



FORCED MIGRATION

CURRENT ISSUES AND DEBATES

Edited by Alice Bloch and Giorgia Donà

Forced Migration

Forced Migration: Current Issues and Debates provides a critical engagement with and analysis of contemporary issues in the field using inter-disciplinary perspectives, through different geographical case studies and by employing varying methodologies. The combination of authors reviewing both the key research and scholarship and offering insights from their own research ensures a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the current issues in forced migration.

The book is structured around three main current themes: the reconfiguration of borders including virtual borders, the expansion of prolonged exile, and changes in protection and access to rights. The first chapters in the collection provide both context and a theoretical overview by situating current debates and issues in their historical context including the evolution of the field work and the impact of the colonial and post-colonial world order on forced migration and forced displacement. These are followed by chapters framed around substantive issues including: deportation and forced return; protracted displacements; securitising the Mediterranean and cross-border migration practices; refugees in global cities; forced migrants in the digital age; second-generation identity and transnational practices.

Forced Migration offers an original contribution to a growing field of study connecting theoretical ideas and empirical research with policy, practice and the lived experiences of forced migrants. The volume provides a solid foundation, for students, academics and policymakers, of the main questions being asked in contemporary debates in forced migration.

Alice Bloch is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester. She has researched and published extensively in the area of forced migration. Recent books include: *Living on the Margins: Undocumented Migrants in a Global City* (published by Policy Press and co-authored with Sonia McKay) and *Sans Papiers: The Social and Economic Lives of Young Undocumented Migrants in the UK* (published by Pluto Press and co-authored with Nando Sigona and Roger Zetter).

Giorgia Donà is Professor of Forced Migration at the University of East London co-director of the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging and Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. She has researched and published extensively in the area of conflict and forced migration. Publications include *Child and Youth Migration: Mobility-in-Migration in an Era of Globalisation* (published by Palgrave Macmillan, co-edited with Angela Veale), *Research Methodologies in Forced Migration*, Special Issue for the *Journal of Refugee Studies* (with Eftihia Voutira), and *Child and Youth Migration*, Special Issue for the *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*.

“This compelling anthology of case studies and critical reflections by an international group of scholars surveys the major issues around forced migration. Readers who want to understand the experiences of people pushed from their homes and government strategies of control will see farther and more clearly through the authors’ lenses.”

David Scott FitzGerald, *Co-Director, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California-San Diego*

“This collection of essays from leading figures in forced migration studies provides critical analysis that is as piercing and relevant as it is thoughtful. It encompasses some of the most intractable and contemporary problems of forced migration – urban displacement, protracted refugees, and forced return – with fresh insights. Uniting the various contributions is a deep concern for the clear emergence of expanded precarity and reduced rights, which appear as cause and effect of so much displacement in today’s world. Indeed, these can be seen as unifying features in the experiences of most displaced people. This book shines a light on these experiences, and the processes which render those who are forced to move ever more vulnerable. This should be required reading for all migration studies students and scholars, as well as for policymakers and practitioners whose work involves any aspect of work on forced migration.”

Laura Hammond, *Professor, Department of Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)*

“This volume is a welcome contribution to our understanding of the increasingly complex field of forced migration. Addressing the many challenges confronting forced migrants and those who support and live in communities alongside forced migrants, in a variety of contexts today, the volume points to the urgent need to re-conceptualise forced migration as well as the legal frameworks with which to respond. The collection will be of great value to academics, policy makers, and a broad range of professionals.”

Marita Eastmond, *Senior Professor of Social Anthropology, School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg*

Forced Migration

Current Issues and Debates

Edited by Alice Bloch and
Giorgia Donà

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Alice Bloch and Giorgia Donà; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Alice Bloch and Giorgia Donà to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bloch, Alice, 1964– editor. | Donà, Giorgia, editor.

