

HAKKI OZAN KARAYİĞİT

PRODUCTION OF ABSTRACT CRISIS AND
IRREGULAR HUMAN MOBILITIES

Bilkent University 2019

PRODUCTION OF ‘ABSTRACT CRISIS’ AND IRREGULAR
HUMAN MOBILITIES

A Master’s Thesis

by

HAKKI OZAN KARAYİĞİT

Department of
Political Science and Public Administration
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

Ankara

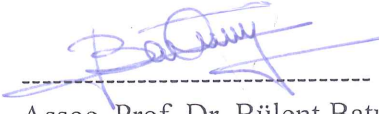
July 2019

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Political Science and Public Administration.



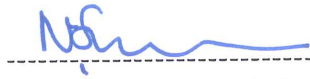
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Saime Özçürümez
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Political Science and Public Administration.



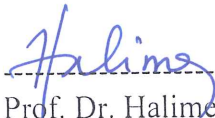
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent Batuman
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Political Science and Public Administration.

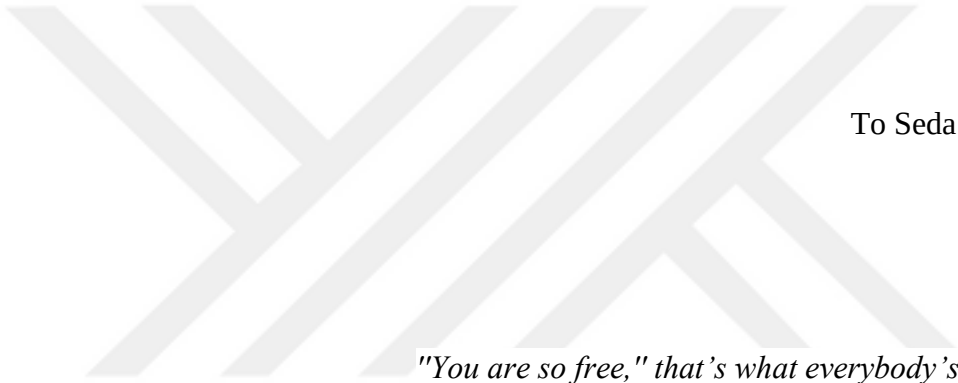


Asst. Prof. Dr. Nazlı Şenses Özcan
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan
Director



To Seda and Deniz

*"You are so free," that's what everybody's telling me
Yet I feel I'm like an outward-bound, pushed around, refugee*

ABBA, 1977

PRODUCTION OF ‘ABSTRACT CRISIS’ AND IRREGULAR HUMAN
MOBILITIES

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by
HAKKI OZAN KARAYİĞİT

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Of
MASTER OF ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

July 2019

Abstract

PRODUCTION OF ‘ABSTRACT CRISIS’ AND IRREGULAR HUMAN MOBILITIES

Karayığit, Hakkı Ozan
M.A., Department of Political Science and Public Administration
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Saime Özçürümez

July 2019

This thesis argues that political representation of space as being consisted of territorially bounded states leads to the impulsion to see an *uncontrolled* movement as risky, and eventually to call the event as *crisis*. By way of concentrating on three specific scholarly journals on migration movements, it aims to enlighten the question: *who/what turns an event into crisis at global scale, and why?* Through focusing on how migration literature explains what constitutes crisis, the thesis investigates how did the transition to calling migration a crisis take place and why. In pursuing the question, the thesis creates a theoretical framework by deconstructing IR space and human mobility with the help of Lefebvre and Cresswell. By asserting its own concept – ‘abstract crisis’, the thesis provides typology and taxonomy of the migration studies categorized under three crisis types.

Keywords: Crisis, Lefebvre, Mobility, Scholarly Knowledge Production Space

Özet

DÜZENSİZ İNSAN HAREKETLİLİĞİ VE “SOYUT KRİZ” ÜRETİMİ

Karayığit, Hakkı Ozan
Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü
Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Saime Özçürümez

Temmuz, 2019

Bu tez, mekanın bölgesel olarak sınırlanmış devletlerden oluştuğu şeklindeki siyasi temsilinin, kontrolsüz bir hareketi riskli olarak görme ve sonunda olayı kriz olarak nitelendirme dürtüsüne yol açtığını savunuyor. Göç hareketleri üzerine üç özel bilimsel dergiye yoğunlaşarak, şu soruyu aydınlatmayı hedefliyor: *bir olayı küresel ölçekte krize kim/ne dönüştürür ve neden?* Göç literatürünün krizi neyin oluşturduğunu nasıl açıkladığına odaklanarak tez, göç sürecine bir olayın nasıl ve neden krize dönüştürüldüğünü araştırıyor. Bu sorunun izinde tez, Lefebvre ve Cresswell'in yardımı ile Uluslararası İlişkiler alanını ve kişi hareketliliğini değerlendirerek kuramsal bir çerçeve oluşturur. Tez, “soyut kriz” kavramını öne sürerek, üç kriz türü altında kategorize edilmiş göç araştırmalarının farklı bir tipolojisi ve taksonomisini sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Akademik Bilgi Üretimi, Alan, Hareketlilik, Kriz, Lefebvre

Acknowledgements

It was just a Master's thesis, but my life around the thesis was more than ordinary. I, thus, merrily express the emotions I have had for those who have actually facilitated the drafting of this thesis with me.

To begin, I would like to express my gratefulness to Assoc. Prof. Saime Özçürümez who gracefully accepted to listen to the ideas of a 22 years old naïve fresh-graduate, eager to write an MA thesis in 2016. Her endless trust and patience have provided me with the space that I freely designed the study for my aim trying to reach the extremes. Her crucial interventions in my academic path have taken me from the brink of the abyss.

In a similar vein, I cannot define the impact of Assoc. Prof. Bülent Batuman's role during my wavering processes around the thesis. Being way more than a committee member, without his care, enthusiasm and concern towards my research interests I would not be able to sustain the moral and intellectual ground necessary to finish the thesis. Crucially, my lingering interests have dissolved by the course – *Space and Culture* – he offered, and I have finally been enabled to define the path I wish my research interests to trace. I am thankful to get to know him.

Speaking of my determined research interests, I express my great appreciation to Asst. Prof. Nazli Şenses Özcan for not only honoring me by accepting to be in the committee but also for her valuable feedbacks during the defense that would follow me in the future.

Before I narrow down the acknowledgements towards more emotional areas, I would love to send my deepest regards to Assoc. Prof. Can E. Mutlu for encouraging students like me to go beyond the traditional boundaries of the disciplines. His elective course – *Contemporary Debates on Geopolitics* – has been fundament that my research interests were built upon.

Dr. Senem Yıldırım has been always present when I actually doubt about the same fundament that I have been progressing throughout the thesis. She has not only eased my concerns regarding the theoretical framework of the thesis, but also eased my academic loneliness.

The punctual moment of a response from Laura Lo Presti to my e-mail has made an unthinkable impact on my solitude during my engagement with Lefebvre. Besides involving extremely extensive and comprehensive feedback, no e-mail has possibly made such an impact to me. These motivations I received, however, would not solely help me execute the thesis if I have never learned the basic steps for simply how to write a research paper from Prof. Alev Çınar.

The whole process has not been all about drama. For the good things that happened to me, I would love to state my deepest gratitude to Dr. Selin Akyüz around whom I have found hope, confidence, joy, and *love*.

Before ending my remarks, I would love to note the names with whom I have shared moments I cannot forget during this thesis; Filiz to whom I call mom, Selçuk to whom I call father, sensei Tayfun Evyapan, Samim Kenger, Alptekin Karabacak, Uygur Altınok, Oğuzcan Ok, Nisha Zadhy, Naile Okan from Bilkent Library, Ebru Çınar from Koç University Library, Mine Çetin, Gül Ekren, – and to

indicate how lucky I have been to find these three people – Ayşe Durakoğlu, Fatma Nur Murat, and Kadir Yavuz Emiroğlu.

Well, last but not least, I commemorate my light, hero and grandfather *Ismet* to whom my heart is dedicated.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Figures	xii
CHAPTER I	1
Introduction	1
1.2. Self-Reflexivity and Rationale	3
1.3. Research Question and Argument	7
1.4. Method and Research Design	10
CHAPTER II	15
The Environment Knowledge Operates in	15
2.1. Maps, Narration, and Their Impact	16
2.1.1. Presence and Usage of Maps.....	16
2.1.2. Emergence of the International Political Space/System by/on Maps	19
2.1.3. Mapped International System that maps the Mind	22
2.2. From Mapping of the Space to the Creation of the Territory.....	24
2.2.1. Politicized Globe	25
2.2.2. Production of Territory	26
2.2.3. Territory as Political Technology.....	29
2.2.4. Borders and Disciplined Environment	31
2.2.5. Movement within the fixity.....	33
2.3. Conclusion.....	35
Chapter III	36
Movement on the Surface – What moves Where.....	36

3.1. Movement and Mobility – Concepts	37
3.1.1. Overarching Victory of Sedentarist Thought	40
3.2. Human Mobility	43
3.3. Politicized Mobility	46
3.4. Conclusion	48
CHAPTER IV	49
4. Conceptual/Theoretical Framework	49
4.1. Historicizing Lefebvre	50
4.2. Lefebvre’s Trialectics	52
4.2.1. Abstract and Concrete Space	52
4.2.2. Perceived & Conceived & Lived	54
4.2.3. Selected Exemplifications of the Trialectics	56
4.3. Combined Trialectics for ‘Abstract Crisis’	63
4.4. Conclusion	70
CHAPTER V	72
Placing the Concepts: ‘Crisis’ & ‘Migration’	72
5.1. Crisis Literature	73
5.1.1. ‘Crisis’ during 1960s – 1980s	73
5.1.2. 1980s and 1990s – Crisis is omnipresent	75
5.1.3. Crisis after 2000s.	85
5.2. Migration Studies	90
5.3. Conclusion	97
5.3.1. Narrowing the Literature Down	98
5.3.2. Who Walked Behind?	99
CHAPTER VI	104
Unfolding ‘Refugee’ and ‘Crisis’	104

6.1.	Selection of e-Journals, Searching Criteria, Themes & Types.....	110
6.1.1.	Selected Journals – JIRM, JRS, IMR.....	110
6.1.2.	Extraction of Research Articles	113
6.1.3.	Coding Process and Themes/Types	116
6.2.	Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies (JIRS).....	122
6.2.1.	Politics of Mobility	122
6.2.2.	Inclusion & Exclusion.....	124
6.3.	International Migration Review (IMR)	127
6.3.1.	Politics of Mobility	127
6.3.2.	Inclusion & Exclusion.....	131
6.4.	Journal of Refugee Studies (JRS).....	134
6.4.1.	Politics of Mobility	134
6.4.2.	Inclusion & Exclusion.....	137
6.5.	Conclusion.....	139
CHAPTER VII.....		141
Conclusion		141
7.1.	Distinctiveness of the Study	149
References		151
Appendices.....		180

List of Tables

Table 1. Categories and Themes 119

Table 2. Themes and Types..... 121



List of Figures

Figure 1. Number of graduate theses on ‘Migration’	4
Figure 2. Number of graduate theses on ‘Refugee’	4
Figure 5. Illustration of mapped mind. Source: Branch (2014, p.70)	23
Figure 6. Ordering the nature. Source: (Scott, 1998, p. 18)	31
Figure 7. Three moments in the production of space. Source: (McCann, p.172)	58
Figure 8. Interpretation of Lefebvre’s spatial triad in the context of experiential learning. Source: (Pipitone & Raghavan, 2017, p. 4)	61
Figure 9. Three Moments in the production of State Space – Territory, (Brenner & Elden, p. 362) illustration by the author.....	64
Figure 10. Three Moments in the production of Human Mobility, (Cresswell, 2011), illustration by the author	66
Figure 11. Trialectics (Lefebvre & Cresswell) in combination displaying the production of abstract crisis, constructed by the author.....	68
Figure 12. Categorization of risk events, Source (Slovic, 1987, p. 283)	77
Figure 13. How an event is turned to be risky. Source (Kasperson, et al., 1988, p. 182)	79
Figure 14. Characteristics of ‘Abstract Crisis’, illustration by the author	90
Figure 15. Predicament of crises – abstract and human centric, illustration by the author.....	95
Figure 16. Construction of Crisis in relation to migratory movements, illustration by the author.....	98
Figure 17. Distribution of publications on ‘refugee crisis’ in the database of Web of Science	104
Figure 18. Departmental distribution of publications, in Web of Science, in July 2019.....	106
Figure 19. Illustration of search criteria	116
Figure 20. IMR, materials between 2004-2002.....	117
Figure 21. JIRS, materials between 2016-2014	118
Figure 22. JRS, materials between 2016-2014.....	118

Figure 23. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category	122
Figure 24. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category	123
Figure 25. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Human Centric’ category	125
Figure 26. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category	125
Figure 27. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Human Centric’ category	127
Figure 28. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category	128
Figure 29. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category	128
Figure 30. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Human Centric’ category	131
Figure 31. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category	132
Figure 32. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category	132
Figure 33. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Human Centric’ category	135
Figure 34. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category	135
Figure 35. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category	136
Figure 36. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Human Centric’ category	137
Figure 37. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category	138
Figure 38. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category	138
Figure 39. Crises themes, in all journals	145
Figure 40. Crisis Categories, in all journals	145

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis analyzes the reasons behind the usage of the term ‘crisis’ with regard to ‘refugee’ or other terms related to migratory events. Having been concerned by the abusive coverages of the phrase ‘refugee crisis’ in news media, NGO reports and policy discourses, it is aimed to scrutinize the question ‘who/what turns an event into a crisis at global scale, and why?’. By rejecting to accept IR space and mobility ontologically as given, it is hypothesized that political representation of space as being consisted of territorially bounded states leads to the impulsion to see an *uncontrolled* movement as risky, and eventually to call the event as *crisis*. The research question implies two ways of analysis since it asks who *or* what causes events to be called as ‘crisis’. While the *who* question conditions the investigation of the frame within the narratives and discourses, it does not go beyond descriptive analysis. Such an analysis would merely seek answers to how the process leading to labeling a migratory event as ‘crisis’ unfolds. The *what* question, on the other hand, leads the study to the deconstruction of the concepts – *space* and *mobility*, under which an event turns to be portrayed as a crisis.

Indeed, such a deconstruction is required since the space in which movement is practiced is not a raw element. In the same vein, the movement, practiced by the human subjects, is not simply going from point A to point B. Space in international politics is represented as being consisted of territorially bounded states. Exercising authority over the given territory, the territorial state conceptually implies the notion of control. For each part of the Earth is represented as being occupied by such entities, going from place to place does not become a sole practice of movement. Since the practice of movement is exercised under regulations no individual can float around the world freely. Also being termed as legitimate ways of movement, mobile practices are represented differently. Depending on whether such practices are regular or irregular, representations of movement dominate its practitioner – human beings, like territorial state dominates the space.

Therefore, when a person is represented as a ‘refugee’ because of his/her forced movement practiced ‘illegitimately’ in the international political space, the application of ‘crisis’ to the event becomes a matter of conceptualization independent from real life issues (Turton, 2003). While the thesis conceptualizes such labeling as ‘abstract crisis’, it does not generalize all the coverages of the phrase as such. For some of the usages refer to the humanitarian crisis/disaster, the thesis targets the irresponsible usage of the phrase ‘refugee/migration crisis’.

All in all, as the concepts of *space* and *mobility* are politically shaped, acceptance of them as given only reproduces the phrase. Through critically engaging with human mobility studies, this thesis intends to investigate the migration literature in order to lay out various usages of the phrase. In regard to the

materials extracted from three scholarly interdisciplinary journals, this study creates three categories of crisis. By integrating two trialectics of Lefebvre and Cresswell to the study of human mobility, the thesis distinguishes the ‘abstract’ usage of crisis from a ‘concrete’ one which refers to human-related crisis. This separation between the crisis types leads to the third category that combines both ‘abstract’ and ‘concrete’ crises. Under the typology of these three categories, the thesis wishes to make contribution to crisis and migration literatures by providing clarification for scholarly confusion emerging from the irrespective usages of the phrase.

1.2. Self-Reflexivity and Rationale

Turkey, particularly, having been the host country to the highest number of Syrian refugees with the number of 3,630,767 (UNHCR, 2019), has drawn vast area of research interests focusing primarily on the country’s border regulations in relation to its affairs with the EU (Özçürümez & Şenses, 2011; İçduygu, 2012; Özçürümez & Yetkin, 2014; Okyay, 2017; Şenoğuz, 2017). Further, the impact of the event on the knowledge produced in higher education institutions has steered the focus of graduate theses towards human mobility; migration and refugee movements, specifically. Indeed, written in varying departments such as Political Science, Urban and Regional Planning, Sociology, Economics, English Linguistics and Literature, History, Anthropology, Geography, and Law have started to show interest towards the topic, especially 3 years after the incident in Syria. The figures below indicate the number of theses covering themes of migration and refugee movements, in Turkey.

