that European wealth, power, and prestige have long been deeply implicated in the imperial domination and pillage of the same countries and regions of the so-called Global South from which these migrant and refugee movements originate. Such European implicated-ness of course includes not only histories of direct colonial plunder and domination, but also various manifestations of past and present interference, investment, and intervention as well as disregard and malign neglect that have contributed to violent postcolonial instability and the consequent dislocations that have "uprooted" migrants and refugees in the first place. Thus, refusing the methodological Europeanism (Garelli and Tazzioli 2013b) of this statistical spectacle allows (and requires) us to ask: *Whose crisis is this*?

Challenging the ways in which numbers are deployed is not to suggest that the changing number of migrant and refugee arrivals in Europe is in any sense politically insignificant. The year 2015 has indeed been a historic and monumental year of migration for Europe precisely because disobedient mass mobilities have disrupted the European regime of border control. As critical scholars of migration, maintaining a "critical distance" from this numbers game in our own research is important in itself, but what seems all the more urgent is a more elementary general skepticism toward the spectacle of numbers in favor of questioning *how, why, by and for whom, and to what ends* these acts of (official) counting are performed. As Nando Sigona (2015) has pointed out, for example, the release of figures on migrant and refugee arrivals plays a crucial role in framing and generating public debate. In that knowledge, therefore, the European border agency Frontex released data suggesting that, as of September 2015, 710,000 "migrants" had entered the EU. However, comparing these numbers to those collected by the IOM and the UN (which differed substantially), Sigona detected that Frontex had in fact been double-counting: they elided the difference between multiple entries (or attempted entries) by individual migrants with the specter of a multiplicity of migrants, repeatedly counting the same individuals who had each crossed into EU territory *several* times as so many distinct "migrants." Likewise, the *de facto* "uncountability" of many of the newly arrived has equally been instrumentalized in discourses calling for heightened "border protection." The "crisis of the Schengen system," largely provoked by the inability or unwillingness of many governments to register "asylum-seekers" desiring to simply transit through their countries in order to reach central and northern EU member states, have thus exacerbated imaginaries and rhetorics surrounding "the uncounted" (and thus uncontrolled) "illegal" migrant as a purportedly "dangerous" other within Europe.

Statistics then, beyond their seeming "objectivity," play a crucial role in framing a given phenomenon as a seemingly self-evident "problem," and similarly are instrumental for shaping affective and political responses to it. The *border spectacle* that Nicholas De Genova (2002; 2013b) has incisively analyzed is

therefore at work in the very production of statistics but it is also further generated and sustained through the mobilization of the resultant numbers: statistics of interceptions on land or at sea appear to quantify an otherwise elusive and amorphous "threat," which only becomes "real" and "objective" to the extent that it is measurable. Once counted, then, the alleged "problem" is effectively *objectified*, and its "reality" appears to be verified. Ironically, this "threat" thus seems to materialize only in the moment of its neutralization through capture by the police power of the state. Through the production of such numbers and the spectacle of statistics, then, it is simultaneously the fetishized menace of "illegal migration" and the securitizing work of states and their border policing agencies that are made visible and given a semblance of "reality." Hence, alongside other border spectacles, the spectacle of numbers assists in the construction of illegalized migration as "the problem" to which border and other immigration law enforcement measures must be addressed, while the political disorder and economic catastrophes that migrants and refugees have fled are relegated by implication to the status of a mere externality, someone else's responsibility "elsewhere." Furthermore, the European border and immigration regime itself, which directly produces the illegalized condition of these migrants and refugees in the first place, appears to simply need further fortification. Hence, the statistical construction of the magnitude of the "problem" of migration predictably leads merely to more securitized and militarized tactics of border control (see also De Genova 2011; 2013a).

Notably, a spectacle of statistics is comparably at work in relation to the "debt crisis," "the financial crisis," and all the related avatars of "the crisis" in which the graphic representation of quantitative data (such as credit ratings, currency ratings, growth rates, and so forth) proliferate in the daily news – as if they communicated anything meaningful about our actual economic conditions (Antoniades 2012). The statistics that otherwise might allow us to discern the deeper dynamics that led to the "debt crisis" – specifically, who has benefited from or been devastated by them – almost never enjoy such spectacular prominence. For example, the dramatic surge in the shares of aggregate wealth and income monopolized by the richest 0.1% of the population that was enabled by the turn to neoliberal strategies of accumulation beginning in the 1970s, while real wages and living standards plummeted for the great majority, would suffice to point to an epochal "restoration of class power" (Harvey 2005). Likewise, other statistics – for example, showing the differential expenditures of EU states over time, state revenues from taxes, and the inequalities of tax structures – would allow us to see that it is not that EU states that are imprudent "spendthrifts" but rather that through neoliberal reforms and tax cuts for those with higher incomes, a significant portion of wealth has been increasingly kept in (or returned to) private hands. For years, increasing public and private indebtedness was facilitated and manipulated through financial markets, and thereby made vulnerable to speculation. In the wake of the 2007–08 financial crisis, however, the speculative logic of these markets (through which debts had come to be financed) increased public debt exponentially, to the inordinate benefit of banks and financial services corporations but to the excruciating detriment of

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social welfare (Attac 2011: 46–62). Thus, we may detect again that the spectacle of numbers in the production of "the migration crisis" – where statistics are also persistently mobilized to generate the specter of onerous public costs in the form of social welfare spending for "opportunistic" migrants and "undeserving" refugees – must be made legible alongside the perfect opacity of the statistics that otherwise conceal the extent of our deepening generalized immiseration through neoliberal strategies of capital accumulation.

MS, CH, NDG

"HUMANITARIAN CRISIS"

Beyond the ongoing disputes and unresolved debates among politicians, policy-makers, advocates, journalists, and scholars over the validity or usefulness of the labels "refugee" or "migrant" for designating those who have come to Europe over recent months or years seeking asylum, what is plainly at stake today in the border regions of Europe is a mass displacement of people fleeing the violence and disruptions of life arising from wars, occupations, insurgencies, and civil wars. It has become convenient politically to attribute much of the current "crisis" to events in Syria (where there continues to be a pertinent question of continuing, renewed, or expanded military intervention by various global or regional powers), but the mobilities of people from Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Mali, among many other countries of origin, immediately raise the specters of warfare, invasions, and protracted military occupations perpetrated by various European powers (albeit usually alongside the United States). In short, the so-called "refugee crisis" in Europe has its origins to a significant extent in areas of severe conflict that have been instigated or aggravated directly by strategic European geo-political and economic interests across the globe.