Title: Forced migration : current issues and debates / edited by Alice Bloch and Giorgia Donà.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2018.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018025982 | ISBN 9781138653221 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781138653238 (pbk.) | ISBN 9781315623757 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Forced migration. | Refugees. | Emigration and immigration—Government policy.

Classification: LCC HV640 .F575 2018 | DDC 325—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018025982>

ISBN: 978-1-138-65322-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-65323-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-62375-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Goudy
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

<i>List of illustrations and tables</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>List of contributors</i>	ix
1 Forced migration: setting the scene	1
Alice Bloch and Giorgia Donà	
2 Conceptualising forced migration: praxis, scholarship and empirics	19
Roger Zetter	
3 Why critical forced migration studies has to be post-colonial by nature	44
Paula Banerjee and Ranabir Samaddar	
4 Securitising the Mediterranean? cross-border migration practices in Greece	60
Eftihia Voutira	
5 Protracted displacement: living on the edge	74
Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles	
6 Deportation and forced return	88
Nassim Majidi and Liza Schuster	
7 Displacement and the pursuit of urban protection: forced migration, fluidity and global cities	106
Loren B. Landau	

8	Mobile technologies and forced migration	126
	GIORGIA DONÀ AND MARIE GODIN	
9	Second generation from refugee backgrounds: affects and transnational ties and practices to the ancestral homeland	145
	MILENA CHIMIENTI, ANNE-LAURE COUNILH AND LAURENCE OSSIPOW	
10	Reflecting on the past, thinking about the future: forced migration in the 21st century	163
	GIORGIA DONÀ AND ALICE BLOCH	
	<i>Index</i>	174

Illustrations and Tables

Figure

- 4.1 The narrow strip of water that separates the Greek island of Lesbos from Izmir, Turkey 61

Image

- 4.1 Local responses and the legacy of the past 64

Table

- 4.1 Arrivals and Fatalities in the Mediterranean Sea, 2014–2017 64

Acknowledgements

This book has evolved from years of conversations with each other and with colleagues working within the field of forced migration, often at the bi-annual International Association for the Study of Forced Migration conferences.

Thank you to Barbara Harrell-Bond who continues to inspire us both. We would like to thank the chapter authors for their contributions. We have very much enjoyed the opportunities that editing this book have provided to work with many of the leading scholars in the field. We would also like to thank Catherine Gray who first approached us during her time with Routledge and helped us shape the book and Gerhard Boomgaarden, Senior Publisher for Routledge, who has worked with us since and providing valuable input which has informed the book as published. Thanks also to colleagues from Routledge past and present Alyson Claffey and Diana Ciobotea, for keeping us informed and helping us through the process.

Alice would like to thank colleagues in the Department of Sociology at the University of Manchester, particularly Claire Alexander, Wendy Bottero, Bridget Byrne, Brian Heaphy, Sue Heath, Graeme Kirkpatrick, Vanessa May, James Rhodes and Penny Tinkler. Thanks also to the many colleagues who have provided support and advice over the years including: Suki Ali, Leah Bassel, Kirsten Campbell, Milena Chimienti, Allan Cochrane, Shirin Hirsch, Amal Treacher Kabesh, Sonia McKay, Kate Nash, Sarah Neal, Liza Schuster, John Solomos and Fran Tonkiss. Finally thank you to Rachel, my wonderful daughter.

Giorgia would like to thank colleagues who work and have worked in Refugee Studies at the University of East London, Paul Dudman, Anita Fábos, Patricia Ellis, Afaf Jabiri, Maja Korać, John Nassari, Phil Marfleet, Siraj Sait, Helen Taylor and Tahir Zaman. Thanks also to the many colleagues, friends and family who have provided support and friendship, including: Gargi Bhattacharyya, Michele Biancotto, Cristina Carli, Carlo Donà, Irene Donà, Matteo Donà, Meri Gava, Erika Cudworth, Liz Egan, Cigdem Esin, Anna Gobbo, Tim Hall, Laura Hammond, Diane Ball, Firew Kefyalew, Helen Kim, Aura Lounasmaa, Lorena Marcassa, Valerio Marcassa, Keith Piper, Natale Possamai, Branislav Radeljić, George Shire, Corinne Squire, Maria Tamboukou, Meera Tiwari, Rachel Tribe, Angie Voela, Georgie Wemyss, Eric Woods and Nira Yuval-Davis. A special thank you to all my undergraduate and postgraduate students at the University of East London for the most inspiring conversations and inspirational lives.