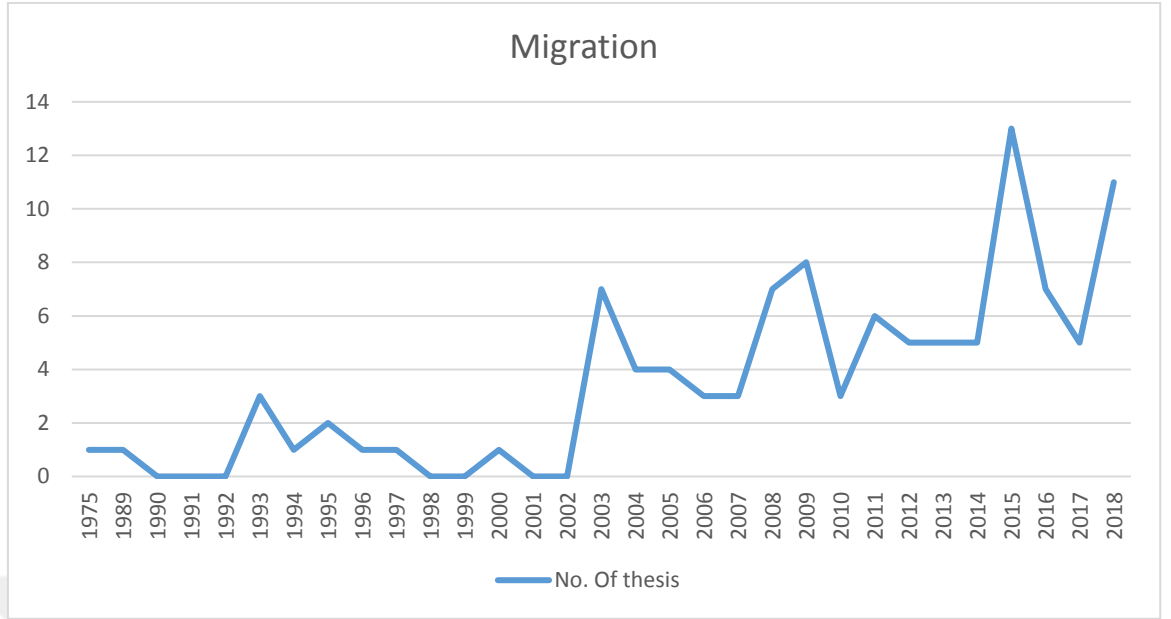


Figure 1. Number of graduate theses on ‘Migration’
Source: Council of Higher Education (YÖK) (Last calculated on 17th April, 2019)

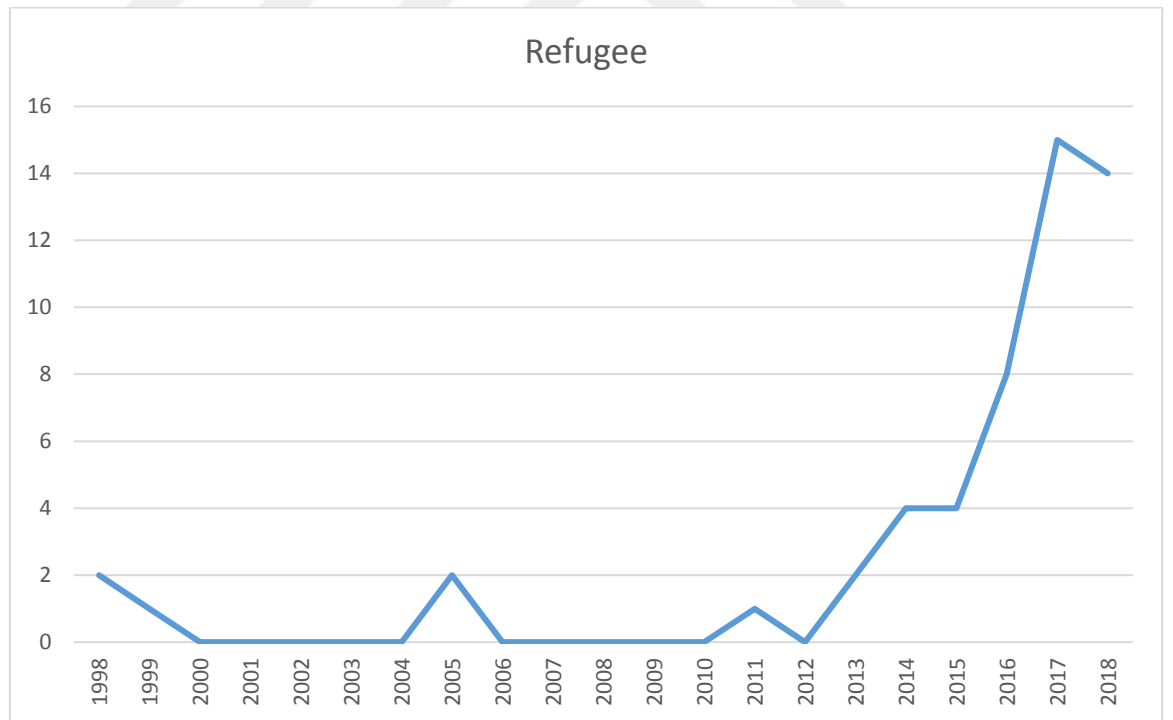


Figure 2. Number of graduate theses on ‘Refugee’
Source: Council of Higher Education (YÖK) (Last calculated on 17th April, 2019)

The theses are selected by key term searches on ‘migration’ and ‘refugee’, and sorted by depending on their relevance to human mobility discussion, in order to distinguish their different usages that may fall outside of the scope of this research¹. The two key terms are chosen in order to see if there is a difference in the number of theses between the national and international movements of individuals, as this thesis is not interested in domestic movements of people. Indeed, while the numbers do not show a significant difference till 2014, from 2015 to 2017 migration-related theses drop significantly. This unexpected decrease during the peak periods of Syrian movements can be interpreted by the resonance of the term migration to national movements. When scanned, it was observed theses discussing international migratory events usually prefer to use ‘refugee’ instead of ‘migration’. Hence, the numbers in the refugee-related graph have gradually increased throughout the same periods.

Being surrounded by such an environment in which the trend towards human mobility studies show a drastic increase, the author of the thesis is troubled to gauge his self-reflexivity in the field. As Oren states that knowledge is not only dependent on one’s position in the social world, but it is an ‘ongoing analysis and control of the categories used in the practice of social science’ (2014, p. 221), the researcher takes his cue from his interactions with other researchers (Guillaume, 2013, p. 29) in investigating the flux of debates revolving around the ‘refugee’ and ‘crisis’.

¹ Migration is not used with reference to human mobility for the theses written in the positive science departments

This self-reflexivity has also established the rationale for conducting such a study focusing on the relationship between space and mobility through migration. Although everything is in motion; from bacteria, insects, birds, mammals to climate, the Earth, the Solar System, and the galaxy, movement for human beings is perceived as both source of modernity and development (Haas, 2009; WBCSD, 2009; Klugman, 2009; Leinbach, 2000), and source of ambiguity, risk and threat (Pirttilä, 2004; Jones, 2009; Pallitto & Heyman, 2008; Lyon, 2006; Gandy, 1993). This duality of the two perceptions has led to the notion that in order for a *secure* environment, human mobility should be under control. For its implications are on individuals, societies and culture, mobility is thought to be more than just movement; ‘a way of governing, a political technology’ (Bærenholdt, 2013, p. 20). Hence, movement, in relation to space, has started to be investigated by various disciplines within the social sciences ranging from city, region and urban studies (Lynch, 1960; Pinder, 1996; De Certeau, 1984) to Economics (Obstfeld, 1985; Hillier, 2007), Political Science and International Relations (Carlson, Hubach, Long, Minter, & Young, 2013; Salter, 2006; Mountz, Coddington, Catania, & Loyd, 2012; Shaw, Graham, & Akhter, 2012).

While the effects of the movements of the things on the globe are being felt more explicitly on the one hand, and the intention to regulate and control it on the other, it is thought that ‘mobility studies must engage directly with questions of territoriality and border studies, as well as critical histories of sovereignty, citizenship, and state formation’ (Salter, 2013, p. 8). The study of migration sits in the center of these debates in which the lenses of research are concentrated on territoriality, sovereignty and bordering practices on the one hand, and citizenship,

social capital/social cohesion, nations/nationalism on the other hand. Indeed, facilitated by the events occurred after the civil war in Syria, the attention of the world has directed towards mass movement of people. While the news media and political discourses highlighted humanitarian aspects of the event as being the biggest humanitarian and refugee crisis of our time² (UN, 2016), neighboring countries have faced with the emergency to meet the influx of 5.6 million people³.

Faced with a turmoil in such a mass scale, the thesis is concerned to explore the ambiguity over the usage of the phrase. By way of offering three categories of analyzing migration studies in relation to crisis situations, the thesis provides a map for a clear understanding for the usage of ‘crisis’ in relation to migratory events.

1.3. Research Question and Argument

The messiness in the usage of the phrase is compiled by the research question asking *what turns an event into a crisis at a global scale, and why?* The question is undertaken by the two separate approaches differentiating evidence from perception. When applied to the study of human mobility, the migration studies are analyzed in two ways; one focusing on the *event*, the other focusing on the *crisis*.

Having been neglecting to ontologically accept IR space and mobility as given, the thesis, in response to the research question, proposes that political representation of space as being consisted of territorially bounded states leads to the impulsion to see an *uncontrolled* movement as risky, and eventually to call the

² Stated by UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi

³ Lebanon has 944,613, Jordan has 660,393 Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2019)

event as *crisis*. It is the ‘abstract crisis’ produced by the existing international political space that sees uncontrolled mobility occurred unwittingly as ‘irregular’. However, the argument does not state each and every irregular movement creates abstract crisis in international state system. What is intended to emphasize is the mobile and irregular characteristic of such events in the *first place* that starts the process of *crisis* labeling in abstract terms.

The study develops the concepts in three steps. First, the thesis engages with the work of the urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre deconstructing social space into three components: concrete, abstract and lived. While concrete space refers to physical environment and practices on it, abstract space refers to geometric representation of space by architects, technocrats and others, on papers. The two spaces are not separate from each other, their interaction re/produces themselves, and creates the ‘lived space’. Second, these three conceptualizations of space are brought to IR, since Lefebvre’s space can be read as referring to territory. This modification is done by applying; concrete space as physical territories of State like fences and borders, abstract spaces as political maps showing which area belongs to what state, and lived space as bordering practices to control/regulate the mobility. Lastly, Lefebvre in IR is combined with Cresswell’s trialectic of movement which adopts the same concepts of space into mobility. In result, the thesis creates three categories of crisis; ‘human centric’, ‘abstract/systemic’, and ‘humanized abstraction’. In the first category, crisis refers to the subjects of migratory events, and their experiences in conflict situations. It is uninformed by political constructedness of events, whether the movement is securitized or not. It deals with the security of the individuals, not the securitization of their movements. The

second category, on the other hand, refers to the abstract debates revolving around policies, laws and regulations created by the political actors on the environment. In this category, crisis refers only to the political deadlocks or legal constraints in *managing* irregular mobility. No real-life experiences are analyzed. The third category of crisis combines the two. It refers both to the real life experiences of people on the move and policies that shape, and are shaped by, the event of movement.

Through such categories the thesis aims to clarify the usage of the term crisis in relation to migratory events as well as its subjects. The study, however, does not conduct a case study on a migratory events. Since it is concerned with scholarly confusion for using ‘crisis’ irrespectively in cases of human mobility and migration, it operationalizes three categories on the literature itself. The outcome of this analysis creates a typology and taxonomy of migration and crisis. Typologies of migratory events have been conducted for more than a century (Fairchild, 1913; Petersen, 1958; Jacobsen, 1996). Also, taxonomy of crisis has been conducted by Kuipers and Welsh (2017). However, the literature lacks in two aspects: First, contrary to categorization of migratory events, no research is encountered that conducts the typology of migration studies analyzing such events. Second, no study juxtaposes the two literatures: migration and crisis in a categorical way. Hence, the thesis wishes to fill this gap in the literature, and inform further studies about the usage of the term – crisis in relation to migratory events.

1.4. Method and Research Design

The term ‘crisis’ is a narrative that conventional migration literature borrows and operationalizes without conceptualizing. The reason is that narratives are contextualized automatically by the social and relational devices in order for us to make sense of the world (Pipitone & Raghavan, 2017, p. 6). They come with meanings preoccupied by language that produces the term ‘within the context of specific physical, social, and cultural environments of daily life’ (p.6). The borrowing of the narrative in scholarly studies, however, does not reflect any clarity since the phrase is contextualized differently depending on varying social and relational interactions. Hence, the thesis does not conduct a discourse analysis in order to ‘identify the meaning of the data collected through formal content analysis’ (Mutlu & Salter, 2013, pp. 114-116). It rejects to focus either on the language of the representatives of any political entity or the subject – human being, and proposes to focus on the literature itself. First, an analysis of discourses of a representative of political entity falls under the question of *who* that turns an event into crisis. Besides as this thesis aims to deconstruct space and mobility, such discourses are expected to be stated within the environment in which space necessitates the control of mobility. Hence, such a choice would reproduce the narrative itself that the thesis wishes to deconstruct. Second, this study does not work with data from interviews with the subjects being represented as ‘refugee’ or ‘illegal migrant’ or ‘asylum seeker’ since such abstract etiquettes predispose the data to be collected in a way that it again reproduces the existing term. A critical investigation of crisis narrative in relation to migration requires interviewees to be uninformed about their

politically constructed identities. Therefore, this study focuses on the literature analyzing migratory events in crisis-like events. This selection of material therefore aims to overcome the criticism about validity and reliability in narrative analysis (Druckman, 2005).

The research is designed in order to code the content of the research articles collected from three scholarly journals under the three categories of crisis. By considering their scope and impact factors, *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies (JIRS)*, *Journal of Refugee Studies (JRS)*, and *International Migration Review (IMR)* are selected. Research articles are extracted by creating the searching criteria of - [[[All "refugee"] AND [All "crisis"]]] OR [[All "conflict"] AND [All "mobility"]]] AND [All irregular]. From the materials extracted, codes are created by the analysis of the terms (similar to) 'crisis' within the context of themes that research articles focus on. After analyzing the crisis narrative in each material, 119 in total, two generic themes are detected; 'Politics of Mobility' and 'Inclusion & Exclusion'. These themes are enhanced through creation of types, as explained in the chapter – 'Unfolding 'Refugee' and 'Crisis'.

Through these steps designed in the thesis, the aim is to lay out a taxonomy of migration studies in relation to crisis for categorizing the scholarly orientation that produces knowledge. In the knowledge production process, the thesis targets to clarify the usages of crisis narrative within the scope of migratory events by establishing three categories with two themes. It does so in five steps:

Chapter II titled '*Environment Knowledge Operates in*' deconstructs the space in international arena. It traces the process in order to catch how space is

evolved to be conceptualized as territory. Having an auxiliary role, this chapter is organized to construct the first layer of the theoretical framework established in the thesis. It sets the discussion for bringing Lefebvre to IR studies. For the establishment of the concept – abstract crisis, the chapter illustrates how the world surface is abstracted through political maps. The purpose of the chapter is to enlighten the reader about analyses conducted in such abstraction leads to the notion that the concept of territorial state fixes a notion asserting movement should be controlled.

Chapter III titled '*Movement on the Surface*' is designed to be the second layer in the theory construction part of the thesis. By building upon the first chapter, it establishes a surface for deconstructing mobility practiced on the 'environment'. It compares and contrasts sedentarist approach with nomadic to show the process that steers our notion to expect mobility to be under control. Hence, the section asserts that mobility has come to be understood as being practiced with references to territories of states.

Chapter IV for the theoretical framework is therefore constructed upon these two that carefully modifies Lefebvre's trialectic of space. By integrating the two chapters under the framework part, the creation of crisis categories, defined in relation to space and mobility, is justified. Henceforth, the framework for answering the research question – '*what* turns an event into crisis at global scale, and why' is created by the assertion of the concept 'abstract crisis'.

Chapter V titled '*Placing the Concepts 'Crisis and Migration'*' reviews the literature of crisis and migration in order to place carefully the concept of 'abstract

crisis'. The discussions held by chronologically reviewing the crisis literature indirectly explain the thesis' choice of concentrating on research articles by dividing the studies within this literature into two: study of the game itself and game play. While study of the game itself refers to the disruption in the international system; such as formation of different world system as a result of a crisis event, study of game play refers to deadlock situations between the actors in the international political space. By empowering the concept with integrating risk and security literatures, it also anchors the discussion of narrative analysis since risk and security are subjectively understood. The chapter informs the author in coding research articles extracted about the matter of security and securitization leading to the labeling of abstract or concrete crisis. Eventually, the literature of migration is examined in order to see the patterns for thesis' way to create the type and taxonomy. Having been influenced by the previous studies that engage critically with migration and crisis, the thesis finds its uniqueness in operationalizing 'abstract concept' to the materials extracted from migration literatures.

Lastly, the **chapter VI** titled '*Unfolding 'Refugee' and 'Crisis'*' operationalizes the argument of the thesis over the literature itself discussing migratory events in relation to conflict ridden situations. Through creation of search categories⁴, all the chapters having conceptual and theoretical discussions throughout the thesis are informed by the scholarly articles from select journals. By way of exemplifying how the materials are coded and placed under certain themes and crisis categories, this section supplements the thesis' propositions, mentioned

⁴ [[[All "refugee"] AND [All "crisis"]]] OR [[[All "conflict"] AND [All "mobility"]]] AND [All irregular]

at the end of theoretical/conceptual framework part, which encourages researches to combine abstract and concrete aspects of events into considerations.



CHAPTER II

The Environment Knowledge Operates in

Give me a map; then let me see how much

Is left for me to conquer all the world,...

Christopher Marlowe⁵, *Tamburlaine*, Part III

This chapter aims to enlighten the reader about the environment in which the scholars from the social science, particularly within the departments of Political Science and International Relations, operate when faced with *anomalies*⁶ like irregular migration. Moreover, the section establishes the first pillar necessary for the theoretical framework adopted from Lefebvre and modified in the dissertation exploring – how the perception of maps displaying the Earth as divided into territorial states leads to the conception of fixity in which *uncontrolled* mobility creates a *crisis* in lived space where the knowledge is produced. In its way to explain the crisis narrative in the literature, this chapter progresses systematically in eight parts; the first section consisting of the three sub-sections covers the reason

⁵ Was an English playwright, poet and translator of the Elizabethan era.

⁶ See (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003, p. 585; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 311)

behind that ‘unconsciously’ *maps* our approach towards the events having mobile characteristics. The second section composed of five sub-sections examines the spatial practices in the *built* environment.

2.1. Maps, Narration, and Their Impact

This section examines the usage of maps, and creation of an imagined international space system that is legitimized through spatial practices by political actors. It firstly approaches the usages of maps from a critical point of view, secondly examines their actualization/legitimization on the ground, and lastly asserts their effects on the actors’ knowledge production.

2.1.1. Presence and Usage of Maps

Maps are the tools that help the interpreter have an abstract imagination about a concrete space. Conceptualization of maps as ‘graphical representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world’ (Branch, 2014, p. 37) seems to provide a universal understanding. Yet, maps are narratives of someone for somebody as, Harley asserts that ‘maps are never value-free images’ (2004, p. 218). Their content and representational styles are a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is ‘biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations’ (p. 218). Thus, maps shape the space and measures the experiences on it (Caquard, 2011, p. 140). The imagination of space in result is reproduced in an altered way.