Thus, it is indispensable to identify the war-migration nexus as an essential part of what today needs to be deeply investigated both for re-thinking a politics of asylum beyond the well-established exclusionary criteria and for revitalizing a critique of the larger European border regime (see "Politics of protection" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Over the last few years, the government of migration in the Mediterranean Sea in particular has been characterized by military-humanitarian interventions intended to simultaneously "rescue" and "interdict" migrants. Operations such as Italy's *Mare Nostrum* and Frontex's *Triton*, focused on the task of intercepting migrant vessels even prior to their distress at sea, have directly contributed to this sort of militarized humanitarianism. Through this equivocal politics of "rescue," and of course always as a result of the restrictions imposed by EU-rope's Schengen visa regime, subjects "in need of protection" have been effectively forced to convert themselves into shipwrecked lives to be saved at sea. Meanwhile, a concomitant politics of preemptive containment has involved preventing migrants from even leaving Libya's shores to come to Europe to seek asylum, and has been enacted through the negotiation of various bilateral agreements with so-called "third countries"

in order to fortify the "pre-frontiers" of Europe. Furthermore, the launch in the summer of 2015 of the EU military mission EUNavFor-Med has been officially promoted as a "war against smugglers" and as a militarized strategy for protecting migrants from "traffickers," but in fact signifies the coordination at the EU level of efforts to contain migrant and refugee mobilities and forcefully obstruct and disable the logistics of migratory crossings at sea. Meanwhile, increasingly during the second half of 2015, the "politics of rescue" has been substantially replaced with enforcement policies aimed at either blocking or repelling refugees and migrants at the eastern borders of EU-rope. Simultaneously, new measures are underway to install asylum processing centers in Turkey in order to circumvent the continued intrusion of the "refugee crisis" onto "European" territory. In this respect, notably, not only border policing as such but also the asylum system itself becomes implicated in the further externalization of the EU's border controls (see "Externalization" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015).

Humanitarianism has thus been conscripted to play a crucial role in re-framing the governmental rationale of "migration management" and border control amidst an escalation of border deaths: refugees and migrants, or rather, "people in need of protection" – in striking contrast with those who were previously suspected of being "fake" or "bogus" refugees – have increasingly come to be represented in the mass media and governmental discourses as vulnerable and desperate persons to be "saved" from the perils of maritime crossings on unseaworthy boats, and thereby "protected" from their own migratory aspirations as well as the real or imagined predations of "criminal" syndicates of migrant "smugglers." Nevertheless, refiguring these migrants and refugees thus as "victims" in need of protection and rescue has not in any substantial way undermined the simultaneous socio-political and legal construction of them as "illegal" (and hence, undesirable and unwelcome) "migrants," finally susceptible for detention and deportation. On the other hand, the humanitarian purview of border control re-institutes the implicit opposition between "refugees" and ("economic") "migrants," routinely invoked to legitimize the former and stigmatize the latter. By implication, unlike "mere" migrants (figured as opportunistic and lawless), "refugees" (figured as innocent victims) deserve to be rescued.

However, particularly in the aftermath of the spectacle of terrorism, with France's proclamation of a "state of emergency" in reaction to the 13 November 2015 attacks in Paris, and in the wake of the moral panic over sexual assaults during the 2016 New Year's Eve events in Cologne/Köln – along with the various re-establishments of EU internal border controls in the face of the more general "refugee crisis" – the refugee has been recently re-figured as the potential "terrorist" who surreptitiously infiltrates the space of Europe, or as the potential "criminal" or "rapist" who corrodes the social and moral fabric of "Europe" from within. Nebulous and spectral affiliations are invoked to encompass refugees, migrants, "smugglers," "sexual deviants," "criminals," "terrorists," and "foreign fighters" as an inchoate continuum: hence, the "fake" asylum-seeker re-appears now not only as the actual (duplicitous) "economic migrant," but also as the (deviant) "rapist" whose "culture" or "morals" are simply inimical to the "European" way of life, or as the (devious) "terrorist" who conceals himself

among the "genuine" refugees in order to wreak havoc upon "Europe." Thus, the misleading binary opposition between "migrants" and "refugees" is further complicated through the insinuation of a tricky continuum ranging from people "in need of protection" to "predators" or "enemies" against whom "Europe" itself must be protected.

The hyper-visibility of various border scenes of "rescue" are invariably accompanied by "the obscene supplement" of "subordinate inclusion" (De Genova 2013b; see also "Differential inclusion/exclusion" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). What happens to migrants and refugees after the spectacularized scene of perilous arrival, "rescue," and disembarkation – particularly, after being rejected as refugees – is systematically overshadowed. Thus, the spectacularization of "the humanitarian crisis" obscures other realities, most notably the subordinate incorporation of "rejected asylum-seekers" and other illegalized migrants through the exploitation of their labor (see "Migrant labour" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Furthermore, alongside these (non-EU citizen) "asylum-seeker" workers, there is the invisibilization of the untold hundreds of thousands of EU-citizen workers employed in many of the same jobs under virtually the same or very comparable conditions, from agricultural labor to low-paid marginal service work in cities, such as various forms of domestic service or cleaning offices. Hence, the spectacle of "humanitarian crisis" serves to occlude other possible narratives and analyses concerning cross-border mobility, and – by thus effectively re-bordering these parallel mobilities and social conditions and re-fortifying the juridical inequalities of the regime of citizenship – fuels divisions and antagonisms between "citizens" and "migrants" over access to work and resources. Simultaneously, as with any other "emergency," the humanitarian "crisis" is seized upon as an economic opportunity. Here, border externalization does not operate only in relation to mechanisms of rescue / selection / immigration control – all highly lucrative enterprises for the military-security-prison-industrial complex – but is also evidenced in the forms through which refugee and asylum-seeker management (which serve simultaneously as forms of containment and control) are provided, through the devolution or outsourcing of diverse types of service provision (from screening to housing to counseling) to private companies and third-sector organizations. Whether mired in high-profile public scandals, as was the case with the "Mafia Capitale" affair in Italy (which exposed the entanglements of politicians from across the spectrum with neo-fascist gangs and profiteering service providers), or ensconced in the ordinary workings of the governmental machinery, as in Sweden (where the costs of accommodation for asylum-seekers charged by private companies are exorbitant), the management of migrants and refugees under the humanitarian regime is a multi-million-euro business.