Contributors

Paula Banerjee is Professor and Vice Chancellor of Sanskrit College and University. She was the former President of International Association for Studies in Forced Migration and Dean of Arts of University of Calcutta. She is best known for her work on women in borderlands and women and forced migration and has published extensively in these areas including: *Statelessness in South Asia* (2016), *Unstable Populations, Anxious States* (edited 2013), *Women in Indian Borderlands* (edited, 2012) and *Borders, Histories, Existences: Gender and Beyond* (2010).

Alice Bloch is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester. She has researched, written and published extensively in the area of forced migration. Recent books include: *Living on the Margins: Undocumented Migrants in a Global City* (2016, with Sonia McKay) and *Sans Papiers: The Social and Economic Lives of Young Undocumented Migrants in the UK* (2014, with Nando Sigona and Roger Zetter).

Milena Chimienti is a sociologist and Professor at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland – HES-SO Geneva, School of Social Work (HETS). She has researched and written mostly on the sociology of migration, sex work and processes of marginalisation and forms of agency, both individual and collective. Her publications include: A ‘continuum of sexual economic exchanges’ or ‘weak agency’? Female migrant sex work in Switzerland. In: Skilbrei M-L, Spanger M (eds), *Understanding Sex for Sale: Meanings and Moralities of Sexual Commerce*, London: Routledge (2018, with Marylène Lieber); The failure of global migration, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(3); 424–430, 2017; *Undocumented Migrants: Policy, Politics, Motives and Everyday Lives*, Special Issue for *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (ed 2011, with Alice Bloch).

Anne-Laure Councilh is a social geographer, and researcher at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland – HES-SO Geneva, School of Social Work (HETS). Her research interest lies in the area of migration, transnational mobilities and socio-spatial interactions. Her PhD focuses on migration of transnational migrants from West Africa in Mauritania in 2014.

Giorgia Donà is Professor of Forced Migration at the University of East London, co-director of the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging and Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. She has researched and published extensively in the area of conflict and forced migration. Publications include *Child and Youth Migration: Mobility-in-Migration in an Era of Globalisation* (ed 2014, Palgrave Macmillan, with Angela Veale), *Research Methodologies in Forced Migration*, Special Issue for the *Journal of Refugee Studies* (ed 2007, with Eftihia Voutira) and *Child and Youth Migration*, Special Issue for the *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* (ed 2006).

Wenona Giles is an Anthropology Professor and Research Associate at the Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, where she teaches and publishes in the areas of gender, forced migration, globalisation, migration, nationalism and war. She co-leads the Borderless Higher Education (BHER) project that brings degree programmes from Kenyan and Canadian universities to refugees in the Dadaab refugee camps, Kenya and recently co-authored (with Jennifer Hyndman) *Refugees in Extended Exile: Living on the Edge* (Routledge 2017).

Marie Godin, PhD, is currently a researcher at the Oxford Department of International Development (ODID) at the University of Oxford. Her research interests lie in the area of migration and development, with a focus on diaspora engagement and gender, mobile technologies and political activism. She recently published 'Breaking the silences, breaking the frames: a gendered diasporic analysis of sexual violence in the DRC' in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2018). Marie is also one of the co-editors of the book entitled *Voices from the 'Jungle': Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp* (Pluto Press, 2017).