De Certeau, discussing the relationship between ‘tours’ and ‘maps’ in their effects on New York stories, traces the evolution of maps. Indicating the role of itineraries on the geographical form of maps, the interpreter was directed towards what to experience on certain paths. For instance, the itineraries on the first medieval maps were aimed for pilgrimages ‘along with the stops one was to make (cities which one was to pass through, spend the night in, pray at, etc) and distances calculated in hours or in days’ (de Certeau, 1984, p. 120). Hence, such illustrations by itineraries were telling what to do in the specific region, ‘like fragments of stories’ (p. 120). However, de Certeau moves on and asserts that ‘the map gradually wins out over these figures; it colonizes space’, which in result conceals its prehistory.

Indeed, the neutralization of space through geometric maps has started to prevail the itineraries. Inherited from Ptolemy’s *Geographia* (see figure 3), maps, representing the Earth divided by latitude–longitude, have gained the role of producing impersonal knowledge that tend to desocialize the area they represent (Harley, 2004, p. 303). Hence, their interpretation would be ‘objective’, in a sense⁷.

⁷ See (Lo Presti, 2016, p. 162)



Figure 3. Ptolemy's Atlas

This revolution in cartography – from itineraries on the map to geometric representation of place – has been rebounded on the political space. The effect of cartographic revolution has felt in the ideas held by actors about the organization of political authority that in turn actors' authoritative political practices are shaped by maps. Branch, arguing understanding the effects of mapping as crucial part for discovering the key characteristics of sovereign state, in his book titled as *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*, asserts as his main argument that 'the cartographic revolution in early modern Europe created new representations that, first, led to changes in ideas of authority and, subsequently, drove a transformation in the structures and practices of rule (Branch, 2014, p. 9). Started particularly in France during the 17th century⁸, maps have been used as a way of exercising political power. Indeed, the usage of the

⁸ See (Konvitz, 1987) and (Petto, 2007)

maps for military purposes has led to the division of land as a patent for victory starting with the Westphalian Treaties, in 1648. Through such treaties, maps have started to become the environment itself in which decisions over *who* controls *where* is recognized.

2.1.2. Emergence of the International Political Space/System by/on Maps

This sub-section takes the discussion from how the maps have started to be used as the signifier of political power and the representations of political space to the creation of International Political Space/System.

Resulting from the usage of geometric maps as a tool/technique indicating *where* to control for political entities, the abstract space maps represent has gradually become the sole environment in which legitimation of power is recognized. Branch explains this situation as the shift to the modern international system within which two major changes to authority has occurred: i-) the jurisdictional and overlapping forms of authority were eliminated, and ii-) territorial authority became the sole basis for sovereignty in the modern system (2014, p. 34). What is traced throughout the process is that while maps were used as political tools *for actors'* authoritative practices, they started to *define* the environment in which such actors operate.

These two changes in the form of political authority are displayed as the elimination of the de-centered concept of control of places (p.35). Instead of frontier type of control, modern form of territorial authority has emerged in which 'control

is conceived of as flowing in from firm boundaries that delineate a homogeneous territorial space' (p.35). To elaborate this shift more, Branch asserts three distinct aspects that distinguish modern statehood from medieval authority. Firstly, territorial authority was transformed from varying centers to a homogenous space defined by discrete boundaries. Secondly, this homogenous space has eliminated non-territorial forms of authority as a result of its legitimations by bilateral treaties between political entities like states. Lastly, state practices have started to be executed on exclusive territorial forms⁹ (p.77). Hence, what we observe eventually is the drawn boundaries on the maps within which international political system is legitimized.

The institutionalization/legitimization of maps overcoming the concrete space is thought to be marked by the Congress of Vienna (1815) both adjusting the borders of states in central Europe and representing the division of concrete space in abstract form. However, the thesis diverges from this acceptance in order to avoid Eurocentrism (Bilgin, 2017, p. 16). For the event is applicable only to the European states, its acceptance would thus neglect the de-centered histories. In response, the thesis marks the establishment of United Nations, in 1945 as its pinpoint in asserting that space of international politics is defined by the UN map (see figure 4). For all states, including non-Europeans¹⁰, have adopted the same principles drawn by the UN Charter¹¹, space of international politics is determined by the UN map. Eventually, the only way for the modern state to *exist* on this abstract political environment has come to be represented on the UN map. To elaborate more, while

⁹ See for example (Meyer, 1987)

¹⁰ See the charter of Organization of African Unity, 1964, 16[1]

¹¹ Chapter 1, Article 2 indicating sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all its member states

Hardt and Negri (2000) argue international order is in crisis because of the growth of global realm towards a decentered and deterritorializing apparatus, they refer to the UN as the signifier of the spatial order.



Figure 4. The World Today. Image: un.org

Therefore, with the institutionalization of the UN, ‘the boundaries on maps were eventually turned into boundaries on the ground’, and ‘the international system took on the form we are familiar with today: sovereign states, separated by discrete divisions and allowing no outside authority to be asserted within their boundaries’ (Branch, p.91). What this meant is that the ideational effects that the maps, particularly the UN map representing the political environment, have given a territorial character to our theories, making it more difficult to incorporate non-territorial causal drivers, processes, and outcomes (Caquard, 2011, p. 141). In other

words, such a geo-coded world on maps has not only structured political outcomes, but also structured ‘how knowledge about political and social outcomes is generated’ (p.170-171).

2.1.3. Mapped International System that maps the Mind

This sub-section aims to wrap up the first part of the chapter aiming to introduce the reader under what kind of abstraction knowledge is produced by way of tracing the evolution of maps and their presence in shaping political environment.

So far it has been discussed that the concrete environment has been turned into the abstraction through cartographic revolution through which maps prevail the space. In return, the conception of space, territory and political authority by the actors, have been shaped. Before delving into the discussions about the concept of territory which requires particular attention because of its role as political technology in this abstract place, it is necessary to display the evolution of maps. As their role is crucial for the aim of this thesis basing its theoretical framework on Lefebvre’s conceptual triad, the evolution of space to abstract representations must be emphasized. This evolution is later used for thesis’s examination of ‘abstract’ crisis category with regard to human mobility.

Figure 5, taken from Branch (p.70), displays how our view of space is shaped in relation to creation of maps with ‘scientific’ mapping technologies.

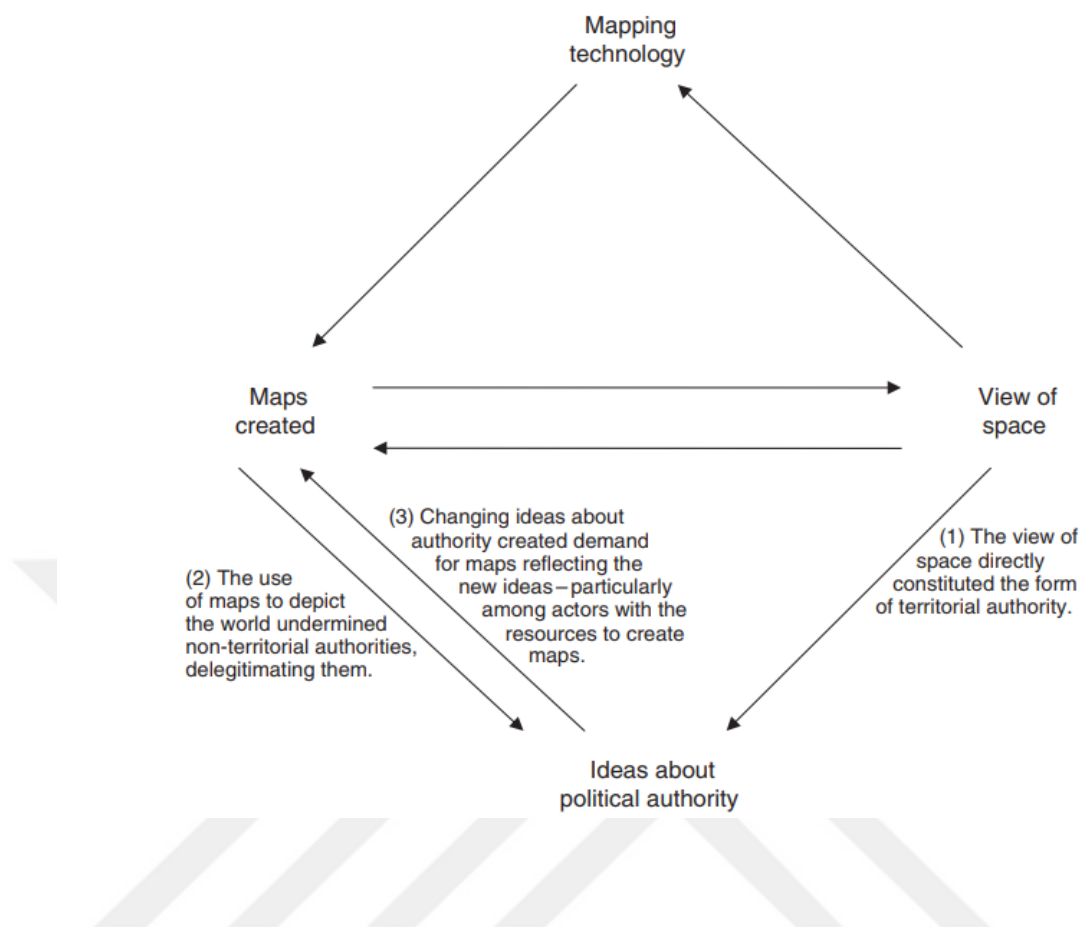


Figure 5. Illustration of mapped mind. Source: Branch (2014, p.70)

Branch creatively sums up the process of cartographic revolution, its effects on the representation of space, the role of such representations on ideas defining the political authority, and which results in creation of new and commonly accepted/legitimized maps, like the UN map. In other words, figure above basically shows the process that how maps have started to dominate space and individuals' mind that see the world being consisting of territorial states. The drawn boundaries on political maps dividing the concrete space lead to internalization of such abstraction in thinking. For instance, depending the territorial location of a disaster having mobile characteristics, people perceive these events differently. Also being

called as ‘border bias’ territories drawn in the maps provide a feeling of security if the risk-event is not spreading inside the territorial border of state (Mishra & Mishra, 2010, p. 1582). To put it differently, if a Turkish citizen is alerted by the child pox outbreak emerging in Syria, s/he is not irritated by it till it is taken to the territory of Turkish state by carried through a war-victim refugees. The reason of such a notion in his/her mind is that ‘people use state-based categorization even while assessing the risk of disasters that are not restricted by state borders’ (1583).

However, it would be oversimplification to explain the evolution of space to abstraction as a kind of depiction of land through maps, which defines our understanding about the international political environment. Therein, it is crucial to explore the development of this state-based categorizations with regard to concepts – territory and territorialization. Speaking of border requires particular attention to the concept of territory, as it plays crucial role for the way we perceive irregular mobility as anomaly. Therefore, the second part of this chapter will aim to take the debate from the effects of maps in establishing order/discipline to the concept of territory as political technology produced to *map* the movement of people.

2.2. From Mapping of the Space to the Creation of the Territory

The second section of the chapter aims to investigate the creation of territory, being emerged from mapping the space as boundaries, that has shaped the processes of what we call as ‘spatial practices¹²’. Thus, this section tries to establish the other

¹² Explained in Chapter IV

half of the road-map exploring the perception of uncontrolled mobility as anomaly in the geo-coded space. It does so in five steps that each sub-section inserts the stratum necessary for the development of the fundamental argumentation discussing the research question of the thesis. The aim here is to explore how abstract representation of space through maps has (been) shaped (by) the bordering practices that is done for territorial integrity, which makes movements orderly.

2.2.1. Politicized Globe

The title of this sub-section indicates how natural image of the Earth is distorted through geometric maps that divides the surface into territorial states. This ‘scientific’ view is often represented through satellite images empowered by Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Though such representations of globe differ in terms of their scope, bordered surface remains untouched. Even in these universal ‘scientific’ representations, the territorial state is ontologically taken for granted, as if it is a natural phenomenon. Yet, the implication of such an acceptance is actually the notion that conditions mobility in an orderly way via turning human beings into citizens who belongs to the certain lot in the space. This notion of territoriality, which will be discussed in detail in the next sub-sections, fixes individuals’ political representation, and hence mobility, into static political entity that has emerged through cartographic revolution.

Pickles reflects upon this discussion that our world is geo-coded; ‘boundary objects have been inscribed, literally written on the surface of the earth and coded by layer upon layer of lines drawn on paper’ (2004, p. 5). What we see when we

look at the Earth is the political representation of space, in which ‘cartographic institutions and practices have coded, decoded and recoded planetary, national and social spaces’ (p.5). In result, while maps, as abstract space, were used to depict the perceived environment, they have become the environment itself through ‘over-coding and over-determining the worlds in which we live’ (p.5).

As it was discussed in the first part of this chapter, maps have constituted a mutually ‘constitutive relationship between the representations of political space, the ideas held by actors about the organization of political authority, and actors’ authoritative political practices manifesting those ideas’ (Branch, 69). In result, what has emerged is the modern state, as Branch calls it. This thesis, however, calls this political entity as territorial state in order to draw the readers’ attention to the concept of territory and territoriality having regulatory effects on human mobility.

2.2.2. Production of Territory

Mapped space has earned its political meaning, called as territory, through authoritative exercises of sovereign power on it. In relation to the effects of mapping, other than our political cognition imagining the world as composing of bounded states, Pickles asserts that ‘cartography is about locating, identifying and bounding phenomena and thereby situating events, processes and things within a coherent spatial frame. It imposes spatial order on phenomena’ (2004, p.220). However, the difficulty the territorial understanding of international political space faces is that human subject is difficult to map (p.11). Their movement is traced and

controlled by their attachment to the territory that codes subjects and produces identities.

The concept of territory occupies great areas of research interest, especially in the studies of globalization and border practices. It is however not engaged critically by scholars, particularly from the discipline of IR. Stuart Elden deals with this neglect that although the importance of the concept is recognized, the discipline does not go beyond providing general statement on the term (2005, p. 11). As indicated in the previous sub-section, Elden states that territory of modern states becomes possible by way of abstracting space of maps and mathematics as a grid imposed over the top (p.16).

The examination of Elden, till this point, towards the notion of territory is not analyzed further by the scholars studying de-territorialization facilitated by spread of liberal ideas through globalization. John Agnew inserted his criticism at this point that ‘globalization ontologically rests upon exactly the same idea of homogeneous, calculable space’ (Elden, p.18). He asserts that geographical division of the world into mutually exclusive territorial states has served to define the field of IR studies that implies a ‘focus on the relations between territorial states in contradistinction to processes going on within state’s territorial boundaries’ (Agnew, 1994, p. 53). The study, hence, assumes state and society are related within the boundaries, and anything outside belongs to the *Others*.

Agnew helps us question the reason why in the first place geometrical division of spaces that led to the emergence of territorial conception was accepted. He finds out that security of the most crucial condition for civic and political life

could only be possible within the area of a ‘tightly defined spatial unit endowed with sovereignty’ (p.54). Thus, outside is seen as dangerous, chaotic, unpredictable. This notion, however, is seen as problematic by Agnew that ‘social, economic, and political life cannot be ontologically contained within the territorial boundaries of states through the methodological assumption of ‘timeless space’ (p.77). In order to overcome this notion, seeing territory as timeless space is challenged, and this thesis therefore has traced the process through the evolution of maps and their integration to ideas that have become concrete by sovereign practices.

Although Agnew warns scholars about ‘territorial trap’ that accepting territory ontologically as the container of society within the state borders, Shah (2012) finds out that ‘territorial trap’ is actually a trap itself. She finds out that Agnew, as well as Sassen (2013, p. 25), falls into his own trap without showing no reference other than the concept of territory itself while discussing that we should not take our reference point only from the territory. Shah, therefore, leads us to think more that identifying new territories departing from the national-state framework, “reterritorialization” reifies the national territorial scale as the fulcrum of spatial transformations (p.67). But what else do scholars have other than taking their references from the concept – territory itself, if the environment we operate is in vicious cycle producing those traps?

Troubled by such questions Elden, two years later after his publication of ‘Missing the Point: Globalization, Deterritorialization and the Space of the World, sees it necessary to explore the concept more. Since ‘territory is more than merely land, but a rendering of the emergent concept of ‘space’ as a political category as

owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered, and controlled' (2007, p. 578), there is the need to go through the concept itself for at least providing clarification in our 'mapped' mind.

In 'Land, Terrain, Territory', Elden distinguishes the concept from other aspects of spaces, as a result of cartographic imagination of international political system. He starts with conceptualizing *land* as a scarce resource whose 'distribution and redistribution is an important economic and political concern' (2010, p. 806). Hence, thinking of territory only in relation to land would provide a political-economic understanding. Terrain, on the other hand, signifies a conflictual relation over the scarce resources. Once land is assigned with a 'strategic, political, military' characteristics, it evolves into terrain. To clarify more, Elden states terrain 'encompasses both the physical aspects of earth's surface, as well as the human interaction with them' (p.807). Applying those two concepts into territory, Elden suggests that it is neither an economic object of land, nor a static terrain, but it a vibrant entity, 'within its frontiers, with its specific qualities' (p.809).

Still, if this conceptualization of territory provides us with the tools that we can calculate its differing vibrations within different contexts, what locks our minds towards territoriality when faced with anomalies?

2.2.3. Territory as Political Technology

The title of this sub-section has derived its influence from Stuart Elden in his argumentation of territory as political technology in *The Birth of Territory* (2013).

Through the utilization of cartography by the state power in determining, and controlling the space, the usage of territory enabled the political entity to measure and control the land and the people, whom are felt attachment to the construction of a 'nation' (Biggs, 1999; Hindess, 2000, p. 1494; Ford, 1999; Anderson, 1991). Elden also traces the process of cartographic evolution by quoting from Rousseau that 'present-day monarchs more shrewdly call themselves Kings of France, of Spain, of England, etc instead of King of French. By thus holding the land [terrain], they are quite sure of holding the inhabitants.'" (p. 329). Therefore, this technology has allowed the state to control the subjects: to be in the territory is to be subject to sovereignty.