The "humanitarian crisis" has thus been pivotal for the consolidation of a governmental regime comprising a complex ensemble of public authorities, private businesses, and third-sector agencies collaborating in various ways in the management and control of "asylum seekers" and "refugees," enacting a minimalist biopolitics that ensures their most basic needs of survival, rather than facilitating the expression of their autonomous subjectivities and the pursuit of their migratory projects. Indeed, through various legal restrictions (such

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as expressly temporary juridical statuses or prohibitions on mobility, residence, and work), coupled with spatial confinement or social segregation, the humanitarian regime aims to produce and discipline "passive"(victimized) subjects, who – if they transgress these restrictions and violate the multiple borders and legal constraints imposed by humanitarian government – are immediately treated as "suspect" or "dangerous" people: they are summarily illegalized and must consequently be brought under extraordinary control and surveillance. Vacillating between treating the migrants and refugees on unseaworthy boats in the Mediterranean Sea as "victims" to be "rescued," while thereafter (within the ensuing days, weeks, or months) seeking to arrest and discipline them as "illegal" border crossers when they attempt to continue their migratory trajectories further onward in EU-rope, the "humanitarian crisis" is a sign of the vexations that both EU and nation-state authorities confront in classifying and regimenting these contested and disobedient mobilities.

MT, NDG, EF, IP, MS

"MOBILITY"

The consolidation of the Schengen zone within which border controls were eliminated, and more generally, the institutionalization of the ostensible "right" to freedom of movement within the EU for the citizens of signatory states, have been defining hallmarks of European integration during recent decades. The contemporary "crisis" of migration in Europe dramatically exposes the deep limits and exclusionary dimensions of these particular EU-ropean formulations of "freedom" in the context of the broader government of human mobility. Recently, and repeatedly during 2015, the "right" to freedom of movement for EU citizens and denizens alike has been more and more restricted, and border controls within the Schengen area have been re-introduced. Nonetheless, migrants and refugees simply keep arriving. Hence, the measures for governing mobility and ostensibly stopping "unwanted" migratory movements – particularly, the movements of those who are considered to be deficient according to dominant criteria of "employability," or those purported to lack properly "European values," and thus, according to racist rationales, who may be considered a "threat" to "Europe" – have simultaneously been continuously confounded as migrants persistently defy these controls. The incorrigibility of these autonomous mobilities has consequently prompted the repeated announcement of new "crises" (such as the "refugee crisis" or alarmist proclamations about a parallel "crisis" of "poverty migration"). Here, of course, we are reminded of the long history by which the mobility of labor has served simultaneously as both a resource for capitalism as well as a disruptive and potentially subversive force (see "Migrant labour" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015).

National governments in the EU's wealthier member states (such as Germany or the UK) resort to discourses of "poverty migration" to problematize specifically "European" mobilities as the ostensibly "unwanted" by-product of the

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larger regime of "free" mobility within the EU. "Mobility," it would seem, turns into "migration" quite easily. According to this rhetoric, "mobility" pertains to those who bring investment or enhance profitability, whereas "migrants" are those who perennially threaten the viability of "national" economies and social welfare systems (see "Differential inclusion/exclusion" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). Through the imposition of various restrictions on access to social benefits, the putative "right" to mobility is rendered profoundly conditional, as it becomes thoroughly contingent upon access to "regular" work contracts in the formal labor market. Those who cannot meet more or less stringent requirements are designated to be economically "inactive" and consequently denied various social rights, and may be subjected to harsh regimes of workfare, or even eviction and deportation (van Baar 2012; Riedner 2015). For example, Belgium recently expelled more than 7,000 EU citizens because they had worked with formal labor contracts for fewer than twelve months and had been unemployed for more than six months prior to expulsion. Thus they were deemed an unbearable burden on the welfare state.[7] For many, then, the much-celebrated EU-ropean "freedom of movement" is not a right in any substantive sense, but rather serves to intensify the neoliberal obligation to be engaged in wage labor or some other form of productive economic activity, and thus to accept increasingly precaritized working and living conditions. This process of re-disciplining labor goes hand in hand with conditionalization of social rights, their pervasive denigration as mere "dependency" on welfare benefits, and the withdrawal of mobile persons' "right" to stay.

We begin to detect, furthermore, that the "migrant" predicament is not reducible only to the potential withdrawal or conditionality of the simple "rights" to move or to stay, but also the more expansive (partial, differential) exclusion from the substantive entitlements of citizenship, such as access to state services and social welfare benefits, and thus also a withdrawal of social, labor, and political "rights" (see "Differential exclusion" in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). This corresponds closely to what Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2013) have described as the "multiplication of labor." Thus, current attempts to restrict "internal" (EU) mobilities could be interpreted as experiments within the EU-ropean neoliberal laboratory for governing migration without border controls as "free" but highly conditioned mobilities, whereby migrants are nonetheless subjected to the conditionalities and contingencies imposed through the amplification of "workfare"-like technologies of government (Riedner 2015).

The current "economic crisis" and the resultant widespread increase in precaritization have triggered various re-orientations of mobility across and also beyond "Europe," contributing to the (renewed) "migrantization" of various EU-ropean citizens and denizens alike. In the protracted context of "crisis"-driven neoliberal austerity across Europe, there has been noteworthy evidence of new forms of migration as well as reversals in the direction of more long-standing migratory processes. Hence, migrants originally from the so-called Global South who now possess Spanish or Italian passports abandon joblessness and home foreclosures in the debt-strangled "European South" and relocate to more prosperous northern European countries, now as EU citizens

7. http://www.connessioniprecarie.org/2014/12/05/the-government-of-mobility-1-conditioned-freedom-and-mobility-on-probation/

availing themselves of their "right" to mobility. Meanwhile, an additional consequence of economic "crisis" and austerity in Europe has been a noteworthy increase in mobility out of EU-rope altogether. Spanish and Italian nationals, for instance, have increasingly migrated as "tourists," overstayed visas, and sought "irregular" residence and employment in North Africa or South America.