Jennifer Hyndman is a Professor in Social Science and Geography at York University in Toronto. Her most recent book (co-authored with Wenona Giles) is *Refugees in Extended Exile: Living on the Edge* (Routledge, 2017). Hyndman is author of *Dual Disasters: Humanitarian Aid after the 2004 Tsunami* (2011), *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2000), and co-editor with Wenona Giles of *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (University of California Press, 2004).

Loren B. Landau is the South African Research Chair on Mobility and the Politics of Difference at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. His work explores mobility, governance and urbanisation across the global South. He is author of *The Humanitarian Hangover: Displacement, Aid and Transformation in Western Tanzania* and editor of *Exorcising the Demons Within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*. He has a PhD in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley, and an MA in Development Studies from the London School of Economics.

Nassim Majidi, PhD, is an Affiliate Researcher at Sciences Po's Centre for International Studies (France) and Research Associate at the African Centre for

Migration and Society at Wits University (South Africa). As the co-founder of Samuel Hall, a think-tank of the Global South, she leads evidence-based research and policy development on migration and displacement.

Laurence Ossipow is an anthropologist and Professor at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland – HES-SO Geneva, School of Social Work where she has been responsible for the research for the school for many years. She is a specialist of issues relating to migration, social inclusion and citizenship and has conducted a number of research projects in this field.

Ranabir Samaddar belongs to the critical school of thinking and is considered as one of the foremost theorists in the field of migration and forced migration studies. His writings on migration, labour, colonialism and the nation-state have signalled a new turn in critical post-colonial thinking. Some of his monographs include: *The Marginal Nation: Transborder Migration from Bangladesh and West Bengal* (1999) and the co-authored, *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination* (2013). *Karl Marx and the Postcolonial Age* (2018) is his latest work. He is currently the Distinguished Chair in Migration and forced migration studies, Calcutta Research Group.

Liza Schuster is a sociologist at City University of London, working on forced migration, including forced return. She has published widely in the area of forced migration including comparative and multi-level analyses of Europe and European policy and on forced return where she has with area expertise in Afghanistan. She has led a number of funded projects on forced returns and has collaborated with colleagues at Kabul University.

Eftihia Voutira is Professor at the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies at the University of Macedonia. She taught at the University of Oxford in the Refugee Studies Programme and the Forced Migration and Refugees Studies Centre, American University, Cairo. She has done extensive fieldwork in the former Soviet Union, South and Central Africa, and the Middle East. She has published extensively on issues of refugee protection and humanitarian assistance including 'Cultures of Security and Refugee Insecurities' in *Policies of everyday life*, (2014) and 'Realising Fortress Europe. Managing Migrants and Refugees at the Borders of Greece', *The Greek Review of Social Research* (2013).

Roger Zetter is Emeritus Professor of Refugee Studies at the University of Oxford, retiring as Director of the Refugee Studies Centre in 2011. He was Founding Editor of the *Journal of Refugee Studies* from 1988 until 2001. He has regional expertise in sub-Saharan Africa, Europe and the Middle East. His teaching, research, publications and consultancy have included all stages of the 'refugee and displacement cycle'. He has been a consultant to many international and intergovernmental organisations and governments. Research funders include ESRC, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Paul Hamlyn Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, MPI.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Forced migration

Setting the scene

Alice Bloch and Giorgia Donà

Introduction

The last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st have been characterized by major geopolitical changes, which continue to shape patterns of migration, dynamics of human mobility and international responses to refugee crises and other forms of displacement. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 corresponded with the ethnicization of political conflicts in Europe, Central Asia, South Asia and Africa. The 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York marked the beginning of responses under the name of the War on Terror, creating further instability in the Middle East, increased Islamophobia, and more restrictionist measures in the securitization of migration (Geiger and Pécoud, 2017). Processes of globalization have changed the nature of conflicts and impacted on migration where on-going conflicts alongside new wars have led to persistent conflicts in which opposing sides are not interested in winning but in the enterprise of war itself (Kaldor, 2013). The intersection of the spread of new wars and increased securitization of migration have led to greater numbers fleeing persecution, generalized violence and human rights violations, and millions of displaced people who are unable to return to their countries of origin or to settle elsewhere.