Scott (1998), in similar vein, questions this tendency that 'why the state has always seemed to be the enemy of "people who move around' (p.1). He distinguishes the political authority exercised by the pre-modern state over the space in which sovereignty was *blind* to its subjects in terms of their movement across the lands. This pre-modern entity in a sense lacked of detailed 'map' of its terrain and its people (p.2). Comparing his argumentation with regard to the role of maps that shaped the nature of modern statehood, he states that politico-geometric maps have enabled 'much of the reality they depicted to be remade' (p.2).

Figure 6 below is used to illustrate an analogy that how maps are used to create a predictable environment. Like 'increasing order in the forest made it possible for forest workers to use written training protocols' and 'provided a steady, uniform commodity', territory as political technology has provided an legible environment in order to surveil the illegibility of societies. Hence, deriving from

this analogy, it became possible to argue that modern-state, emerged and shaped by cartography, discovered territory to control/organize society as forest.



1. Mixed temperate forest, part managed, part natural regeneration



2. One aisle of a managed poplar forest in Tuscany

Figure 6. Ordering the nature. Source: (Scott, 1998, p. 18)

2.2.4. Borders and Disciplined Environment

The exercise of political authority through the technology of territory is best calculated by focusing on bordering practices. As argued by Schmidtke, territorial realm, or international political environment, is demarcated by national borders which creates the identity of the political community (2008, p. 93). Hence, similar to the discussion before, nation-state becomes a prerequisite for politics (p.93). In his way of discussing the paradigm of inclusion determined by national borders,

Schmidtke is alerted by the fact that while citizenship regimes have universalistic character, the bordering practices are designed to exclude people morally arbitrarily on the basis of territory (p.95).

Yet, what are borders? What meanings do they impose to the individuals, as well as scholars? The conceptualization of border is simply put by Walters as follows: ‘a continuous line demarcating the territory and sovereign authority of the state, enclosing its domain’ (2006, p. 193). Based on the argumentation established throughout the section, this conceptualization incorporates the inherited understanding of abstract environment created by geometric mapping that is actualized on the surface of the Earth. Hence, based on this conceptualization, borders provide the ‘basic rationale for inclusion and exclusion, determining the eligibility of rights’ (Schmidtke, 2008, p. 101). In result, what Elden theoretically engages in order to enlighten researchers about territory should not be confused with territoriality as it becomes blurred by the borders and bordering practices that excludes individuals on the basis of lines on the political maps.

Acknowledgement of borders establishes the feeling of attachment and obsession towards territory that defines illegibility of movement. This notion, on the other hand, silently disciplines our knowledge that state territoriality leaves no alternative option to imagine, like mobile politics¹³. Hence, recalling the figure 5 that explains how our view of space is shaped by cartographic revolution that also shapes the practices on the ground, borders have started to be used as a firewall that scans the anomalies (Walters, *Border/Control*, 2006). Walter uses the analogy of

¹³ Recalling Agnew’s Territorial Trap

firewall in order to establish territorial understanding on the ground. ‘The firewall scans the flow of information entering and leaving the system’ (Walters, *Rethinking Borders Beyond the State*, 2006, p. 152). This asserts that what is tried to be secured is assumed to be a homogeneous unit having proportional space.

Still, Walters mentions that the function of borders as firewalls is two-folded: first, instead of arresting all the movements having potentials to degenerate the sovereign authority in defined territory, they serve to *filter* high levels of circulation, transmission and movement with high levels of security. Second, ‘firewall expresses something of the way in which border control is embedded within social relations of power and resistance, tactics and counter-tactics’ (p.152). With these two aspects in mind, the analogy of firewall as border control assists the aim of the thesis by illustrating an approach towards the perception of uncontrolled mobility as crisis. To bring back the statement from Elden reflecting territory is a vibrant entity, border controls transform their a-static imagination when faced with ‘autonomous migration’ (Walters, 2006, p. 153).

2.2.5. Movement within the fixity

This sub-section tries to vacuum the discussion so far in the whole chapter in order to relate it to the imagined geometric political international environment with regard to human mobility. By doing so it integrates the discussions of purposeful usage of territory to control/surveil movement for the sustainment of a secure fixed/legible environment.

Salter (2006) states that the international control of persons through the regulation of citizenship, refugees, and stateless persons, is ‘vital to the stability of the modern state system as the domestic control of mobility’ (p.179-180). Furthermore, Sassen, contributively to the discussion of tactics and counter-tactics, reflects upon the vibrating characteristics of borders that they could switch into nongeographic bordering capabilities operating both transnationally and sub-nationally (2006, pp. 416-417). Detention centers may be given as examples in this regard that state borders are moved further than its territories in order to control the autonomous movements to provide discipline in the environment. Instead of trying to end mobility altogether, detention centers are the responses to the anomalies in the environment. They are not regularly mapped and institutionalized. But their functions serve to ensure the integrity of the territory that has created cartographically on the political map (Mountz, Coddington, Catania, & Loyd, 2012, p. 526). The authors pay attention to the notion behind how state detention is rationalized, as migration produces a sense of fear emerging from the unknown (p.533). They state that ‘migrants endanger citizens because of their ‘unclassificability’; without identities known to the state, they could ‘be anyone’ and ‘do anything’ (p.533). Hence, they conclude that detention centers serve to contain and fix the identities of migrants.

The discussion revolved around this sub-section is to provide a transitional point on the thesis’s way forward to the discussion of mobility. Before delving directly to the politicization of movement, it was crucial to examine the response coming from bordering practices to disorderly movement in space. Therefore, the

sub-section has taken the discussion from the establishment of territory as political technology, and connected it to the autonomous mobilities needed to be regulated.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to explore the environment in which scholars from social science departments – especially from the International Relations and Political Science – generate knowledge. As this thesis sees it crucial to investigate the evolution of our abstract space, or maps, that shapes our understanding about the events having mobile characteristics, this section was designed to introduce the first pillar of the theoretical framework it will, later on, create from Lefebvre's conceptual triad. When the thesis will operationalize its conceptual and theoretical framework onto its investigation of crisis narrative, the notion of territory and its embedded impact on our consciousness was explored to be the first layer for how knowledge is produced. It is because of our fixed notion which was shaped to be obsessed on fixity, social science has stayed *static* for a long time (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208). By way of indirectly following the new mobilities paradigm that focuses on the role of static entities generating, steering, and regulating movement, it will be discussed next that how movement is tried to be kept in order, though it naturally should have had a disorderly characteristic.

Chapter III

Movement on the Surface – What moves Where

‘Don’t stop me, now’

Queen, 1978

This chapter builds on the discussion developed in the ‘Environment Knowledge Operates in’ part, by focusing on the concepts of movement and mobility with regard to their conception as risk and threat. By doing so, this section aims to establish the second pillar of the theoretical framework developed in this thesis. Having a transitional role from the construction of the environment/space to the emergence of crisis, the main foci, here, are centered on the nature of mobility, without directly affiliating the concept to migration studies. In the pursuit of the main research question – *who/what turns human mobility into crisis*, this chapter thereof lays out three claims. First, movement and mobility are not the same thing, and mobility, like space, is perceived differently throughout history. Second, human beings are politicized subject that they are represented through territoriality and form of movements they practice. Hence, being downplayed into the concept of citizenship (Pailey, 2017; Hindess, 2000), no human being is allowed to float

around like a flaneur (Tester, 1994; Benjamin, 1999). Lastly, production of abstract international political space mandates a legible circulation of human mobility through bordering practices. In line with the thesis's argument, the chapter explores the disruption in the patterned circulation, an irregularity, leading to the production of crisis.

Therefore, regardless of the subject or referent, this section argues that movement between the territorial states occupying the environment is deemed to be under control. Indeed, when the referent becomes human beings, their transnational movement is required to be legible.

3.1. Movement and Mobility – Concepts

Contrary to the discussions revolving around the studies of migration (Squire, 2011; Favell, 2008) space/place (Smith, 1999; Karasulu, 2014), and/or social movements (Burstein, 1999; Tarrow, 2011) this section solely discusses the concepts of movement and mobility and bring them onto the mobility of human beings. For such studies' conceptualizations of mobility and movement are defined through their operationalization on certain events, they deviate from the purpose of the thesis deconstructing space and mobility to argue that *uncontrolled* mobility (irregular) between territorial states causes the production of the perception of *crisis*.

The pure understanding of movement and mobility has to be discussed separately. Before operationalizing these concepts on several occasions, such as in

the contexts of the US and Amsterdam, Cresswell distinguishes these two (2006). In his book titled *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*, in line with the main purpose of the thesis, he provides a fundamental framework for sedentarist and nomad thoughts that explains how our cognition is shaped towards the concept of mobility.

Each movement is done with pre-supposed meaning. The distance we take from home to a café is done to meet a friend, or lover. Taking a 5 miles long road, by itself, does not represent any social meaning. Our motives to move make the action meaningful. The approach towards those actions changes if we, for example, move to hug or to fight someone. Movement, in a sense, is meaning-free mobility that types, strategies and social implications are not considered (Cresswell, 2006, pp. 2-3). The differentiation of mobility from movement is to serve the question why this thesis questions the study of human mobility. Contrary to the conventional migration studies departing from the push and pull factors analysis, the question here is not to analyze mobility as a brute/scientific fact (p.3). Movement is made meaningful through the ideologies of mobility that makes going from X to Y as a synonym of freedom or with transgression (p.21). A basic conceptualization, in that sense, would be to consider mobility with ‘the strategies and social implications of bringing about movement’ (Beauchamps, et al., 2017, p. 6).

Similar to the evolution of space through cartographic revolution, mobility has not been understood similarly throughout the history. ‘Mobility is made up of time and space’ that the action itself is perceived differently in different space and time (2006, p.5). Therefore, a short analysis of the evolution of mobility is

necessary to see the mutually-inclusive processes of changes along with the evolution of international political environment.

The historical process of mobility is analyzed in three aspects: the feudal sense, the early modern sense, and the Western modernity sense. Mobility was understood as a type of luxury that only private entities had as well as minstrel, the vagabond, and pilgrims (Cresswell, 2010, p. 27). Both as a result of lack of technological capabilities and presence of serfdom, ordinary people were tied to the lands. This lack of mobility was read as legibility that everybody knew everybody (Bauman, 1987). Related to the discussion of legibility and obsession to control with fixation in the previous chapter, Bauman asserts that pre-modern European life was a kind of miniature version of today's utopia where all is seen (1987, p.40). As the political entity – territorial state – was not founded, at the time, mobility did not have any attachment to a specific land. The question at the time 'where are you coming from?' did not have a country specific orientation.

By the time around the 16th century, mobility has started to be affiliated with the concepts such as freedom and city life (Cresswell, 2006, p.13). Through the establishment of trade routes, Europe has started to experience high levels of mobility that is routed by the cities (Mumford, 1961, pp. 277-278). With the development in agricultural productions, most people have lost their attachment to the land. With the purpose of making trades between the routes of cities, individuals have started to float between the cities in which mobility was acceptable (Cresswell, 2006, p.12). Being called as 'Masterless Men' (Beier, 1985), however, the increased level of mobility was perceived as a source of *risk*. Democratization of mobility, so

to speak, was made the circulation illegible. Eventually, with the emergence of territory through geometric maps that embeds individuals to a specific space by way of attaching them onto citizenship, ‘the control over mobility was nationalized, and taken out of private hands (Cresswell, 2006, p.13).

As it is obvious, the section does not provide any clear cut historical milestone in order to indicate ‘when’ mobility was nationalized. It is because the lack of consensus on the literature deciding on when exactly the international political system entered universally into territorial phase. However, in order to erase the clues, this thesis marked the establishment of the UN as the world-wide institutionalization of the concepts of nationalism, citizenship, mobility and territory. This is not to oversimplify all the literature focusing on those concepts, but to free territory from being a dependent variable (Elden, 2010; 2013). As it will be discussed further in the chapter examining evolution of the migration studies, there happens to be a clash in the modern sense that on the one hand mobility is seen as a liberal value, on the other hand it is seen as a source of risk and threat. In order to have a better grasp for this discussion further, the next sub-section lays out the two approaches towards the mobility: sedentarist and nomad thoughts.

3.1.1. Overarching Victory of Sedentarist Thought

The purpose of this sub-section is to compare and contrast the two thoughts on mobility. They are essential in a sense that they give clue on how knowledge is produced depending on the dominance of the one thought: Sedentarist. Although, sedentarist and nomadic thoughts ‘revolves around understandings of mobility,

spatial order, and place' (Cresswell, 2006, p.26), their understanding of mobility differs. While sedentarist thought concentrates on territory, nomadic thought focuses on the act of movement itself.

3.1.1.1. Sedentarist Thought versus Nomad Thought

The basic conceptualization of sedentarist thought derives from its affiliation to space. Tuan, for instance, explains it as an attachment that individuals feel towards the land that people become rooted in a soil (Tuan, 1977, pp. 167-168). Being called as 'World Order' by Smith, world is divided into territorial states in which even the 'uprooted and homeless masses are equally eager to proclaim their allegiance to' (1986, pp. 2-5). Herein, sedentarist thought is understood to be shaped mutually by the evolution of space through geography. The thought is 'deeply metaphysical and deeply moral', that it is seen as a curse that 'sinks "peoples" and "cultures" into "national soils," and the "family of nations" into Mother Earth' (Malkki, 1992, p. 30). It is at this point that stateless people and refugees are seen as anomalies in the international political space (Arendt, 1951). The sedentarist thought, eventually, perceives mobility as 'a threat, a disorder in the system, a thing to control' (Cresswell, 2006, p.26).

This understanding has 'produced' the sedentarist metaphysic that obsessively takes imagined mapped space for granted. The reflection of this metaphysic, however, has had a concrete impact on the mobile people like gypsies,

nomads and migrants who are ordered to be fixed in a territory¹⁴. This thinking of the world ‘as rooted and bounded’ has echoed on the language of ‘crisis’ that is directed towards the inability to ‘territorialize identities in property, in region, in nation—in place’ (Cresswell, p.27).

Nomadic thought, or metaphysic, proposes criticism to this notion by concentrating on the mobility itself – ‘corporeal, imagined and virtual mobilities of people’ (Urry, 2000, p. 18). Instead of perceiving mobility as a negative act, nomadic thought celebrates the movement of people. It is a kind of resistance that steers our perceptions to new ways of analysis that could have been interpreted as a critical juncture, in social sciences, particularly in sociology and anthropology. Since it recommends a mobile way of thinking, researcher is required to completely shift his/her mind which is molded by conventional approaches. To give an example, ‘while the nomad is constituted by the lines of flight rather than by points or nodes, migrant goes from place to place, while nomad uses points and locations to define paths, sedentary people use roads to parcel out a closed space to people’ (Cresswell, 2006, p.49). The state, on the other hand, erases the process that might have turned nomadic metaphysic into existence by placing itself on the role of regulating movement, a kind of enemy to nomad. Even further, since mobility is seen as unnatural in this embedded notion of sedentarist metaphysic, displacement caused by violence can also be viewed as rupturing the ‘natural order of things’ (Pailey, 2017, p. 4)¹⁵.

¹⁴ See (Atkinson, 2000)

¹⁵ See for empirical discussions (Malkki, 1992, pp. 35-36) discussing camp refugeeism of Hutus in Tanzania as a symbol of cultural purity with the ultimate temporariness of exile

In result, what we observe is that the practices of sedentarist thought that have turned from metaphysic into physical operationalization through sovereign authorities on territory that regulates the movement of individuals whom are labeled as citizens of *somewhere*. Although Chambers sees international airports, from a nomadic point of view, as simulated metropolis inhabited by modern nomads (1990, pp. 57-58), the airports are actually seen as the gate-points allowing only controlled movement (Beauchamps, et al., 2017; Bigo, 2011). Therefore, the dominance of the sedentarist thought over nomadic one through real life (spatial) practices stopping/regulating (ir)regular movements such as detention centers leads our discussion to the human (citizen) mobilities whose irregularity is seen as risk and threat.

3.2. Human Mobility

Mobility is regarded both as a source of insecurity and a condition of modernity. Accelerated movement of people, on the one hand, and the ‘diverse range of concrete and abstract things’ (Beauchamps, et al., 2017, p. 1), such as Emerging Infectious Diseases (Fidler, 1997) facilitated with globalization (Aginam, 2005), on the other hand, have troubled the notions towards mobility. While the ‘things’ are not seen as political subject, human beings are, by having been rendered onto citizenship.

However, what constitutes people? What makes a life worth enough contrary to state of homo sacer (Agamben, 1998)? The analysis of Cresswell (2013)

seeks an answer to the question by sailing from the claim that geographical imaginations, such as space, place and territory that inform knowledge production, makes up the legal figure of the citizen (p. 105). This claim asserts that the body of human beings as a tissue is transformed into a political shape defined by being a member of a nation-state. Therefore, capacity to move between ‘citizen spaces’ (such as the city, public space, and the nation-state), is gained by being a citizen who has to be protected from others who move differently – the vagabond or the “alien.” (p.110). Further, since this capacity is earned by having passports, their irregularity in movement is prevented.

Herein, the sedentarist thought reveals itself by way of differentiating the movement between the immigrants with citizens. Recalling the analogy used in the beginning of this chapter, here the motives make the difference. While each movement has the same brute representation that a group of people go from somewhere to somewhere else, the motives change depending on the representation of the subjects of that mobility – crisis migrants fleeing their home to take refuge in neighboring states have different motives from a group of tourists wishing to see abroad. In response to their motives, their representation differs.

Moreover, by way of excluding those who are not attached to a nation-state with citizenship, such as refugees, immigrants and clients (Işın, 2002, p. 3; Hindess, 2000, p. 1487), the value of citizenship is entrenched to our notion. Therefore, the mobility of human beings as citizen is perceived as a liberty, right, and even freedom, while the mobility of those other than citizens is perceived as an anomaly (Torpey, 2018, p. 152). It is a mutually inclusive phenomenon that on the one hand

citizenship gains its rights and values (Diken, 2004) by othering the immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees, and on the other hand this othering defines and legitimizes what type of movement should be practiced.

Having been focusing on this anomaly, Gkolfinopoulos argues that the relationship between illegal migration and insecurity are socially produced. By way of critically engaging with the public discourses, with the event of 2011 incidents in Greece, representing unexpected mobility and public presence of migrant bodies as the sources of risks, the author argues that ‘in the absence of state enforcement attempts, illegal migration is no more than the proverbial tree falling silently in the forest (2017, p. 97). Hence, what we observe is that sedentarist thought mainly occupies the understanding produced from imaginary international political space that erases the notion of Masterless Men by actually assigning the concept of citizenship as the chief master whose power is guaranteed on state territory.