Notably, the movement of young Europeans with relatively high levels of formal education or skill migrating (within or out of Europe) in search of employment opportunities – particularly in "unskilled" work – signifies that mobility is also inseparable from processes of "de-skilling." For instance, the increased presence of (formerly unemployed) Spanish citizens who have recently moved to Morocco to find jobs in call centers is a considerable phenomenon. The estimated number of Spaniards currently based in Morocco is approximately 25,000, while the number of those who are registered at the Spanish consulate as residents is only about 3,500. Of course, the conditions of migrant "irregularity" for Europeans in North African countries such as Morocco or Tunisia are in no sense comparable with the illegalization in those countries of sub-Saharan migrants (usually with aspirations of eventually making their way to "Europe"). Thus, there is increasing evidence of a kind of "differential illegality," with quite glaringly unequal implications for distinct categories of migrants' divergently racialized lives: detainability and deportability for sub-Saharan (Black) migrants, on the one hand, and benign neglect and tolerated presence for European (white) migrants, on the other. This example helps to clarify that the "migrant" condition cannot be reduced narrowly to legal status alone, and that the actual ways in which distinct categories of people and their respective mobilities are effectively governed must be carefully taken into account. However, the re-orientation of mobility across the Mediterranean is not limited to "Europeans" moving southward: return migrations from Europe to the Maghreb (and many other countries and regions of origin) has likewise been a significant but largely undocumented and unmapped phenomenon that should be investigated in its global articulation with the effects of "the crisis" in Europe.

Likewise, EU-uropean nationals have increasingly been migrating out of the continent altogether, particularly to Latin America and the Caribbean. A recent study carried out by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reveals, furthermore, that since 2010 this trend has been accompanied by a marked decrease in the movement of people in the other direction. For the first time since the year 2000, more people migrated from Europe to Latin America than the reverse: in the year 2012, for example, approximately 182,000 European nationals left for Latin American and Caribbean countries, as compared to approximately 119,000 Latin American and Caribbean nationals who moved to the EU (IOM 2015). The leading EU-ropean countries of this recent out-migration notably include not only debt-strangled Spain, Italy, and Portugal, but also France and Germany. Among these, the Spanish case is truly remarkable. This Spanish migration has, due to shared language and historical interconnections, perhaps predictably prioritized Latin America as its main destination. According to the Fundación Alternativas,[8] some 700,000 Spaniards left the country between 2008 and 2012. Figures from Spain's National Statistics Institute

8. http://www.fundacionalternativas.org

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(INE) show that another 547,890 people left in 2013. However, the profile of these European migrants is notably not reducible to that of "return migrants." In other words, this is not simply a statistical illusion generated by Latin American or Caribbean migrants returning from Europe to their home countries. Instead, the majority of these European migrants are "crisis migrants" (or, rather, austerity refugees) – native-born "Europeans," now turned "economic migrants," seeking new life and job opportunities in countries such as Ecuador, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Peru, or Bolivia, places that have conventionally been almost exclusively depicted as "sending" countries.

Despite these extraordinary numbers, however, this significant reversal in the configuration of "migration" in the European context has not been depicted in the European media or dominant political discourse as a European "migration crisis." Apparently, "Europeans" cannot be conceived as "economic migrants." Such a categorization is customarily overburdened with racial, gender, class, and national prejudices, and evidently reserved for those who migrate from the impoverished (formerly colonized) countries of the so-called Global South ("peripheral" countries, in the place formerly known as the Third World) to the rich ones fashioned as "the core" of the world economic system, where "European" countries, particularly the former colonial powers, historically secured their self-styled centrality. Thus, it seems to be no longer quite a "natural" or self-evident condition that "Europe" is figured as a space of prosperity that acts as a magnet for "economic migrants" from the "underdeveloped" countries. In the contemporary "crisis" scenario, Europeans have increasingly joined ranks with Africans, Asians and Latin Americans as mobile persons compelled to seek their fortunes and new life opportunities in faraway lands. However, the juridical and socio-political conditions under which Europeans migrate outwards predictably are utterly different from those imposed by the European border regime: Latin American and Caribbean countries generally receive the European newcomers with open arms, with virtually no immigration restrictions imposed on them. Nevertheless, these contemporary reversals of European mobility are important signals of a reversal of fortune for EU-rope. Yet, this reversal in the direction of migratory movement is seldom taken as evidence that European countries are plagued by "failed" economies, or that the neoliberal ambush of European welfare states has proven incapable of preventing the exit of their citizens due to the increasingly acute precaritization of their living conditions.

Undoubtedly, the process of selectively labeling some migrant and refugee mobilities as a "migration crisis" while concealing the "crisis migration" of others has profound and productive effects. Reinforcing anti-immigrant racism and nativist hostilities, perpetuating postcolonial bigotries, and aggravating forms of both blatant and subtle violence against those deemed to be "non-Europeans" all serve to de-fuse or re-direct some of the potentially most explosive socio-political dynamics constituting Europe today (De Genova 2015; De Genova and Tazzioli 2015). Nevertheless, the massive movement of unemployed or under-employed EU citizens toward the most prosperous EU countries, usually to work in low-paid service jobs beneath their formal qualifications, is another

major feature of the contemporary processes of "crisis migration" in EU-rope, more generally. Consequently, alongside the predictable anti-immigrant racism toward ("non-European") "foreigners," the increasingly shrill anti-immigrant politics of countries such as Britain over recent years have been discursively re-tooled, now predominantly obsessed with "migration" from the rest of EU-rope.

In times of "crisis," therefore, we must ask anew: *Who has become a migrant? Which forms of human mobility are classified, or recognized, or disavowed as manifestations of "migration"?* Moreover, it is crucial to ask: *Who does, and who does not, come to be governed as a "migrant"?* These developments signal noteworthy transformations. Some forms of "mobility" have been converted into "migration" (as in the transformation of intra-EU "mobility" from southern or eastern Europe into labor markets in more prosperous northern and western European countries); likewise, some forms of "migration" have turned into "mobility" (as in the "secondary migrations" of Latin Americans or Africans from Spain or Italy into other European countries following their "regularization" and acquisition of European passports, or similarly, the summary reclassification of previously undocumented migratory movements from eastern European countries into western European labor markets following the accession of their countries of origin to EU membership and consequently, their reclassification as EU citizens engaged in their rightful free "mobility"). The EU-ropean experiment with mobility thus offers a striking context in which to contemplate how cross-border mobility alone does not necessarily become apprehensible as "migration," and likewise, how juridical status alone (e.g. "illegal migrant," "refugee," "EU citizen," "tourist," "diplomat" and so on) seems insufficient to enclose a mobile person within (or release her from) the socio-political burdens of becoming a "migrant."

If "migration" cannot be adequately defined in exclusively juridical terms – according to which kind of border is crossed, and under which legal parameters – we must consider, furthermore, whether the very classification of particular forms of mobility as "migration" always already imply particular forms of discrimination and domination. Here, we must immediately confront the diverse ways in which the problematization of particular mobilities as "migration" raise questions of difference and "foreign"-ness that may be overtly constructed in either "cultural" or narrowly legal terms, but are nonetheless principally constituted according to logics of race and class. We are reminded therefore of what Nicholas De Genova (2016) has called the "European" Question, and the always ambivalent and unstable constitution of "European" identity in relation to the putative "outside" of "Europe" (understood to be a postcolonial formation of racial whiteness) and simultaneously in relation to those who inhabit the amorphous extended borderlands of "Europe" itself and their "not yet" or "not quite" status as "white"/"European."