While war, conflict, human rights abuses, individual and generalized persecution as well as environmental degradation and disasters are not in themselves new, the scale of global forced migration and displacement is unprecedented. In fact the numbers are higher than they have ever been. At the end of 2016 there were 65.6 million forcibly displaced people, of whom 22.5 million were refugees, 40.3 million were internally displaced and 2.8 million were asylum seekers. In 2016 alone 10.3 million people were newly displaced, 6.9 million internally and 3.4 million were refugees or asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2017). Added to this, UNHCR (2017) estimated that another 10 million persons were stateless. There is also an unknown and unquantifiable number of undocumented migrants of whom some will be clandestine entrants who may fear persecution but have not made an asylum claim and others will stay hidden for fear of deportation when their asylum claims are refused (Bloch, Sigona and Zetter, 2014).

Most countries in the world are affected by the past and current global crises as sending countries, as receiving countries and/or transit countries where the concern is not only the displaced generation but also future generations of children and families that may experience protracted insecurity, limited rights and poverty. The responsibility has historically and in contemporary times fallen on the nation-states that are close to the crisis which has disproportionately impacted on less developed countries of the global south and east. This is partially due to the geography of forced migration, the costs and risks of longer distance travel but also due to the maintenance of the post-colonial world order which has, as part of its agenda, the aim of keeping refugees out of the global north and west (Chimni, 2009). This means that developing regions, at the end of 2016, hosted 84% of the world's refugees (UNHCR, 2017). As more than half of the global refugee population is from Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan, it is no surprise that Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Uganda and Ethiopia host the largest numbers of refugees (UNHCR, 2017). The largest number of internally displaced people are in Colombia followed by Syria, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan, Nigeria and Yemen (UNHCR, 2017). The largest number of new internal displacements in 2016 occurred in the Democratic Republic of Congo (922,000), followed by Syria (824,000), Iraq (659,000), Afghanistan (653,000) and Nigeria (501,000) (IDMC, 2017). The data tells us that forced migration is uneven and that global responses and responsibilities are uneven.

Forced Migration: Current issues and debates focuses on contemporary key issues. The book traces continuities and discontinuities in histories and the experiences of forced migrants that unfold in the global and local landscapes. Overall, the book argues that forced migration movements are increasingly complex, leading to expanded precarity and reduced rights. These contemporary movements also challenge the language, legal frameworks and the strategies that continue to be adopted to understand and respond to involuntary movements. Not all the areas covered in the book are new, some are long-standing situations that remain current and central to on-going debates while others are more recent phenomena that demonstrate the shifting contours of the field or highlight areas that should be central to the field but remain marginalized, notably the experience of the second generation.

In conceiving and editing this book, our objective has been to showcase the changing debates and issues in order to produce a book that is contemporary and forward looking. We did not simply want to add to the existing literature or repeat much of what is already known. Instead we carefully considered present-day trends which the contributors to the book have addressed using interdisciplinary perspectives, through different geographical case studies and by employing varying methodologies. The combination of authors reviewing both the key research and scholarship and offering insights from their own research ensures a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the current issues in forced migration.

The book is structured around three main current themes: the reconfiguration of borders, the expansion of prolonged displacement, and changes in protection

and rights and the impact of these on lived experiences. In response to increasingly restrictive state and international responses, the agency of migrants – from making the journey through to acts of resistance alongside new humanitarians – become visible as informal forms of hospitality and refugee-led initiatives emerge. These real-world changes call for rethinking concepts in the scholarly field of forced migration, and it is to these debates that we hope to contribute. However to understand the contemporary issues requires contextualization within historical trends, changing mobilities, communication technologies, labels and categories, language and rights and the lingering effects of the colonial and post-colonial world order. It also requires a generational perspective as displacement is not only significant for the generation that are displaced but for future generations too (Loizos, 2007).