Eventually, it is indicated that mobility is not a meaning-free act since its implication is done by the people as political subject. With the presence of sedentarist thought being practices on the ground, the mobility within the discourses of ‘organized crime, global terrorism, undocumented migration and other ‘dangerous mobilities’ (Walters, 2006, p. 199) renders movement onto a central political concern’ (Beauchamps, et al., 2017, p. 1).

3.3. Politicized Mobility

State seems to have the sole power in the regulation of movement, since the concepts of citizens and immigrant legitimized by national and international laws are dependent on territory. In other words, since this 'statist conception of sovereign authority would not be possible without its association to territory' (Wittendorp, 2017), movement is interpreted by based on the soils of its departure and arrival. The characteristics of mobility with the motives are determined by the perception of state, whether they are dangerous or not. This power is legitimized by the 'historical development of passport controls as a way of illuminating the institutionalization of the idea of the "nation-state" as a prospectively homogeneous ethnocultural unit, a project that necessarily entailed efforts to regulate people's movements' (Torpey, 2018, p. 1). In that regard, state having the power to *read* the passports, has the 'monopoly over legitimate means of movement' (p.2). This thesis takes the establishment of the UN as its pinpoint that "state-ness" of states has become universalized though historical discussion indicate the starting point with Nansen passports given to stateless persons in Europe.

This is not to neglect the differences in bodies of law, passports and policies on governing movements, but to assert that movement is dependent on states and the state system (p.5;160). This is to compensate the argument that imaginary understanding of the world as being divided into territorial states controls the international political space by projecting it as manageable, controllable and static (Campos-Delgado, 2018) through regulating movements by rendering people to citizens. Yet, the real life events such as people fleeing from violence challenges

this sedentarist notion of an ‘impermeable territory projected in cartography’ (p.2). Campos-Delgado intends to make us realize that how the usage of cartography as a power-knowledge instrument fixes our cognition to the spatiality of world events. By way of introducing migrants’ journeys and their cognitive mappings as a challenge to the imaginary political world maps, he tries to direct the hegemonic sedentarist metaphysic towards the real life experiences.

This, however, does not actually pose challenge to the existing imagination of political international system consisting of territorial states. As the chapter before explained how Agnew fell into his own territorial trap, approaching the real life experiences from an anti-sedentarist thought would create its own trap. To aim to pose a criticism against the imaginary regime controlling the legitimate means of mobility would mean to facilitate the notion that we are embedded to *think* and produce knowledge within the boundaries of this static international political space. Therefore, to investigate the effectiveness of state’s control over its borders protecting/encompassing its territory would mean non-sense within the discussion of this thesis (Sassen, 1996). Because, it would mean to accept the existence of imaginary space, in which movement is performed, as *natural*. Hence, the analysis should not be directed towards the questions focusing on whether state’s capacity to control immigration may lead to crisis, or not. It should be directed against this question that why and how in the first place scholars take their point of references from this imagination.

3.4. Conclusion

So, where do these discussions about politicized human mobility operating on the mapped international political space take us? While all things¹⁶ related to citizen are territorialized, such as individual data in cyberspace (Baur-Ahrens, 2017), mobility in relation to human subjects is routed and regulated. Contrary to the celebration of cyberspace as being free from territoriality¹⁷, what we observe is that mobility is made possible through fixities. Thus, when the analysis is directed towards the mobilities studies, there is no escape from the existence of ‘firewalls’ that checks the motives of the movement.

By way of discussing the concepts of movement and mobility with their operationalization on human beings, this chapter has revealed that human mobility falls into the second pillar of the theoretical framework inspired from Lefebvre’s conceptual triad. The chapter was designed with a supplementary aim to the ‘Environment Knowledge Operates in’ part, in thesis’s way to justify the interest in Lefebvre’s conceptual triad. Therefore, this section has built on the chapter before that examines the ‘space’ in three steps: the Earth as natural, the Surface as mapped, the practices shape and being shaped by the maps. The discussion in this section has allowed the way forward to examine the human mobility in three aspects (Cresswell, 2010): physical movement of getting from one place to another, the representation of that movement, and experienced and embodied practice of movement.

¹⁶ Or ‘actant’, see (Sayes, 2014)

¹⁷ See, (Barlow, 1996)

CHAPTER IV

4. Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

Knowledge is not independently produced. It is an interactive process that knowledge is produced by, and within, the environment in which individuals are shaped in, and it re-produces the environment afterwards. Navigating from this statement, this section introduces a framework in order to help reader see how our conception of the international political space, combined with the perception of mobility, leads to the production of crisis narrative, in the literature studying human mobility – migration. In explaining the production of crisis narratives, the framework of the thesis proposes three categories that draw inspiration from Lefebvre's trialectics of space. It, however, tries to manage to take some distance from it, as he theorized his conceptualization of space in the context of urban societies. By combining Cresswell's (2010) three aspect of mobility, this section brings Lefebvre's trialectics to the international space level.

To this end, the chapter progresses in three sections. Firstly, it briefly historicizes Henri Lefebvre in order to see his intellectual background. It questions

why and how he coined the *Production of Space*. In other words, the first-subsection takes cautious to avoid any kind of disgrace to his work, while bringing his trialectics to international space. Secondly, the chapter engages with Lefebvre's conceptual triad in order to justify how his concepts can be modified and brought to international level. Lastly, the chapter modifies its framework in analyzing production and usages of crisis narratives in migration studies. It also briefly touches upon Cresswell's three-ways approach to mobilities, and indicate its relation to Lefebvre's triad. The combination of the two trialectics, leads the thesis to create the concept of 'abstract crisis', which will be operationalized on the extracted literature itself.

4.1. Historicizing Lefebvre

Henri Lefebvre was a French sociologist/philosopher, born in small town called Hagetmau near to Pyrenees, and he felt strong attachment to the peripheral region. This attachment of him has, indeed, shaped his intellectual development. For Pyrenees had been evolving into a region in which traditional peasant culture is mixed with national and global cultures by the development of communication and transportation technologies, Lefebvre found himself at the point of clash between insider/outsider, core/periphery (Entrikin & Berdoulay, 2005, p. 131). Edward Soja connects this clash with Lefebvre's self-representation as 'someone who is at the same time 'peripheral and central' (p.131), but who 'takes sides with the periphery' (Soja, 1996, pp. 29-30). His experiences in Paris and Pyrenees are indicated as the basis for Lefebvre's theorization. Soja states that Lefebvre saw this dialectic

between center-periphery as ‘the constant struggle between regions of power and regions of resistance’ (Entrikin & Berdoulay, p.133).

Realizing this struggle between the center-periphery, Lefebvre asserted (social) space is (social) product (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26;190), meaning that ‘every society (and therefore every mode of production with all its subvariants...) produces a space, its own space’ (Elden, 2004, p. 43; Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 31-32). But, what does he mean by production? Contrary to Cartesian understanding, Lefebvre does not differentiate material production from mental production of ideas (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 5-7). Our mental interaction with the material world interactively produces/shapes the world we encounter¹⁸.

Certainly, Lefebvre was a Marxist thinker, and the interpretations of his works should be made accordingly. However, he was also beyond Marxist tradition (Elden, 2004, p.45). His transformation of traditional Marxist thought from the one that commodity is produced in the space, to the production of space has opened up a new understanding about ‘how we live’ (Elden, p.111). Therefore, his theorization of space in the *Production of Space* suggests that social space encompasses both critical analysis of urban reality and everyday life of individuals. Just as everyday life has been colonized by capitalism, so too has its location - social space’ (p.181).

Lefebvre’s trialectics, however, are not only investigated within the urban contexts. Besides, his initial orientation from Marxist tradition has left aside in some of the urban studies. As Elden states, he is beyond this tradition, and his theorization of space is applicable to different contexts such as knowledge

¹⁸ Lived space/ espace vecu

production. Though different contextualization of Lefebvre's trialectics will be discussed later on in the chapter, it is essential to introduce his conceptualization of space in the next section.

4.2. Lefebvre's Trialectics

The combination of abstract and concrete space that Lefebvre brings with their impacts to lived spaces serves to the purpose of the thesis that have signaled by the two chapters – 'international political space' and 'movement on that space'. Hence, before thesis will discuss its distance from Lefebvre's trialectics in *Chapter VI*, this section discusses his conceptualization of space.

4.2.1. Abstract and Concrete Space

It was asserted that Lefebvre challenged Cartesian understanding by interrelating ideational world and material space, which is produced socially. Therewithal, it was also asserted that Lefebvre transformed Marxist thought by claiming 'we have passed from the *production of things* in space to *the production of space itself*' (Elden, 2007, p. 108). From this first claim, Lefebvre discusses the dual relationship between abstract and concrete space.

Although in the first chapter of *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre indicates that 'his aim is to develop a theory that would grasp the unity between three 'fields' of space: physical, mental, and social' (Stanek, p. 63), as early as 1939,

he had described geometric space as abstractive (Elden, 2004, p. 187). In his investigation of Descartes' mathematization of nature, Lefebvre observes a *contradiction*: though space is a reality, through abstraction like mapping and cartography¹⁹ the experience of space is disregarded (p.187). This contradiction is explained by two different conceptualization of space as abstract and concrete, though they shape and reproduce each other in the *lived* space.

As it was explained in *Chapter II* – 'The Environment Knowledge Operates in', Lefebvre argues that space, especially by technocrats, is reduced to scientific quantification (Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 2003). Similar to the thesis's elaboration of how maps have overcome the history of space, and shaped/produced international political space, Lefebvre critically engages with this separation of space which establishes an opposition between our conception of space – abstract, mental and geometric – and our perception of space – concrete, material and physical (Elden, 2004, p.189). The separate investigation of perceived and conceived space, however, misses their relationship on the lived space. Hence, in order to make progress in understanding social space, we need to grasp the concrete and abstract together.

Lefebvre conceptualizes concrete space as: 'the space of habiting: gestures and paths, bodies and memory, symbols and meanings, the difficult maturation of the immature-premature (of the "human being"), contradictions and conflicts between desires and needs, and so forth' (*The Urban Revolution*, p. 182). Abstract space, on the other hand, is the paper space of drawings, which is scientifically

¹⁹ Discussed in the chapter 2

measurable. Especially, architects and urbanists²⁰ abstract, or transpose, their own understanding of the concrete space to the paper which is divorced from the level of the 'lived' in a dual sense (Elden, 2004, p.189). This process of abstraction, Lefebvre states, is 'an unconscious poesis that misunderstands its own conditions, is also misunderstood by thought' (The Urban Revolution, p.182). This means that representation of spatial practices reproduces a space that is a mental and material construct.

The aim of Lefebvre is to deconstruct our understanding of space which, most of the time, is ontologically taken for granted. For space is produced instrumentally through abstractions, the lived space is a social construct (Leary-Owhin, 2016, p. 68). It is for this end that Lefebvre derives his conceptual triad which sees a unity between physical, mental and social space (Elden, 2004, p. 189; Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 11-12) (Elden, p.189). This unity in space will later on be used for the purpose of the thesis creating crisis categories.

4.2.2. Perceived & Conceived & Lived

How do concrete and abstract space produce and shape space in lived experiences? Lefebvre highlights the role of language in its effects on lived experiences that when we speak of a 'room' in an apartment, or a 'marketplace' everybody understands what is meant (1991, p.16). However, these everyday discourses do not isolate particular spaces, though they distinguish. They describe

²⁰ 'Cartographs' can also be included in here for the sake of analysis of the thesis

a social space. This social space, according to Lefebvre, embraces a multitude of intersections each with its assigned location, and they are decoded in the triad (p.33).

Lefebvre explains the ‘representations of the relations of production, which subsume power relations occurring in the space’ with his conceptual triad as follows:

1. Spatial Practices: The spatial practice of a societies secretes that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space
2. Representations of space: conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.
3. Representational space: Space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’, but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe (p.38-39)

To clarify, Lefebvre’s concrete/material space connotes to ‘spatial practices’ or ‘perceived space’ while his abstract/mental space refers to ‘representations of space’ or ‘conceived space’. The intersections of the two are embodied in the lived space composed of symbols, images etc. that are abstracted from the concrete space.

Lefebvre’s conceptual triad is used to contextualize different cases, and various analogies can be extracted. Those similar studies of the trialectics on different contexts display he is beyond Marxist thought since some of the studies do not focus on the capitalist production of space, at all. The next sub-section will

introduce three exemplary/transformative studies on different themes in order to show how his trialectics can be depicted. Those studies will help the thesis justify its own production of framework.

4.2.3. Selected Exemplifications of the Trialectics

In order to have a better grasp of the trialectics, this sub-section reviews three diverse studies contextualizing Lefebvre's trialectics on different contents, as well as their operationalizations. For Lefebvre 'sketches his trialectics out only in preliminary fashion, leaving us to add our own flesh' (Merrifield, 2006, p. 109), 'there are varying interpretations of what the three elements of the triad actually mean' (Leckie & Given, 2010, p. 228). Thus, the three scholarly studies, which have influenced the thesis in its way to bring Lefebvre into international scale, are particularly selected to see how the three concepts are used.

McCann (1999) contextualizes Lefebvre's trialectics in the racialized space in the US cities in order to extend our understanding of urban sociospatial processes (p.164). He transports the trialectics cautiously by stating that since social theories, like Lefebvre's, both inform and informed by the material circumstances of everyday life, they can be interpreted in different urban contexts. Indeed, Lefebvre's attention to the dual relationship between the concrete and abstract space producing the social space makes his work applicable to discussions of urban public spaces (p.167). Hence, he operationalizes the triad in Tony Sullivan case in which the impact of cartoons on the spatial practices of Lexington's residents is

significant. Grounding his argument to Lefebvre's centrality to body in the understanding of the relationship between the different moments of triad, McCann asserts that racially marked bodies has a particular applicability to the trialectics (p.179). What McCann reveals with the case of Lexicon is that the mutually constitutive moments exist in one process (p.178). Through the unfortunate shooting of the black teenager, the space is changed in the Lexicon through demonstrations by the black population pouring to the white-breed area, reactions to them by the cartoons, and change in the planning/map of that area.

McCann, also, manages to connect these mutually constitutive moments to the lived experiences afterwards, as he reflects upon Lefebvre's intention to connect production of space to bodies. His operationalization of trialectics to the case of Lexicon enlightens us to see how space is politically produced in order to segregate white-breed from the black-breed, by ways of imaginary/mapped space entrenched to our cognition by the displays of the cartoons. Still, there might be one lack of explanation missing in his article. Although he draws one of the first illustration in the literature manifesting the interrelation between mental, concrete and lived space (figure 7), it does not sufficiently explain the mutually constitutive relationship between the concepts.

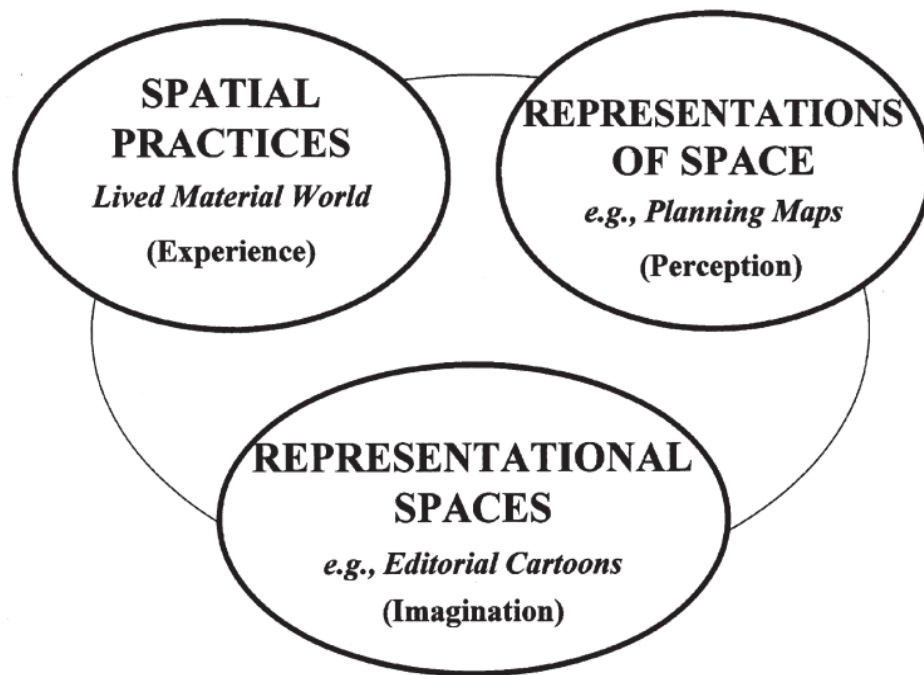


Figure 7. Three moments in the production of space. Source: (McCann, p.172)

He interprets the trialectics as the three moments shaping the ‘space’. However, if we talk about the production of space by three moments, then ‘social space’ itself should have been indicated in the middle of the figure. In order to see the changes in the ‘social space’ of Lexicon, the author could have used illustration manifesting the changes in the environment after the three moments as well. Still, his illustration bases the ground for comprehending trialectics visually, and the thesis will take influence from it in its way to propose its own categorizations.

Watkins (2005), on the other hand, applies Lefebvre’s trialectics to the organized space within the analysis of theatre. Similarly, he starts with introducing the abstract space, or representations of space, since its abstract representation dominates our conception through the proliferation of symbol systems (p.212). In

the context of theatres, the author connotes the abstract space to the texts or scripts, and he differentiates this as 'technical' from spatial practices, which relates to 'performance' (p.213). Moreover, technical aspects cover to 'remember all these lines', or to achieve specified targets such as 'hit the light' which are developed from the representations of space. Similar to Lefebvre's argumentation, this abstracted space is used to provide a 'map' that directs individuals within the certain frameworks. This mapped space serves to shape 'the accepted and acceptable spatial practices of the theatrical context' such as 'knowing your lines well enough' and 'giving the right cue', or definitely 'not grandstanding or upstaging another actor' (p.213). The third element of the triadic is contextualized as a space that is directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users" (p.213). In the context of theatres, the lived space is explained by the awareness of the cast towards the role performed in the physical space which is mapped by the 'scripts'.