Here, and particularly in the case of the "mobility" of (South) Eastern Europeans, we deal with a newly articulated form of what Maria Todorova (1994; 1997) has called "Balkanism": that specific and ambiguous kind of Orientalized imagination and representation according to which, due to its alleged "infe-

rior" status, southeastern Europe, or "the Balkans," simultaneously does and does not belong to "Europe." At the time of Yugoslavia's violent dissolution in the 1990s, Balkanistic reasoning served as one of the dominant ways to legitimize "military-humanitarian" interventions in Bosnia and Kosovo. While these practices were frequently considered to be interventions in a space *external* to "Europe," at the same time they were commonly legitimized on the basis of the contention that crimes against humanity "on *European* soil" were an intolerable scandal and had to be combatted (Balibar 2002/2004: 1–6). And even while the then-manifest Balkanism was operationalized as a kind of "nested" Orientalism (according to which, for instance, "the Serbs" would be more "brutal," "violent," and "cruel" than "the Croats"), in the end, all of the Balkan "peoples" were nonetheless considered to be effectively indistinguishable and comparably "problematic," for they could all be expected to resort to "ancient hatreds" and violent "primordial" nationalisms. As Slavoj Žižek (2000) has argued in his reflection on the "Western" imagination of the Balkans, what "Balkanism" offers to the Western gaze is "what it likes to see in the Balkans." This is "a kind of exotic spectacle that should either be tamed or quarantined . . . a mythical spectacle of eternal, primordial passions, of the vicious cycle of hate and love, in contrast to the decadent and anemic life in the West." In the contemporary version of Balkanism, those who are coming from (South) Eastern Europe to western Europe to look for work opportunities, or to flee socio-political circumstances (particularly in the case of the Roma), are again considered to be largely indistinguishable – but now are homogenized as "poverty migrants," "social (benefits) tourists," "bogus asylum seekers" or "fake refugees" (see also footnote 6, above). While, in public discourse and political debate, this representation of citizens from the new or candidate EU member states has been predominantly mobilized to "irregularize" the status of Roma and to "securitize" their situation (van Baar 2015), we have nevertheless been able to observe a trend towards what could be considered to be a more general "Gypsification" of all (South) Eastern Europeans, according to which they are racialized on the basis of many of the stereotypes that are customarily attributed to Roma through the derisive "Gypsy" label (as lazy, dirty, criminal, irresponsible, profiteering, and so on).

At the same time, particularly when they move across the purportedly "borderless" space of EU-rope, racially minoritized Europeans of Roma or Sinti backgrounds (most of them EU nationals and, thus, EU citizens) are often designated officially as "nomads," and effectively pathologized as incorrigibly *mobile* "populations." Despite this specter of "excessive" mobility, however, nation-state governments and local municipalities enact enforcement measures precisely in order to obstruct Roma / Sinti *settlement* and to re-mobilize them by subjecting them to coercive evictions and displacement. To truly understand such regimes of EU-internal migration, however, we must also move beyond simplistic critiques of the racism against "Roma" and "Sinti" that naturalize these very identities, and thereby become complicit in the imposition of such racialized ("ethnic") categories from above. Particularly when what is at stake is often a racialization – or specifically, a "Gypsification" – of poverty (Van Baar 2016b), it seems more productive to ask *who* comes to be racialized as "Roma"

or "Sinti," under what circumstances, and how these categories are contested and with which effects. This analytical perspective also opens up possibilities to better understand the strategic and situational character of the particular struggles of self-identified "minorities" for rights and recognition. Thus, the mobility of the poor, and especially the racially stigmatized poor – even despite ostensible EU citizenship – is scarcely tolerated, and subjected to special policies and regimes of *evictability* (van Baar 2015; 2016a). Paradoxically, it seems that as soon as these "unwelcome" mobile "citizens" use their "right to free movement" and look for better labor opportunities outside their countries of birth, they are summarily converted into (deportable) "migrants." Thus, the EU-ropean government of mobility entails (specifically neoliberal) experiments with borders and migration through the modulation of the "freedom of mobility," establishing various terms and conditions related to formal and regular employment and economic "independence" that enhance new conjunctures of racism and produce new zones of internalized borders and boundaries.

The "migrantization" of various distinct but related practices of mobility is a phenomenon that until now has remained rather un-remarked, under-theorized, and un-mapped, as the meaning and the socio-political condition of being "governed like a migrant" cannot be adequately comprehended within the narrow parameters of juridical status alone. In this scenario, intra-EU-ropean mobility has provided a socio-political context in which the autonomy of human mobilities of various kinds unsettles and challenges the dominant neoliberal model of internal (EU / Schengen) "freedom of circulation." These mobilities have thereby produced unforeseen fractures and divisions within the "European" space itself – between the presumptive (self-anointed and self-authorizing) "core" of Europe and the southern and eastern "frontiers" and "transit zones" where the putative "inside" and "outside" of "Europe" have become increasingly blurred and confounded.

LR, SAV, NDG, MT, HvB

(THE CRISIS OF) "EUROPEAN VALUES"

What, indeed, are the values often referred to as distinctly "European"? How has the project of European integration, now effectively synonymous with the European Union, ensured that such "European" values have been re-branded as specifically EU-ropean? The European Commission asserts that the EU "is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities."[9] Purportedly conceived around this set of supposedly shared values, the EU is routinely lauded as a "post-national" enterprise where sovereign power is shared amongst its member states, for the collective good of all. The several stages of EU enlargement and integration were formulated around the key accession criteria of respect for, and promotion of, the EU's "democratic" values, and among the chief characteristics of (properly) "European" societies

9. http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives_en.htm#VALUES

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are counted: "pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men."[10] For its efforts to create a community "united in diversity," the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 and in their acceptance speech "From War to Peace: A European Tale," European Commission President Barroso and President of the European Council Rompuy declared: "Over the past sixty years, the European project has shown that it is possible for peoples and nations to come together across borders. That it is possible to overcome the differences between 'them' and 'us'."[11] Indeed, for a time, many on the Left across Europe also entertained the illusion that the project of "Europe" might present openings that seemed to promise possibilities for a politics that could transcend the European legacies of nationalism, fascism, the Nazi genocides of the Jews, Roma, and Sinti, the treacheries of Stalinism, the impasse of the Cold War, and the bitter disillusionments of "post-socialism." Nonetheless, numerous scholars have noted the contradictions inherent in the vision of liberal democracy on which the EU-ropean project relies for legitimacy. As Talal Asad notes, while "it is often conceded that several peoples and cultures inhabit the European continent," it is also believed, seemingly paradoxically, that "there is a single history that articulates European civilization – and therefore European identity" (2003:170). It is indeed this homogenized civilizational and identitarian *Europeanism* that riddles the "European" project with the incontrovertible contradictions of its own (post-)coloniality. Indeed, it is precisely this agonistic project of re-stabilizing a "European" identity that requires a fatuous discourse of "European values," which in fact serves no other end than to re-inscribe and re-affirm "the differences between 'them' and 'us'."