The contemporary forced migration landscape

Forced migration is a general term that includes both refugees and asylum seekers and those who are internally displaced by conflicts, famine, development projects, chemical or nuclear wars or natural and environmental disasters. As an academic field forced migration studies grew out of refugee studies, a field that evolved in the 1980s with the changing profile of refugees, their movement from the south to the north, and the responses of these northern states that set out to contain refugees in the global south (Chimni, 1998). Scholars working in the field were concerned with rights and responsibilities at a time when these rights were being eroded. While forced migration is meant to be more inclusive as a field, Chimni (2009) argues that parameters of refugee studies and forced migration studies are both problematic because they contribute in exactly the same ways to the hegemony of the post-colonial world order. In this book, Zetter (Chapter 2) and Banerjee and Samaddar (Chapter 3) contribute to the debates about the field of study, the labels used and the post-colonial context.

Research and scholarship has a tendency to use the terms *refugee*, *forced migrant* and *forcibly displaced* interchangeably and without critique or reflection. Throughout this introduction we use different terms, some specific – *refugee*, *asylum seeker* – and some general – *forced migrants*, *forcibly displaced* – to capture the field and to contextualize the chapters that follow. We hope that it is clear, at each point, why we have chosen the descriptors that we have and that we understand the politics of the labels and their significance in relation to lived experiences. One of the difficulties with categories and with understanding lived experiences is that individuals do not fit neatly into bureaucratic boxes. As Zetter notes in Chapter 2, categories are blurred. For example, conflicts and war can lead to human rights abuses, poor economies, weak states and therefore migration (Castles, 2003, 2013). Individuals often have mixed motives for their migration and can be part of mixed migration flows (Bloch, 2008; Crawley and Skleparis, 2018). However, these differences, as Crawley and Skleparis observe, are ‘not merely an issue of semantics. Categories have consequences’ (2018: 59). Therefore

unpacking the different categories and the associated rights is an important foundation for understanding current issues; however limited they might be these issues are nevertheless central to global governance, regional and state policies and lived experiences.

The overarching framework for refugee protection is the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. To be granted refugee status requires the crossing of an international border and this is what makes refugees different from internally displaced people. The 1951 Geneva Convention defines a refugee as a person who,

owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such a fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

Only a relatively small minority of those considered at risk by UNHCR are in fact recognized as refugees and therefore afforded the protection of that status. This protection also includes the principle of non-refoulement, which advocates that no person should be returned to a country where they are at risk of persecution but as Majidi and Schuster show, in Chapter 6, the principle of non-refoulement is routinely breached through forced deportation. In addition to non-refoulement, refugees have other freedoms and rights that are closely linked to, but not as extensive, as those of citizens such as welfare rights and the right to work. These rights vary in different geographical contexts.

The numbers of refugees relative to internally displaced people has changed dramatically over the years. By the end of 2016 there were 40.3 million internally displaced persons, which was almost four times the number of refugees (UNHCR, 2017). This has led some to argue that the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees are no longer fit for purpose or at the very least are limited in terms of the protection they offer forced migrants in the present-day context (see Cohen, 2007; de Wind, 2007). Moreover there are criticisms that they ignore the gendered aspects of forced migration, rooted in the dated perceptions of refugees as male, visible and public political activists and in so doing misses the private spheres where women can be subjected to persecution or the more hidden roles of women in conflict (Valhi, 2001). Women constitute 49% of the world's refugees and in many internally displaced contexts, they are the majority due, in part, to gender norms and the social discrimination that negatively impact on access to the opportunities and resources needed to make longer journeys (Nawyn, Reosti and Gjokaj, 2009; Ferrant and Tuccio, 2015). Others (see Hathaway, 2007) have made counter arguments about the need to keep the 1951 Geneva Convention due to the uniqueness of refugee's protection needs.