Watkins analysis of organized space through Lefebvre is transformative, though he acknowledges that he has bypassed most of his teachings. Without giving direct reference to Marxist thought and power relations in the process of production of social space, the author has shown the possible applicability of Lefebvre's trialectics to different contexts. Besides, his operationalization on theatres influenced the thesis analyzing knowledge production in migration studies. If an event of forced migration is put analogically into theatre context, the movement of human beings from home country to host country would be spatial practices. This movement, however, is not conventional one. Because of its irregular characteristics, the abstract space clashes with the spatial practices since it is done

through illegitimate means (Torpey, 2018). In the lived experience, therefore, we observe humanitarian crisis while the researchers investigating political aspect of the movement leans towards the ‘crisis’ narratives referring to this clash. To put it differently, the organized ‘international’ stage is mapped to regularize mobility through passports and other ID cards. Yet, the duality within the spatial practices of human beings and states creates the dichotomy that states lean towards bordering practices in order to respond the spatial practices of individuals fleeing.

Pipitone and Raghavan’s study on experiential learning by applying Lefebvre is another example displaying different operationalization of his trialectics. Having been aware of ‘Lefebvre’s vague writing style’, they state that it can be difficult to offer precise definitions or applications of these elements across contexts (2017, p. 4). Therefore, they propose an enhanced illustration (figure 8) showing the trialectics interconnectedness. The figure informatively explains students’ changing expectations about the representation (conception) of Morocco. Based on their research, students write their perception about Morocco both before and after their visit. Therefore, the concepts in the triad correspond to what is seen, what is thought, and what is felt. Their findings suggest that what is thought clashes with what is felt when they see the physical space itself.

This clash between what is thought and what is felt regarding the representation of space is exemplified for their effects on knowledge production (p.5). The experience of the social space has caused changes in student’s idea/conception about the place that they had beforehand.

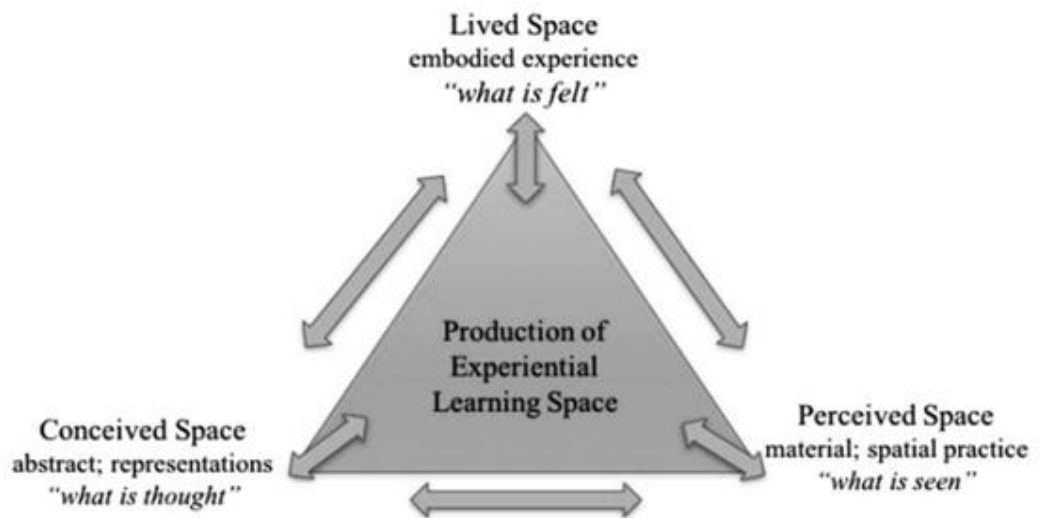


Figure 8. Interpretation of Lefebvre's spatial triad in the context of experiential learning. *Source:* (Pipitone & Raghavan, 2017, p. 4)

The abovementioned contextualizations of Lefebvre's trialectics have informed the thesis about their various, but cautious, operationalization on different stages. As indicated before, since Lefebvre's terms are not clear by themselves, this sub-section has sought it necessary to exemplify the mutually constitutive interrelations in his triads producing the social space. With the first case by McCann, the thesis introduced the concepts in direct relation to urban space through their applications on racial bodies. The case, therefore, reifies the trialectics without transforming them into unusual contexts.

In order to see how the triad is transformed into different context, the study of Watkins was introduced to the reader. He cautiously adopts the triad to the context of organizational spaces, such as theatres. The study has provided the thesis with steps necessary for applying his concepts to different stages. In a similar vein,

the thesis approached to international political space as organizational space in placing the 'Environment Knowledge Operates in' section.

Lastly, the study of Pipitone and Raghavan was examined in order to see how they visited Lefebvre's case for the knowledge production with regard to spatial practices of the students. Their study also informs the thesis how the concepts in the triad is modified. Therefore, the authors have not only shown Lefebvre's trialectics with their case study like McCann's examination of Lexicon, or transformed the triad to different context, but they have also managed to put a distance to Lefebvre by combining his theorization of space to knowledge production.

All in all, this section has shown how Lefebvre's trialectics could be contextualized in different cases. After introducing his concepts in the sub-section 'Perceived & Conceived & Lived', it was necessary to be informed about the operationalizations of the triad. By engaging with the three specific studies, the section has aimed to clear the vagueness of trialectics, while at the same time constructed a way for the thesis to justify its main target in bringing Lefebvre into international political space. The next section does so by centering triad into by Elden and Brenner's study, while the other element is established under the influence of Cresswell. Since the main aim is to shed light on why irregular/uncontrolled human mobility is understood as 'abstract crisis' in scholarly works, the next section wishes to propose three different categories that draw inspiration from Lefebvre's work.

4.3. Combined Trialectics for ‘Abstract Crisis’

In pursuit of answer to the question *what/who turns an event into crisis, at global scale*, this section aims to base a framework providing a comprehensive point of view for the studies of human mobility. The irritation of the usage of the term crisis in quotation marks in the scholarly studies focusing on migration, and usually refugee movements, has driven the thesis to provide a way out. The chapters ‘Environment Knowledge Operates in’ and ‘Mobility on the Surface’ constitutively asserted the abstraction of space through cartography into territory has led to the notion mobility should be controlled. With the domination of sedentarist thought, the characteristics of mobility are also abstracted in their representations such as who moves for what purposes. In such abstraction, therefore, the analyses steer researchers’ orientations towards the notion that narrates irregular mobility as anomaly in the constructed international space. Expectedly, the outcome is to abstractly label such events as crisis. The framework established here, in response, provides both explanation for the reproduction of ‘abstract crisis’ and an exit door by catching the tittle under veil through preferring certain methodological strategies related to field researches.

The first phase, in doing so, is to facilitate Lefebvre’s trialectics for the international scale. Indeed, Lefebvre can be read as a theorist of territory since his framework interlinking economic, bureaucratic and military forms is not only applicable to the urban context, but also at the international and worldwide scale; the scale of international political space (Brenner & Elden, 2009, p. 354). While pursuing the historical process of production of space, Lefebvre also indicates that

territory is the marker of state authority (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 214;224). Moreover, he indicates that the production of territory is the political form of modern state that is legitimized by the establishment of the UN worldwide (Brenner & Elden, p. 362). For his works interlinks space with territory, the triad can be translated to the state level – state space being state territory²¹.

To initiate the trialectics in international political space, the thesis links perceived, conceived and lived space to territorial practices, representation of territory and territories of representation (Brenner & Elden, p.366). As illustrated by figure 9 below, ‘territory takes on a meaning through the everyday practices and lived experiences that take place within and beyond it’ (p.366).

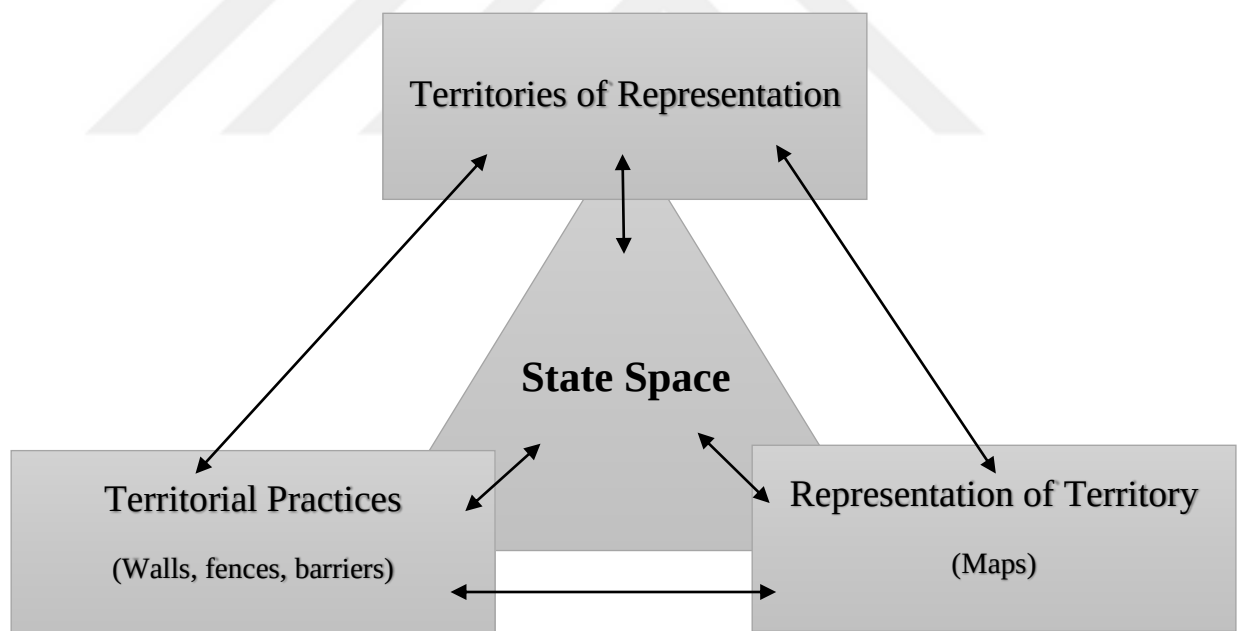


Figure 9. Three Moments in the production of State Space – Territory, (Brenner & Elden, p. 362) illustration by the author

²¹ Since the ‘scientific/abstract’ definition of state is the same for each country being member to the UN, the triad is applicable to worldwide

As the dominant element, representations of territory include maps and charts dividing the Earth into territorial states. In line with this abstraction, territorial practices are shaped such as construction of walls on the line drawn on the maps. This actualization of the abstract space through walls and fences materializes the territory that ‘maintains large-scale infrastructure enabling flows of people, goods, energy and information’ (Brenner & Elden, p.366). The notion of insider/outsider is created through abstract space materialized on the concrete space. These two elements eventually put meaning on lived experiences through which everyday practices of mobility and immobility are exercised. The perfect example for the operationalization of this trialectics is seen in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). The usage of checkpoints and barriers expanding the representation of territories takes on meaning in the everyday experiences of Palestinians whose absolute value of space is decreased to use value (Handel, 2009). By way of conducting textual analysis of diaries and interviews in the fields, Handel combines all three elements of the trialectics in order to reveal production of state space.

Crucially, the combination of the three elements in one study requires certain methodological strategies, especially if it focuses on crisis having transboundary characteristics. Handel does not frame the events as crisis though his findings reflects humanitarian aspect of the term. As people’s everyday experiences are changed through bordering practices, their conditions are put into certain lively risks and threats leading to crisis.

There are two points of view for the investigation of crisis narratives in relation to concepts of mobility and territory²². The transformation of Lefebvre's triad into international scale investigates the issue from statist perspectives, while their impact on movements concentrates on humanitarian perspectives with regard to mobility. For the latter, Cresswell uses similar categorization (see figure 10) focusing on human mobility; physical movement, representation of movement and, experienced and embodied practice of movement (2010, p. 19).

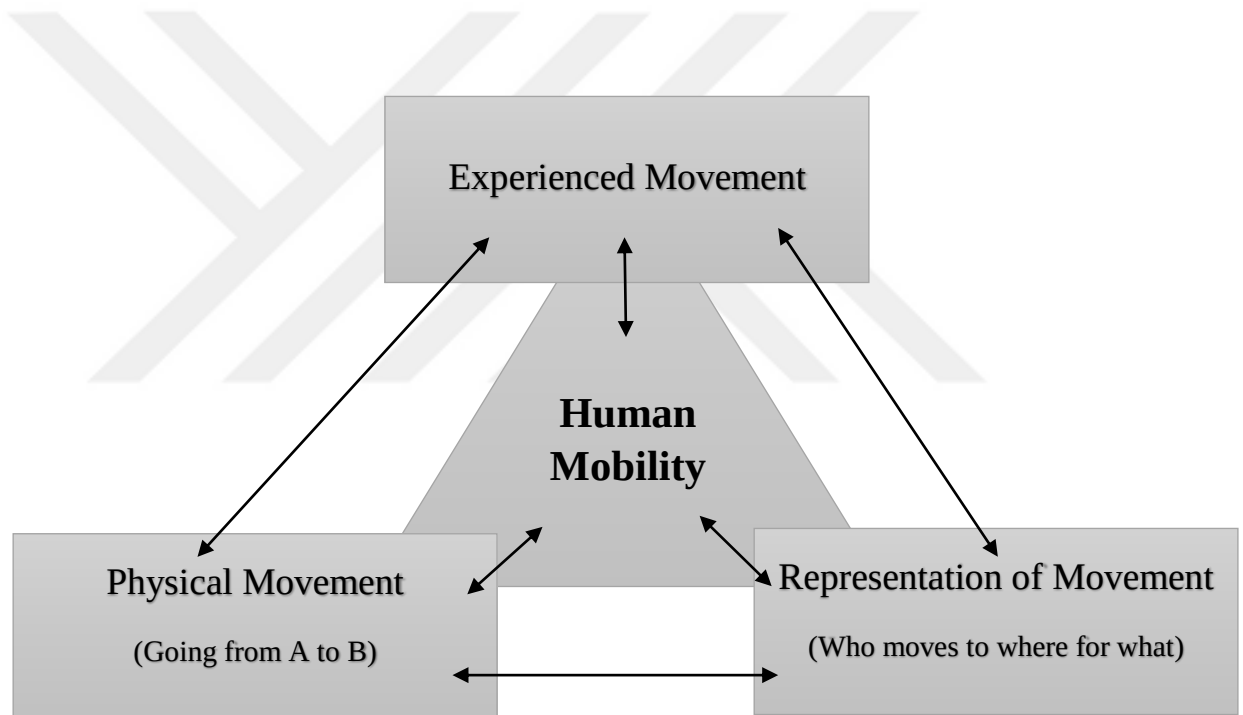


Figure 10. Three Moments in the production of Human Mobility, (Cresswell, 2011), illustration by the author

²² Handel uses both perspectives

The chapter 'Movement on the Surface' has deconstructed holistic understanding of mobility. Constitutively, the first aspect of this trialectics does not differentiate movement from mobility by taking only physical act of going from A to B into consideration. Usually, transport researches focus on this aspect 'telling us about the fact of movement, how often it happens, at what speeds, and where' (p.19). However, human mobility is dominated by representations. It does more matter to question who moves to where for what purposes. For the representations of movement affect the actors on the move, and responses towards them, they arouse certain understandings such as threat and risks. It is not surprising if we 'think of the contemporary links made between immigrant mobilities and notions of threat reflected in metaphors' (p.20). These two elements are interlinked in the embodied practice of mobility that the combination of the initial two shapes the experience of movement. Hence, whether 'we have chosen to be mobile or have been forced into it affects our experience of it' (p.20). These experiences, however, historically evolve in relation to space in which mobility is politically dominated and controlled. Therefore, with the precedence of sedentarist thought over nomadic, the characteristics of mobility is determined by the space. For instance, while the legitimate means of movements was on the hand of nobles in feudal Europe, it has now become globalized through passports and other ID cards. Hence, human mobility changes in relation to the spatial changes.

It is at this point that the tittle running under the question of what/who turns an event into crisis is caught. Current usage of the term 'crisis' in connection with the refugees migrating from A to B is explained by the combination of the abovementioned two categorizations illustrating state space and human mobility.

Articles having been orientated towards international relations are inclined to reflect upon the events of refugee movements as crisis since the movements are represented as threats against international peace and security (Loescher, 1992; Dowty & Loescher, 1996; Lohrmann, 2000; Salehyan, 2008; Adamson, 2006; Lischer, 2017). However, their definition of crisis stays on the abstract level, and labeling an event as crisis is a matter of framing choice²³. This orientation does not methodologically delve into spatial practices and experienced territory/mobility. Hence, figure 11 below illustrates the construction of ‘abstract crisis’ and knowledge produced in relation to it.