The "single history that articulates European civilization," of course, has always looked strikingly different from the standpoint of those who were colonized, enslaved, tortured, raped, mutilated, or massacred by Europeans in their diverse but interconnected quests for imperial power in the consolidation of global capitalism. Indeed, such values as the respect for human dignity, liberty, equality, solidarity, democracy, pluralism, tolerance, justice, and so forth would appear instead to have been the precious achievements of struggles that were always fundamentally and profoundly *anti*-European. There was, after all, never a moment in the history of modern slavery that was not riddled with the specter of sabotage, defiance, and insurrection, nor any moment in the history of European colonialism that was not similarly haunted by resistance, mutiny, and insurgency. In these contexts, furthermore, the hallowed "rule of law" was usually no less than the systematic rationalization of systemic injustice and brutal violence. At the very core of any contemporary values of liberty or equality, therefore, we must recognize the acts of individual and collective rebellion on the part of those whom European power sought to muzzle, throttle, and flog, and from whose bonded labor such an inordinate proportion of European wealth and prestige was mercilessly wrenched.

The very assertion that such values could be depicted as "European" (or "Western") is itself a deplorable act of pillage and, furthermore, a re-bordering that would seek to impose anew a proprietary enclosure on the universal heritage of liberation struggles that properly correspond to the global commons. Indeed, the promulgation of the very notion that there is such a thing as "Euro-

10. http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives_en.htm#VALUES

11. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/eu-lecture.html

pean" values is a core component of the contemporary project of *Europeanism*, which tends to casually elide the whole history of centuries of European colonial domination around the world and the resultant global (post-)colonial fact of white supremacy. Thus, Europeanism today is predicated upon a staggeringly shallow reconstruction of "European" history as an insular and hermetically-sealed affair. Of course, amidst the current proliferation of these self-satisfied ideological narratives of "European" culture, civilization, values, and identity, the overtly racist outrages of neo-fascist / far-right populisms merely make explicit and blunt the delicate matter of the inextricability of *any* Europeanism from the propagation of "European"-ness as a formation of racial whiteness, even as it emphatically dissimulates race in favor of ostensibly "cultural" or "civilizational" constructions of difference, and above all, in most prominent opposition at present to those "values" cynically attributed to "Muslims" (De Genova 2010a; 2015; De Genova and Tazzioli 2015).

Following numerous incidents in 2015 that fashioned the figure of "Europe's" "Muslim" Other in securitarian terms (as a threat of religious "fundamentalism," "fanaticism," and "terrorism"), the abrupt outbreak in January 2016 of a moral panic over a multiplicity of sexual assaults during the New Year's Eve festivities in Köln/Cologne, allegedly perpetrated by "unruly mobs" of young men, casually characterized as being "of North African or Middle Eastern appearance" (and eagerly depicted as including "asylum-seekers"), notably reinvigorated the racialization of "Muslim" identity. In the face of these offenses, the racialization of "Muslims" / "Arabs" could now be represented in terms of unsavory "cultural" differences that must be excoriated and criminalized as transparently inimical to "European values." Thus, the rather selective logic of "antiterrorist" suspicion that has been mobilized for the purposes of more stringent (external) border enforcement, once confronted with the palpable presence of recent arrivals of "Muslim" refugees and migrants, has been promptly re-purposed as a considerably more expansive problem of (internal) policing, emphatically conjoined to arguments for new powers to expedite the deportation of ("criminal") "asylum-seekers" deemed to be dangerously "deficient" in terms of "European values."

There is a specificity to the dissimulation of race in the European context which has to do with the ways in which it is imagined both historically and geographically. Historically, as David Theo Goldberg (2006; 2009:151–98) argues, in the hegemonic European imagination, race is operative within Europe only to the extent that it is temporally confined to the Nazi period and principally concentrated on the genocide of the Jews. Geographically, it is otherwise projected outside of Europe as something that pertains to "others," "elsewhere": there is of course some public recognition in various European countries of the role of race and racism on the parts of their regimes in the colonies, but it remains paltry. Usually it is fully projected as strictly "external" to Europe, and not seen as a practice and legacy *of* "Europe," and imagined as having no traces (or in any case, only negligible ones) within contemporary ("post"-colonial) Europe (Gilroy 2004). Contemporary Europe "itself" – the "Europe" that is customarily exalted as the inheritor of universalistic "values" of the Enlight-

enment, and the self-anointed "inventor" of liberal democracy – simply cannot acknowledge race, and hence pretends to know no racism. This self-conception of a race-blind "Europe," where racism is simply a thing of the past (and which can only pertain now to the atavisms of the far-right fringe), is reflected and reinforced in EU-ropean border policies today (Jansen 2015). The presence and racial struggles of fellow citizens (co-nationals) with personal or family backgrounds in the postcolony, and the very belated, slow but steady advance of postcolonial critique within European universities, together are gradually introducing a significant (albeit still meager) shift in wider perspectives and sensibilities. For example, in the Netherlands, the Dutch disgrace surrounding *Zwarte Piet* ("Black Pete") has met with increasingly vociferous controversy and ever-more effective critique. In France, the uncompromising decolonial militancy of the Parti des Indigènes de la République (PIR) has persistently put race into the foreground of contemporary debates, although this movement has met with unrelenting hostility from across the political spectrum, particularly in the contemporary neo-"Republican" ideological landscape following the reinvigoration of "antiterrorist" securitarianism in 2015 (De Genova and Tazzioli 2015).