Regardless of the strengths and limitations of the current protection regime, which some of the chapters that follow interrogate, around three-quarters of the world's nation-states are signatories to the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol. In short, it has a wide global coverage but not all signatory states adhere to the Convention and this is linked to state sovereignty over borders and the asylum system. The concept of asylum is not actually defined by any international legal instrument though 'the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution' is contained in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights. However, it is up to nation-states to determine asylum cases (Goodwin-Gill, 2014).

Asylum seekers – those who are waiting for their case for refugee status to be determined – make up a small proportion of those in the forced migrant spectrum; at the end of 2016 there were 2.8 million asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2017). One consequence of this nation-state sovereignty has been variation and unevenness in recognition rates. For example, while 60% of asylum applicants from Iraq were granted refugee status in Germany; the proportion in Sweden was just 7% (Toshkov, 2014). There are numerous examples of such disparities in status determination across country contexts that partly reflect the arbitrary and subjective nature of the asylum determination process and partly the post-colonial frameworks within which decisions are made (Bloch, 2000; Nash, 2015).

Another consequence of state sovereignty in the context of the European Union and the Dublin Convention, which restricts asylum applications to the first safe country of asylum, is that many potential asylum seekers arriving in Europe enter via the southern member states (e.g., Italy and Greece) and try to go overland to countries further north. Many simply end up with little chance of making a claim or having it determined properly or end up as undocumented migrants or in transit where they try repeatedly to make a journey but their mobility is blocked or they are returned to the first safe country (Brekke and Brochmann, 2015; Schuster, 2011). As border regimes have become increasingly restrictive so too have the blurred boundaries between international refugee protection and the sovereignty of nation-states. The 1951 Geneva Convention requires states to recognise everyone who has crossed a border regardless of how the border was crossed and what, if any, documentation was used. This demonstrates an understanding of the need for some to use irregular routes to make a journey (UNHCR, 2010). However, states punish irregular or non-compliant migrants by detaining them and/or deporting them (see Majidi and Schuster, Chapter 6). While this section has set the contemporary forced migration landscape and highlighted on-going and emerging shifts, dynamics and responses, the next section examines a significant reconfiguration in this landscape that needs to be considered in order to really grapple with the contemporary issues addressed in the chapters of the book.

Borders, borderscapes and bordering practices

A key feature of the geopolitical changes that have occurred and continue to take place globally is represented by the reconfiguration of borders, and bordering

practices which have created borderscapes which compromise mobility and influence the right to seek asylum. Borderscapes express the spatial and conceptual complexity of the border as a space that is fluid and shifting; a space transversed not only by bodies but also discourses and relationships that redefine inside and outside, citizen and non-citizen, host and guest across state, regional, racial and other symbolic boundaries (Perera, 2007).

Individuals fleeing conflicts that try and cross international borders encounter physical borders such as walls and barbed wired fences and natural borders such as rivers and oceans but also bureaucratic borders and security checks. At every stage of the process those fleeing persecution experience obstacles. Current migration management policies create borderscapes, those regimes of border controls that reconfigure and redefine national borders, monitor the governmentality of borderzones, and enact everyday bordering practices. Borders are no longer simply the domain of nation-states. Now other actors, such as supranational actors (the EU), private parties (e.g., airlines and transport companies), public institutions, vigilantes who patrol border areas, service providers and citizens have a role to play in the reconfiguration of borderscapes and migration management (Broeders and Engbersen, 2007; Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018).

Since 9/11 there has been a rise in what Vaughan-Williams (2008) terms the 'citizen detective' who are the subjects of surveillance and at the same time carry out surveillance by identifying and reporting migrants who are suspected of being 'illegal'. Thus bordering practices have also been assigned to non-state actors – citizens, employers and service providers – as part of the immigration apparatus and threats of raids and fines for non-compliance has shifted the responsibility of identifying the irregular and non-compliant non-citizens, to citizens (Bloch and McKay, 2016; Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018).