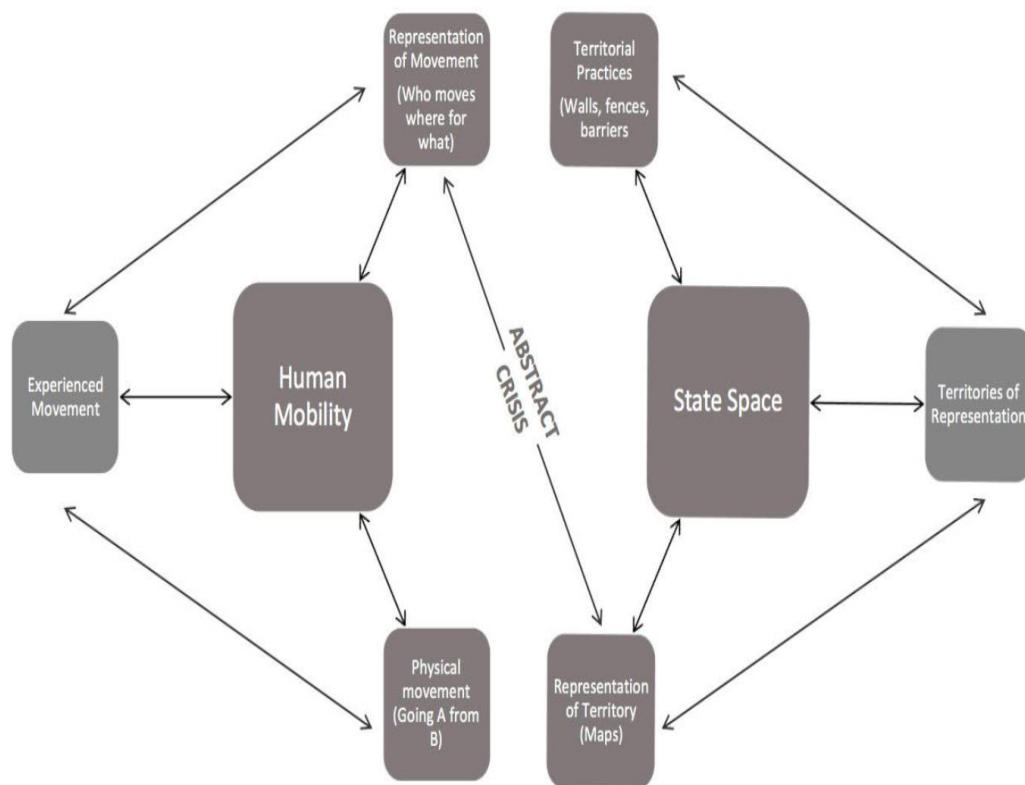


Figure 11. Trialectics (Lefebvre & Cresswell) in combination displaying the production of abstract crisis, constructed by the author

²³ See (Jeandesboz & Pallister-Wilkins, 2014) and (Freemantle & Misago, 2014)

The figure provides, firstly, an explanatory framework combined with the previous two chapters of the thesis focusing on the reasons that researchers investigating human mobility incline towards crisis terminology. Mental construction of international political space by maps combined with representation of human mobility like ‘refugee movement’ ‘disassociates the physical and social realities from the lived experiences’ (Watkins, p.210). Therein, methodologies operating in this abstract environment explain nothing but the abstraction itself, while the presence of material ‘crisis’ stays on concrete and lived level. Hence, it is asserted that the dominance of the abstract construction of the two conditions – representation of mobility and representation of territory – leads to the labelling of uncontrolled movement as (abstract) crisis.

On the one hand, human mobility is represented through certain ‘legal’ definitions (such as refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant) which abstract humanness from the individuals. For them, the journey is not simply going from A to B anymore. The journey is represented as risky and threatening for the territorial state sovereignty. On the other hand, the surface in which movements are held is represented as a discrete space consisting of territorial states on maps which abstract concreteness of the Earth from the surface. The implication of this abstract space defines the legitimate means of movement since territorial state has the legitimate authority over its territory. Therefore, the analysis focusing on these two aspects solely ‘quantifies’ the event as anomaly and cannot escape from using ‘crisis’ narrative, which is also ‘abstract’.

Secondly, the figure provides a methodological strategies that can enable researchers escape from this trap of producing ‘abstract crisis’²⁴ (Squire V. , 2018, pp. 442-443). The taking these abstract representations of space/territory and mobility as granted is to neglect the history of human mobility being dependent on evolution of the space/territory. These trialectics of Lefebvre and Cresswell encourage researchers to conduct field researches and adopt certain methodologies such as ethnography empowered with conducting participant observation and interviews in order to include ‘spatial practices’. These methodologies can be supplied by the textual and discourse analyses, as well (Cresswell, 2010, pp. 28-29). Therein, depending on the selected case studies and its level of analysis, the historical evolution of the space and human mobility can be analyzed ‘concretely’. As the thesis will delve into its literature review on migration studies, those who adopt this suggested approach tend to investigate real life crisis informed by abstract one, while the others focusing merely on the abstract elements tend to investigate systemic/policy crisis.

4.4. Conclusion

Being built onto the chapters ‘The Environment Knowledge Operates in’ and ‘Movement on the Surface’, this chapter has introduced the theoretical/conceptual framework of the thesis. In modifying the triad of Lefebvre, thesis firstly defined the framework for the deconstruction of international political space. Secondly, by adopting the triad from Cresswell, the thesis has illustrated how

²⁴ See the project - *Crossing the Mediterranean Sea by Boat* (Squire, et al., 2017)

human mobility was deconstructed. Finally, by integrating the two trialectics to each other, the thesis has shown how ‘abstract crisis’ is (re)produced in studies of human mobility. The concept introduced by the theoretical framework is elaborated in-detail in the next chapter by chronologically juxtaposing the literatures on crisis and migration.



CHAPTER V

Placing the Concepts: ‘Crisis’ & ‘Migration’

Discussions about global politics revolve around the notions of ‘global crises,’ ‘international crisis’ or ‘crisis of international order’ (Holton, 1987, p.502). Yet, it is observed the indication of the term changes, in accordance with the event of reference. In order to observe the change of the conceptualizations of the term in relation to the differing events, this section will conduct a chronological and a funnel type literature review. This will enable the reader to see changes in the framing of the term in line with the notion of controlling mobility. Drawing examples from migration studies, in territorial state notion, this thesis illustrates how the established state system produces ‘abstract crisis’, and how the discourse of crisis is operationalized in the literature. In order to pursue the question ‘how did the transition to calling migration a crisis take place and why?’, this chapter separately investigates firstly the concept of crisis in relation to risk and threat, and secondly integrate migration literature onto the conceptual debates. Eventually, the

chapter aims to provide clarification for its own conceptualization of the term – ‘abstract crisis’ with regard to migration specificity.

5.1. Crisis Literature

This section explores the evolution of the concept – crisis by tracing one of the earliest usages of the term. Going in line with the purpose of the study, main focus is to investigate how the concept is used in international scale, after the establishment of the UN. By examining the literature in three periods, it is revealed that ‘abstract crisis’ in international political space has four main characteristics; it involves concepts of risk and threat, it refers to transnational/transboundary events, it is continuous rather than dynamic, and it is constructed for abstractly.

5.1.1. ‘Crisis’ during 1960s – 1980s

One of the first modern conceptualizations of the term – *crisis* dates back to the 1960s coinciding with the peak periods of the Cold War era. Under the bipolarity of international system, the significance of crisis has started to be highlighted through the moments of inter-state conflicts having deranging potentials to then international system, such as Berlin Blockade (1948-1949), Korean War (1950-53), the Suez Crisis (1956), Quemoy crisis (1958), the building of the Berlin Wall (1961), and Cuban Missile Crisis (1962). Analysis of such events have emphasized the need to settle a fundamental definition of the term. Especially, international politics and foreign policy literature aimed to establish typological

conceptualizations enabling the term's operationalization on differing/various events (McClelland, 1961; 1964; Robinson, 1968). Disturbed by the vagueness of the term and its failure to explain what differentiates a crisis from a non-crisis, Hermann asserted an extensive definition: 'a crisis is a situation that creates an abrupt or sudden change in one or more of the basic systemic variables' (Hermann, 1969, p. 411). While the debates were revolving around the uniqueness of each events on the one hand, and the problem of creating a cumulative knowledge, on the other hand, Hermann based crisis studies on to the moments of novel form that have a destabilizing force in the existing international system (p. 412). To elaborate more, he attaches three traits to the term, which were widely accepted by the scholars for its operationalization on international actors. By conceding *external* characteristics, crisis is a situation that:

‘(1) threatens high-priority goals of the decision- making unit,

(2) restricts the amount of time available for response before the decision is transformed, and

(3) surprises the members of the decision-making unit by its occurrence’ (Brecher, 1977, pp. 40-42).

This conceptualization is further examined under the banner of two inter-related fields of research: foreign policy crisis and international/systemic crisis. Sailing away from the question – whether international system influence the frequency within which crisis occur (Hermann, 1969, pp. 411-413), Philips and Rimkunas categorize two approaches: namely substantive and procedural (1978, p. 259). The difference between the two can be analogically depicted as the study of

*game play*²⁵ and *game itself*²⁶. Investigation of crisis within foreign policy studies focuses on the game-play, or the international relations among the states. Yet, it ontologically accepts that crises are perceived as threats coming from external environment (Brecher, 1977, pp. 40-43). The view does not critically engages with the ways international actors behave. It takes the 'international political environment' as given, and assumes that that crises are seen as threats coming from external environment. International crisis studies focus on the game itself and pursues the changes in crisis types and their impacts in line with the change in the international system, or the game. This view engages with the international political space. While substantive approach uses the term for a specific content of a particular problem or situation, the latter aims to generate general theories.

Although the role of the *game itself* is emphasized during this period, the authors had not intended to delve critically into questioning the international political space. Their empirical anchors were the interstate conflicts in which conceptualization of the term was derived from conventional understanding of security and risks, which mainly were the possibility of occurrences of military threats towards the State.

5.1.2. 1980s and 1990s – Crisis is omnipresent

Towards the easing days of the Cold War and bipolar system, the discussions about the term has leaned more towards its utility of usage (Holton,

²⁵ Actions within the international political space

²⁶ International Political Space

1987). Indeed, combined with the changing notions of threat/security perceptions, variety of crisis has become so wide that Hermann's classic definition seems to be insufficient in order to differentiate the same question – what differentiates crisis from non-crisis (Rosenthal & Kouzmin, 1997, pp. 279-80). Overwhelmed by the struggle to create a cumulative knowledge regarding the concept, this period has faced with the subjective interpretations of events posing risks and threats. Because of the same problem about the uniqueness of each crisis moments, a dilemma has emerged; whether the conceptualization should be made applicable only to certain events, or to encompass wider contexts.

A revised definition was organized in order to render the concept upon a wider social, political, and organizational contexts: crisis is 'a serious threat to the basic structures or the fundamental values and norms of a social system, which – under time pressure and highly uncertain circumstances – necessitates making critical decisions' (Rosenthal, Charles, & Hart, 1989, p. 10). Still, framing of an event as crisis differs depending on the perception of the actor, as the perceptions of this *serious threat* as well as risks of urgency and uncertainty vary. Hence, in order to comprehend the subjectivity that 'what crisis to some may be an opportunity to others' (Rosenthal & Kouzmin, 1993, p. 4), crisis studies have required contrapuntal reading of the events. Being swamped with such variations, crisis researches have adopted framing methods to understand metaphorical usage of the term narrating the realities. Such a change in orientation of the researches has, thus, included risk and security literature to understand how an event is interpreted differently to be risky and a matter of security.

5.1.2.1. Risk Studies

The amplification of an events being framed as crisis has led to the incorporation of the concept of risk into the agenda. Similar to the evolution of crisis literature, the researches on risk studies shows a tendency to come up with a general/comprehensive definitions of *risky* events. Especially within the department of psychology, it was aimed to ‘quantify’ what is perceived as risk. Slovic initiated to take the first step to draw a typology in which researchers might have benefit from his techniques enlightening ‘what people mean when they say that something is (or is not) "risky," and to determine what factors underlie those perceptions’ (1987, p. 280). Figure 12, below categorizes what leads an event to be perceived as risky through differentiating its characteristics.

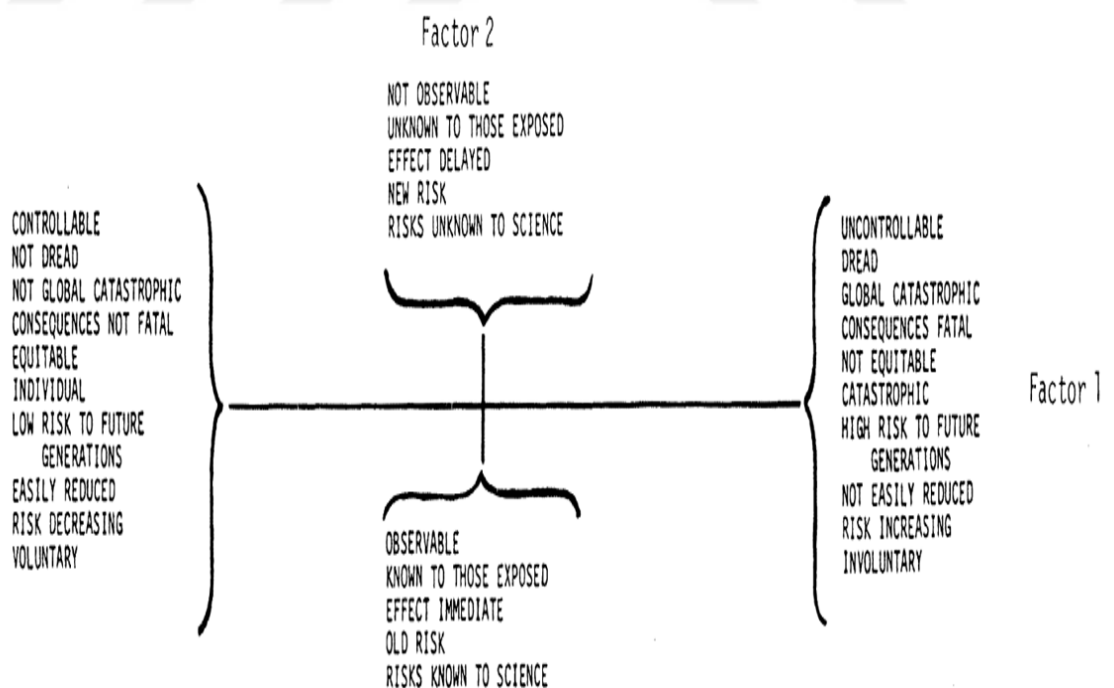


Figure 12. Categorization of risk events, Source (Slovic, 1987, p. 283)

On the horizontal line, Slovic indicates that if an event shows the characteristics that can have a ‘catastrophic potential, fatal consequences, and the inequitable distribution of risks and benefits’, as well as lack of control to prevent its continuity, it is labeled as dread risk (p.283). He refers to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the possible nuclear warfare. A scenario of a possible nuclear warfare brings global catastrophe to the Earth. Thus, its possibility of occurrence is labeled as dreadful. On the vertical line, the author reflects upon the events’ novel characteristics that are unobservable, unknown and new. He points to the chemical technologies falling under this factor of risk labeling. They are called as ‘unknown risks’. Lastly, he adds the third factor that the importance of the initial two are dependent on the number of people exposed to the risk (p.283). Eventually, it is referred that if the occurrence of an event has a new type of characteristic, or unconventional, and have a catastrophic – not easily reducible consequences threatening large number of people it can easily be framed as ‘risky’.

Slovic’s psychometric research, however, falls short in explaining the difference between the actual and perceived risk, which is abstracted from the realities. Since he quantifies the events based on their characteristics, it neglects the processes in framing of the events. Being troubled by this, the literature has started to delve into ‘social amplification’ of the concept. Usually, risk was used to be conceptualized by the multiplication of the two terms, ‘probability of events and the magnitude of specific consequences’ (Kasperson, et al., 1988, p. 177). Hence, it was expected that if the chances of the occurrence of an event has low consequences/high probability, or high consequences/low probability, societies would be assumed as indifferent. It is at this point the literature asks the question –

‘why then certain events sometimes produce massive public reactions’ (p.177). Combined with communication theory, the concept of social amplification of risk has established a theoretical base to seek answer to the question. Figure 13 below illustrates a roadmap for producing answers to ‘how an event is turned to be called as risky?’.

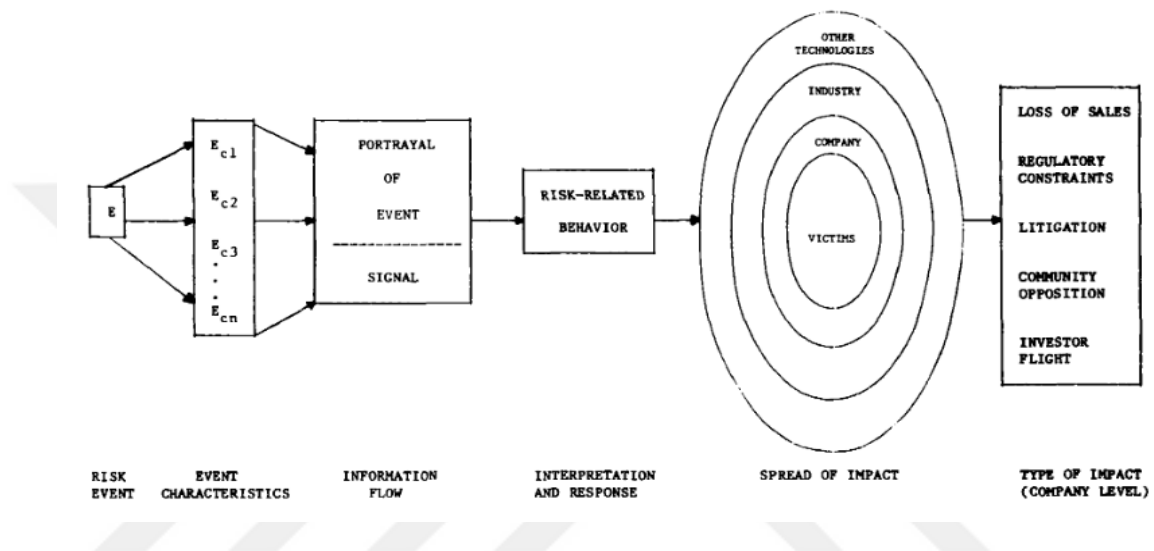


Figure 13. How an event is turned to be risky. Source (Kasperson, et al., 1988, p. 182)

It starts with the occurrence of an event having risky characteristics. After its characteristic is analyzed, it is portrayed in a certain manner – whether it is dreadful and/or unknown. Here, the literature enhances Slovic’s study by benefiting from communication theory that ‘the process of intensifying or attenuating signals during the transmission of information from an information source, to intermediate transmitters, and finally to a receiver’ (p.180). However, when the portrayal of an event goes through the transmitters, its representation becomes different from its ‘original’ characteristics. Depending on its framing, it is altered in a sense. Therefore, the interaction between risk events and social processes are determined to the extent that how people think about the incidents (p.180). This abstraction of

events leads to the premise that ‘there is no such thing as “true” (absolute) and “distorted” (socially determined) risk’. (p.182). Again, while some may see an event risky, others might see it as an opportunity.

Eventually, the predicament of conceptual debates is revealed through realist and constructivist perceptions of risks (Bradbury, 1989; Clapton, 2011; Jasanoff, 1998). While the former asserts ontological argumentation that risks are out there, the latter emphasizes on social construction of events as risky through framings. Since knowledge is produced differently based on interpretation of events, ‘frames of reference constitute the underlying structure of assumptions, expectations, and decision rules or criteria for assessing knowledge claims, structuring inquiry, and constructing meanings’ (Bradbury, p.388). This predicament emerges because industrial society has been introduced to new dangers of risks that were unknown in previous ages (Beck, 1992). While it was the natural events used to constitute risks threatening the society such as earthquake, epidemic, famine and floods, now the ‘new risks’ are produced by social development shaped by the development of science and technology²⁷ (Joffe, 1999; Wellens, 2003, p. 43).