Dissimulating race and disavowing the socio-political dynamics of racialization, Europeanism has a long history of imagining "minorities" as fundamentally "different" and, by implication, inimical to properly "European" cultural identities and values, thus converting them into "cultural" and / or "religious" problems and questions: The Jewish Question, The Gypsy/Roma Question, The Muslim Question. The recent critical proposal to instead turn "Europe" itself into such a Question (De Genova 2016) invites us to reverse the focus and examine anew those pronouncedly European histories as formative of the global histories of race and imperialism. This does not mean a reducing of religious difference or the differentialization of religion to race, but rather bringing the socio-political history of inter-religious relations and race together. The Jewish Question, Marx already noted implicitly, was always in fact the "Christian Question," and it has always been intimately connected to the history of race. It is no coincidence that turning "Europe" into a Question has been proposed by scholars of critical migration and race studies more or less in tandem with those more directly concerned with the histories of religious difference and inequality in relation to secularism and secularity in the European context (Anidjar 2012; Jansen 2016; Nathan and Topolski 2016). Bringing the insights of those critical discourses together is of premier importance during this time of "crisis," so marked by the rise of new manifestations of anti-Muslim racism complexly intermingled and mostly overlapping with the histories of antisemitism, Islamophobia, Orientalism, and anti-Gypsyism.

Scrutinizing more rigorously the racial underpinnings of our "civilizational" categories, especially those surrounding religion, is crucial in the French context, for instance, where the racial dimensions of the social position of "Arabs" / "Muslims" have been pronouncedly evident at least since the first Headscarf controversies in 1989, but in which the sacrosanct concepts of secularism and *laïcité* simultaneously retain an aura that the French (white) left does not dare to question. "Secularism" thus remains wedded to a concept of religion that

is deeply embedded in both Christian and European racial history. Thus, a secularist and "Republican" ideological impasse continuously adds fuel to the "re-theologization" of debates that are only apprehensible in social and political terms (Jansen 2016). This sort of ideological refraction and the accompanying discursive diversionary tactics have indeed been among the eminent strategies for re-animating race and racism – precisely through its culturalist dissimulation and disavowal (Balibar 1991; Gilroy 1987).

Meanwhile, where race has not been completely relegated to derisive silence, clumsy and superficial discourses of "superdiversity" pretend to name the real harvest of empire that, for many decades now, has amplified the actual racial heterogeneity and socio-political complexity of "actually existing" Europe, but the notion of "superdiversity" woefully lacks any meaningful postcolonial analysis or decolonial critical perspective. Indeed, recourse to the anemic rhetoric of "superdiversity" is proffered as a comfortably de-politicized surrogate for previous debates around "multiculturalism," which have long been considerably more contentious precisely because they were perceived to open up a space for more candid engagements with race and racism, as well as other social formations of difference (such as religion). Whereas liberal proponents of "multiculturalism" promoted more pluralistic affirmations of difference, however, "multiculturalism" has also been increasingly domesticated and coopted. Hence, "respect for difference" and multiculturalist "tolerance" are themselves now retrofitted as putatively "European" values. Furthermore, as Finex Ndhlovu (2015) argues, the "hegemonic dominance of Euro-American perspectives, which include multiculturalism and superdiversity, has meant that the promises held by other ways of knowing, reading and interpreting the world have been consigned to the fringes of mainstream identitarian discourses." In addition, the systematic disregard and endemic ignorance of theory from the South, as Ndhlovu characterizes it, in favor of the reductionist lens of (super) "diversity," merely replicates the vectors of unequal power that uphold anachronistic notions of "European" identity (as a supra-national racial formation of whiteness) by containing and encompassing the racialized identities of supposedly "non-Europeans," both inside and outside of "Europe." Such hegemonic multiculturalisms, in other words, merely reinstate the status of "non-white" difference within Europe as so many "non-European" exceptions – discrepancies from the norm, to be "integrated," domesticated, and neutralized. A critical scrutiny of "European values," then, is necessary for a decolonial interrogation of "the crisis" in and of "Europe."

We may perhaps see most clearly how these grandiose gestures about "European values" in fact operate as technologies of government when they are "dressed down" as the more mundane (but no less pompous) "values" claimed as the virtues of particular nation-states. We need only consider, for instance, how such purportedly "fundamental British values" as "a belief in freedom" and "tolerance of others" become conjoined in the discourse of British Prime Minister David Cameron to the neoliberal imperative of "accepting personal and social responsibility" and the implicitly authoritarian mandate of "respecting and upholding the rule of law" – all "as British," we are assured, "as fish and

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chips." Unabashedly asserting that such values may be claimed as "a matter of pride and patriotism" regarding "traditions" that "set Britain apart," Cameron goes on to congratulate the British for having given "so much of the world the way of life that they hold so dear."[12] That such "gifts" were the poisoned bequest of centuries of colonial domination, apparently, in retrospect requires no mention. Writing in the era of an earlier British societal "crisis," confronting the rise of neoliberal globalization and the concomitant austerity regime of Thatcherism, Stuart Hall and his colleagues detected that postcolonial "crisis" – specifically, "the crisis … of an advanced industrial capitalist nation seeking to stabilise itself in rapidly changing conditions on an extremely weak post-imperial economic base" – generated the conditions of possibility for "a decisive return" to a narrow exclusionary cultural politics of English national identity (Hall et al. 1978). Similarly, today, the pervasive obsession with "home-grown terrorism," "radicalization," and "extremism" – while not overtly racializing "Muslims" or other so-called "second-generation migrants" as non-white, or directly affiliating "terrorism" with Islam – manifests a revised version of what Hall and his colleagues discerned in the racist right-wing demagogue Enoch Powell, as a "pervasive, paranoid sense of crisis facing social order and authority" (Hall et al. 1978). Thus, the democratic ideal of "the rule of law" gets cynically transposed into a disciplinary demand for "respect" for the law, and converted – especially for "Muslims" and others racialized as "non-white" – into a punitive discourse of "law and order," which is to say, ever-more draconian policing and surveillance.

It is unsurprising, then, that the question of ("European") "values," and therefore identity, is so acutely tied in with a discourse of "crisis." Shorn of the parochialism of Cameron's (post-Thatcherite) fish-and-chips populism, now elevated to the level of "European" values, such propositions become all the more ungrounded, abstract, and ideological. The Europeanization of the values of freedom and equality nonetheless remains a flagrant act of hijacking the struggles of the millions who historically languished under European rule.