The contemporary borderscape architecture has one main objective: to stop people entering nation-states by patrolling and policing external borders. This doesn't stop irregular migration and so once in a nation-state, the aim of borderscapes is to make the lives of those who are irregular, undocumented or refused asylum seekers as untenable as possible through exclusions to welfare and from the regulated parts of the labour market and by carrying out immigration raids that can result in arrest and can end with forced return (Bloch and McKay, 2016).

The international regime manages forced migration through policies of containment, which sustains the borderscapes that keep people in regions of origin. Most recently, the 2016 bi-lateral agreement between the European Union and Turkey provides an example of how the European Union has tried to keep forced migrants away from its borders. The on-going crises in Syria and Afghanistan resulted in an increase in the numbers risking dangerous and fatal crossings between Turkey and Greece. Of the around 200,000 migrants arriving in Europe after crossing the Mediterranean in the first half of 2016, more than three-quarters had arrived in Greece. While this is not the only route across the Mediterranean – Libya to Italy being another major route with greater numbers of fatalities – it was the huge increase in numbers making the crossing between Turkey and Greece in

2015 and early 2016 that precipitated the deal. The terms of the deal were that those arriving in Greece (an EU member state) irregularly would be returned to Turkey, regardless of whether they were intending to seek asylum. In exchange for the returns, Turkey was to be paid 6 billion Euros, Turkish nationals would be allowed to travel in Europe without visas and a voluntary humanitarian scheme to resettle Syrians in Turkey to European Union member states would be developed. According to Amnesty International, one of the main problems with the deal was the erroneous assumption that Turkey offered protection and was a safe place for refugees. Moreover, as of February 2017 just 3,656 Syrians had been resettled in EU member states while there were 2.8 million Syrian people still in Turkey (Gogou, 2017).

In addition to containment, the externalization of borders and border controls has affected migration routes. Long-standing border measures include Carrier Sanctions which are the penalty fines imposed on carriers (airlines, shipping and trucking companies) found to be transporting people with incorrect or no documents, the strengthening of physical borders through fences and surveillance, documentation with biometric data, the use of airports as immigration offices abroad, the proposed creation of processing centres, called 'hotspots' in African countries, offshore processing of applications and sea patrols (see Voutira, Chapter 4, on policing the Mediterranean). Such re-bordering of spaces extends state control beyond national territories to new zones in other national territories, thus creating new borderscapes.

In the European borderzone of the Mediterranean, Frontex – the European Border and Coast Guard Agency – has established diverse surveillance mechanisms to monitor, intercept, apprehend and push back migrants or to block their passage (Topak, 2014). Of course they don't stop the flows of forced migrants arriving in Spain, Italy and Greece from North Africa from the western and central Mediterranean or via the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece. The countries on the southern and eastern peripheries of the European Union have become places of arrival, destination and transit. Those that want to move have their mobility blocked by new fences, by new patrols and/or by the lack of resources. Those who do manage to find their way out of the periphery can and do get caught up in the rules of the Dublin Convention if they have been fingerprinted and find themselves on the Eurodac database of fingerprints. Eurodac is used to regulate mobility and monitor asylum claims (Tsianos and Kuster, 2016), and it is a significant tool in the arsenal of weapons used as part of the Dublin Convention to identify people for deportation back to the first safe country for the purposes of claiming asylum (Broeders, 2009; Schuster, 2011 and see Schuster and Majidi, Chapter 6). However, as the policing of borders changes so too do the strategies of the smugglers and agents who migrants pay to make their journeys and of migrants themselves who make choices at every stage of the process (Mainwaring, 2016).

The reconfiguration of borders is also visible in the formation of borderscapes where the struggle over freedom of movement and its monitoring and obstruction