When the very idea of "Europe" is purportedly based upon a set of values centered around notions of human rights, democracy, and inclusion, and when it sanctimoniously promotes itself as a force for peace in the world, using "soft" or "normative" power or even "moral" force, furthermore, the ways in which EU borders are enforced and human mobilities are governed must necessarily pose profound and radical questions for "Europe" and its cherished "values" (De Genova 2016). In enunciating, demarcating, and defending its complex borderscapes, *where* precisely does "Europe" (EU-rope) emerge? As *what* exactly does this "Europe" become manifest *as*? *Who* indeed is included or excluded in the name of Europe?

With the activation of migrant and refugee "illegality" at the borders of "Europe," there are also differential enactments of degrees of "European"-ness, which is to say, different degrees of access to "legality" within (but also beyond) the EU-ropean space, activated as different degrees of "belonging" or potential "deservingness," related to various degrees or approximations of racial "whiteness." When referring to the so called "refugee crisis," for example, the Greek government emphasizes how Greece has shown a "human face" to the refugees

12. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/british-values-article-by-david-cameron

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arriving by boat on the Greek islands, and has thereby purportedly exhibited its "European values." Emphatically contrasting this hospitality on the Greek islands with the implied or explicit allegation of "inhumanity" on the part of the Turkish state, Greece effectively re-inscribes itself within "Europe" by depicting Turkey as the site, just beyond the borders of "Europe," where "the problem" of a "migration" or "refugee crisis" begins. Thus, apart from the violence and upheaval in places such as Syria – so this particular "European" logic goes – the actual reason for "the crisis" is a combination of Turkish governmental disregard for both the humanitarian needs of the refugees and the predatory ruthlessness of Turkish "smugglers" who are purported to be "sending migrants to their deaths." Hence, we see the recapitulation of Europe's self-serving rhetoric of criminalizing and denigrating "the smugglers" as inhumane "criminals" and virtual "slave traders," reproduced now in the reanimation of familiar orientalist gestures with regard to the putative "barbarism" of Turkey. Thus, the Greek-Turkish maritime border across the Aegean Sea becomes implicated in competing projects of re-essentializing and de-essentializing the historically racialized boundary between "European" Greece and "Oriental" or "Asiatic" Turkey.

Nevertheless, as the allegedly true starting point of "the crisis," Turkey is likewise figured as the ultimate site – emphatically "outside" of "Europe" – where a "solution" must be put in place. Thus, EU-rope's cynical strategy today, as has been true for several years, is to outsource its putatively "un-European" border violence by externalizing border enforcement to its "European" (non-EU) peripheries and ("non-European") "third countries," such as Turkey (see "Externalization," in Casas-Cortes et al. 2015). The repeated insistence, almost a mantra, of all sorts of European politicians at both the national and EU levels that the "migrant" / "refugee crisis" should first and foremost be "managed" (if not "solved") through the processing and so-called "admission" of refugees "in their own region" – along with simultaneously "stricter" control of the EU's external borders – is fully in line with this strategy of "outsourcing" border enforcement. Through these and similar strategies of border externalization, however, countries such as Turkey become "valuable" junior partners in the European border regime with substantial leverage, and thus acquire a semblance of semi- or quasi-"European"-ness. Meanwhile, in exchange for Turkey's vital service in enforcing the borders of "Europe" (as well as its strategic geo-political and military role in the region), EU-rope casts a blind eye towards the brutal atrocities committed by the Turkish state toward its subjugated Kurdish "minority" as well as the repression of anti-war dissidence within Turkey. Turkish military actions and persecution perpetrated against the Kurds actually produce "internally displaced" refugee populations, yet these systemic abuses do not really impede the process by which Turkey is effectively becoming more "European" – which is to say, more useful and valuable to the EU-ropean border regime, and thus, more potentially "worthy" of membership in the EU. Simultaneously, since the summer, following the threat of a "Grexit" (a Greek exit from the euro currency union as a result of the "debt crisis" and the prospect of Greece defaulting on its loans), a new threat has been imposed in turn on Greece: its possible expul-

sion from the Schengen zone, precisely because Greece has been increasingly deemed incapable of adequately fulfilling its role as a premier watchdog at the EU's border with Turkey. The question that begs attention, therefore, is the extent to which notions of "European"-ness become a tactically malleable and highly relative exchange value in relation to the convulsions of the expansive EU border enforcement regime. From the critical standpoint of migration and borders, therefore, we must demand: What exactly satisfies the requirements of upholding "European values" in a context where such a high premium is placed on being useful and valuable to the EU-ropean project and the externalized projection of "European" border zones?

The contemporary "migration" or "refugee crisis" – or, rather, the unprecedented and disruptive force of disobedient human subjectivities appropriating mobility toward and across Europe and claiming space within Europe – has instigated a crisis of representation by juxtaposing these supposedly magnanimous "European values" with the truly violent and callous European border realities. The (temporary, but repeated) resurrection of nation-state borders by several member states since the summer of 2015 has starkly manifested the frailty of European unity and "solidarity" in haphazard attempts to regain at least the semblance of control. While Europe's border work – and especially its (flagrantly "un-European") violence – have been and continue to be externalized and outsourced to "third countries" or peripheral member states, the unsettling and determined movements of hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants through the Balkan routes into central and northern European countries have provoked humanitarian / securitarian "emergencies" across the continent. Images of countless thousands of "unauthorized" (and frankly unwelcome) travelers relentlessly menaced by European border enforcement authorities, beaten and gassed by riot police or soldiers, have circulated around the globe. Likewise, Europe's maritime border policing, which has converted the Central Mediterranean Sea and the Aegean Sea in particular into gruesome scenes of mass death, have repeatedly exposed a border regime truly predicated upon atrocity, by both omission and commission. That these horrific spectacles of desperation and death are predominated by the evident and plainly cruel disposability of lives and bodies racialized as non-white – and thus, "non-European" – only seems to abundantly re-confirm that the project of "European" integration has in fact been dedicated all along to the re-institutionalization of what Étienne Balibar (1999/2004:43–45) anticipated to be a "European apartheid."

While the EU-ropean project is substantially new and unprecedented in significant ways, the deeper historical roots of its infrastructure of expressly "European" apartheid remind us that apartheid was always indeed a truly European value, a special variant of a world economic, geo-political, and racial order of European colonialism that has profoundly shaped the brutal contours of contemporary global inequalities of wealth, power, and prestige. In this regard, it is precisely from the critical vantage point made possible by migration and borders that we may incisively discern the extent to which the self-styled "European values" of dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law, rights, justice, sol-

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idarity, and peace have always been postulated, in fact, as values "for Europeans only."

CY, NDG, YJ, LSB, AS, MS, ZS

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