Consequently, the risk literature has acknowledged that events in connection with human beings have the potential to be constructed as risky since ‘the outside world itself knows no risks’ (Luhmann, 1993, p. 6). By way of highlighting specific aspect of events such as movement of individuals from one place to another, the event’s nature is distorted. In the case of human mobility, the issue at stake is not people’s movement from A to B, but who moves to where for

²⁷ Recall territory as political technology.

what purposes. Therein, the connotation is made to risk's counter-concept, to security. It is widely held that the concept of risk is to be determined whether event has the potential to distort a secure environment (p.18). In the advent of risk events such as transnational mass migration, the measures of control is taken to preserve the existent value system in the (international) society²⁸. This is to colonize the future that attempts to prevent ambiguity from possible dangers by making events legible (Joffe, 1999, p. 3).

For risks have started to be conceptualized as 'dangers dressed in modern clothes', the literature intersects with the concept of security (Joffe, p.4). The distinction between being secure and insecure is defined through being free from risks. In that point, risks cannot be just mere abstractions without having any connotation to real/material incident. 'Many scholars in the risk and IR literature have similarly adopted a realist–constructivist approach, recognizing the interplay between material and social factors' (Clapton, 2011, pp. 282-283). For this interplay is determined by the framing of events, some events are represented as risky and dangerous.

Applying the concept of risk to the debate of human mobility, the thesis argues that uncontrolled/irregular transboundary movement of individuals pose a risk to the regulation of the abstract international political space. This risk, even sometimes leads to the emergence of crisis narratives over through security problematique. The concept of security plays an intermediary role in the process of turning a risk event into crisis that narrations over human mobility is usually done

²⁸ See (Lohrmann, 2000)

through securitization. In order to reveal the parallel between the two literatures of risk and security, next section briefly illustrates the changing concept of security from realist base to the constructivist one through utterances.

5.1.2.2. Security Studies

The debates focusing on the concept of security have moved beyond its ontological definitions during this same period with the significant impact of Buzan's work (1983). In *People, States, and Fear*, Buzan not only transposes the concept away from state security, but also creates a transformative way opening up to unconventional securities. While it was assumed that security is normally seen as a 'reality' prior to language; it is seen as being 'out there' irrespective of whether conception is 'objective' or 'subjective', Buzan has emphasized on how recipient actor perceives the threat (Wæver, 1989). Therefore, similar to risk literature, the predicament between realists versus constructivist notion is evident in security studies as well (Bilgin, 2017). Though the concept of securitization lacks of measuring its success or failure, the incorporation of framing and narration has entered to the debates (Salter, 2008). Consequently, the concept has started to be viewed as a speech act (Wæver, p.5). Depending on how much and for what purposes the concept is subjected, an event can easily be represented as security issue.

Although it was cherished to deconstruct the concept of security being away from state centric view by incorporating societal security (Doty, 1998) with the sparkling emergence of unconventional transnational threats (Smith, 2000), the dominant power of framing has not moved away from the State (Walker, 1990).

Still, though it is important to consider societal security, its protection is done by its container entity – State (Bigo, 2006). What is significant here is the shift in the connotation of the concept from state to state relation to ‘event’ to state relation (Burgess, 2016; Waever, 1995). For events have the characteristics of being full of risks, the security has come to be measured by the probability of risks of damages to what state is responsible for protection (Baldwin, 1997; Campbell, 1998). As with the infusion of unconventional factors/events being considered as risky and dangerous (such as transnational crime, transnational terrorism, international migration flows, disease and international pandemics, and global environmental degradation and climate change), everyday life has been sensed to be full of potential threats (Mitzen, 2006). This has led to the obsession to have a control over risk potential events. Its impact over control impetus is evident in the statement of former Secretary of Defense of the US:

As we know, there are known knowns. There are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns. That is to say, we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns, the ones we don't know we don't know (CNN, 2016).

Since the aim is to maintain the ‘cognitive order on the environment’ (Mitzen, p.346), security studies have turned towards analysis of risk society in search for a conceptual developments (Aradau, 2007). In this ambiguous environment, in which full control is no longer possible like in pre-modern European polities (Bauman, 1987, p.40), it becomes a security trap (Weaver, 2011) to characterize problems that were once considered law enforcement or public health problems as security challenges (Smith, 2000, p. 1). In result, the seeds for the production of abstract crisis are planted. Also, it has become impossible to come

up with a comprehensive conceptual definition of the word – security. Therein, its definition has started to be associated with predictability (Williams, 2008, p. 7).

Going in line with the thesis's argument, the significance of the 'new threat' is found to be in events' mobile characteristics. For their abstract representation is associated with the contemporary border security (Muller, 2010, p. 13), the thesis takes its intention to analyze knowledge produced by the academic journals focusing on the question 'what security does politically' for its 'abstract crisis' conceptualization (Fierke, 2015, p. 1469). Therefore, the aim, here, is not to provide solution to the political implications of the term empirically, but to conceptually question why the migration is studied in relation to crisis. In that regard, the usages of the concepts – risk and security – were crucial to be analyzed in pursuing the question; 'why human mobility is represented in some situation as 'crisis'.

5.1.2.3. Integrating Risk and Security into Crisis

Eventually, combined with these changing conceptualizations of risk and threat/security, the term has come to be defined as 'a moment of decisive intervention, a moment of thorough-going transformation, a moment of rupture. It is a moment of objective contradiction, yet subjective intervention' (Hay, 1999). Again, these processes of changes in the crisis conceptualizations can better be addressed by the analogy of *game* and *game play*. The game played by the actors is thought to be changing when the term 'globalization' has been used drastically since 1980 to conceptualize these processes (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 76). It signifies a shift in social space indicating supraterritorial link between the actors that Hermann's three traits lose their grounds (2005, p. 59). Increased linkages has

consequently led to the realization of different perceptions of actors towards the same events, which has caused to framing contests. In the game play it is observed that threat and risks are no longer measured existentially, but by narratively. Therein, the problem of creating cumulative knowledge in the crisis scholarship becomes two-folded: on the one hand each actor creates its own ‘connotative resonance’ conjuring up each moments of anomaly it has faced, and on the other hand, these moments are still unique for an actor narrating them²⁹. Therefore, crisis is started to be defined as a process that is shaped by the game itself as ill-structured mass (Mitroff, Alpaslan, & Green, 2004), and it lends its unique and mutual effects on the actors, mainly the states, playing the game (Hay, 1999, p. 338). Still, the aim to create an answer to the question – what differentiates crisis from non-crisis seems not to be achieved. On the contrary, with the uniqueness of each perception for each event, as well as their narration, crisis is omnipresent.

5.1.3. Crisis after 2000s.

With the new millennium, the literature of international political crisis has been expanded by being attributed into the four main domains – integration of risk and threat to the concept, having the characteristic of being transnational, being continuous rather than dynamic, and being constructed abstractly.

The first domain determining the concept of crisis is the acknowledgment that the term includes the concepts of risks and threat/security. It is the acceptance of the world as being risky and threatening to the spatiality, in international political

²⁹ See (Weldes, 1999) arguing crises are social constructions that are forged by state officials in the course of producing and reproducing state identity (p.37;57).

space. As mentioned before, ‘the chronic use and the abuse of the term’ (Stern, 2003) has devastated to provide comprehensive conceptualization without having reference to an event. However, this exploitation of the term in its usage has facilitated to have a resonance to perceive events as risky and threatening. Furthermore, as for risks and threat/security are the constructed narrations of the events perceived by the receiver, crisis has started to be defined in relation to ‘uncertainty’ (Blondin & Boin, 2018) and ‘urgency’ (Boin, Sundelius, & Stern, 2005). As a spatio-temporally limited ‘event’, a crisis situation demands an immediate response, outside of everyday forms of control, that does not allow the time for more considered or debated responses’ (Jeandesboza & Pallister-Wilkins, 2016; Pallister-Wilkins, 2017). Therefore, a crisis situation emerges after the occurrence of a potentially harmful event that can threaten ‘fundamental values and norms of a system, which under time pressure and highly uncertain circumstances necessitates making vital decisions’ (2005, p.2). When the initial aim to prevent the occurrence of a risk event is wasted, the concept of security emerges. If the security measures also fails, then the concept of crisis prevails. In that regard, crisis situation is distinguished from disasters and catastrophes. Although disasters and catastrophes are seen as crisis with bad outcomes, such as ‘loss of life and/or substantial long-term damage to property and infrastructure’ (Blondin & Boin, 2018), crises are the abstracted narrations that are politically shaped as they require policy responses to dreadful events. Consequently, abstract crises are separated from disasters and catastrophes since they are beyond existential, or natural, attributes of the threats.

An array of threats such as terrorist attacks, unexpected flows of illegal immigrants, progressive climate change, and new pandemics have led to the notion that characteristics of crisis have shifted from static to mobile. Having been defined as transboundary crises, the events now ‘unfold across geographical and system borders’ (Boin & Rhinard, 2008; Boin, 2009; Kuipers & Boin, 2015). Arjen Boin is the one that catches the gist that there has occurred a mismatch between the international political space being divided into territorial jurisdictions and mobile characteristics of risk events. Because of their high level of uncertainty emerging from their illegible mobility, transboundary crisis challenges borders (Boin, 2018, p. 2). However, Boin and others do not deconstruct the international political space and mobile characteristics of risk events. They solely present the altered nature of events posing threat to multiple states. Hence, they merely assert that in order to overcome the transboundary crises, nation-state should cooperate (2008, p. 5). By being represented as outlier events, this domain of crises has led to another dimension that whether there actually is a change in the spatial international political system.

It is at this point the third domain argues that crisis management ‘deals with problems that are inherently ill-structured’ (Mitroff, Alpaslan, & Green, 2004). The authors in this domain supports the view that the field of crisis management is embedded to engage with the ill-structured mess, unless they move forward from the first two domains. The regardless argumentation of crisis events does not ameliorate critical analyses. Therefore, ‘understanding crisis in terms of change excludes the possibility that crisis does not determine, and can even obstruct, change’ (Natorski, 2015). In the case of human mobility, the framing of mass scale

movement of individuals as crisis deranging the institutional operation of international political space does not provide a way to critical investigation on whether those movements can cause systemic change in international spatial system. Since this process forces the debates to revolve around the 'takens', it opens to nowhere but to an ill-structured mass again. Therefore, instead of the debates focusing on conceptualization of crisis as events having novel characteristics that disrupts the existing values and leads to the establishment of the news, the thesis attempts to deconstruct the component of this ill-structured mess; the representation of international political space and representation of human mobility.

Lastly, the aim of deconstruction also implies that crises are the construction – a narrative that describes a set of facts (Lawrence, 2014, p. 189). Thus, it is stated that crisis literature should focus not solely on crisis events but the production of the concept (Roux-Dufort, 2007, p. 107). Boin's explanatory framework, at this point, alerts us to avoid the notion that crises are neutral description of an exceptional pre-existing situation (Lawrence, p.192). By labeling this construction as framing contest, the framework displays the constructed nature of crises (Boin, Hart, & McConnell, 2008, p. 84). In the initial phase, the situation is interpreted as something more than 'an unfortunate incident, and thus a predisposition to downplay the idea that they should have any political or policy repercussions' (p.84). Secondly, the event is deemed to be a critical threat to the pre-existing state that it must be controlled. Lastly, the representation of events as crisis evokes extraordinary responses that would not otherwise be on the stake. Hence, it turns out to be an opportunity to strengthen the existing status quo. Relatedly, this status quo is the one that encompasses all the previous domains of the crisis studies that it

involves ‘risk’ and ‘threats’ having transboundary characteristics leading to the vicious-circle in the existing institutional structure of international political space that ‘continuously’ generate crisis narratives. Hence, this construction is not determined only by the preferences/discourses of the actors, but also by the environment in which they operate. For instance, international legal guidance on mass influx compounds the migration ‘crisis’ constructed in part by the dilemma that protects the continuity of existing international space (Ramji-Nogales, 2017). On the one hand, the legal framework ‘requires migrants to access state territory in order to seek asylum, encouraging risky journeys by people who move for a complex set of reasons but must articulate a valid claim of non-refoulement in order to obtain lawful status’ while on the other hand ‘it obscures domestic and regional exclusion regimes built to prevent migrants from reaching countries where they might obtain international protection or where their labor is needed’ (p.614). In this ‘ill-structured’ dilemma, the division between the two crisis themes is revealed that both humanitarian need and national security need create the crisis situation. After illustrating the characteristics of ‘abstract crisis’ (see figure 14), next sub-section places the migration studies into the concepts of risk and security by discussing the role of this dilemma between human centric versus national/systemic security needs.

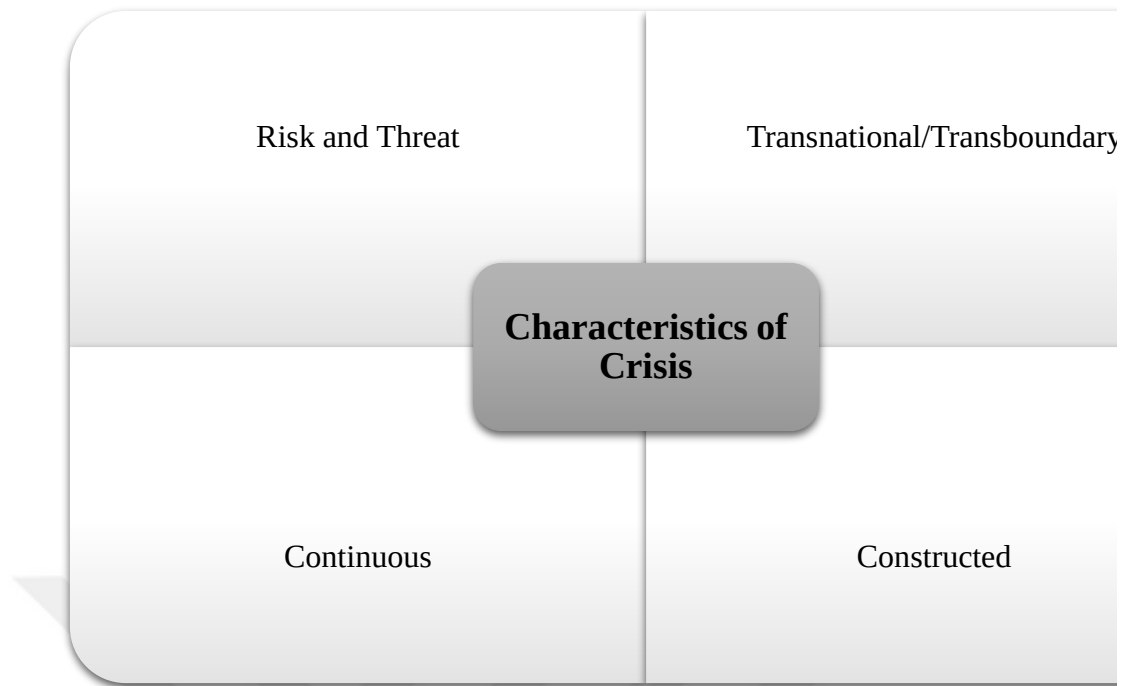


Figure 14. Characteristics of ‘Abstract Crisis’, illustration by the author

5.2. Migration Studies

This section categorizes migration studies into three parts in a chronological way. Therein, the reader is enabled to trace the process; how migration studies have been shifted from the human centric scope to the abstract one – politicized in nature, and eventually found themselves into a gray zone between the two. Though not being a linear process, the politicization of migration has isolated the real-life events at stake and asserted that it is not the individuals but the refugees or asylum seekers are the ones moving. This abstraction has taken the human actor away from the discussions on migration, and considered the irregular movement as a threat in the international political space. Still, as it was stated such crises are not merely constructions, the research on migration has found itself in the gray zone between

humanitarian versus structural/systemic analysis. Whether it is the individual or systemic security to be protected, the debates in this gray zone allows a way to deconstruct the concept of trans-migrants and questioned the state-centric sedentarist view. Therefore, the three categorizes are namely; human-centric aspects, systemic/abstract aspect, and combined point between the two – ‘humanized abstraction’.

First migration studies were used to understand how they investigate the question why people choose to move. In that regard, state or other political institutions were not taken into the scope. Hence, instead of approaching the mobility of individuals as risky and threatful, those studies have seldomly mapped what are the individual drivers to make move. One of the initial typologies of migration studies is asserted by Fairchild. Acknowledging the difficulty to lay down patterns or general rules about the effects and the causes of migratory movements, Fairchild argued ‘immigration is a distinctly individual undertaking’ (1913, p. 21). Furthermore, according to him, though migratory movements can be directed and controlled by the states, the motives of individuals play the crucial part. These motives are individually determined, and movements are done between the low and high cultures. Fairchild classifies two types of movements, one from high to low culture and from low to high culture. In peaceful situations, if mass movement occurs from high to low culture, Fairchild labels it as colonization. Differing from colonization, if the same mass scale movement happens in war time, it is classified as conquest. Though Fairchild does not categorize the movement from low to high culture in peacetimes, he refers to such movements as invasion in times of war.

What is significant in his debate is the role of culture in migration typology, which is not bounded by state-territory.

This typology of migration is later enhanced by Petersen focusing on the question – ‘if all men are sedentary (or migratory) "by nature," why do some migrate and some not’ (Petersen, 1958, p. 257). Contrary to Fairchild assuming people are sedentary till they are impelled to move, Petersen inserts nomadic state into the same consideration as well. Hence, people can either be sedentary or nomad. He asserts there are four types of reasons causing individuals to move: ‘nature and man’, ‘State (or equivalent) and man’, ‘man and his norms’, and ‘collective behavior’ (p.266). Instead of taking migration as movement between cultures, now it is considered with push factors and level of scale (free or mass, forced or impelled). The importance of his work is to differentiate the movement types as internal and international. Though he does not engage critically with their implications, this differentiation in the typology of migration will later be considered as a signifier of crisis in international political space.

The first aspect of migration studies has focused solely on the types of migratory movement of individuals. They initially established the classification of movement without having a state-centric approach. Hence, having been oriented by the individual preferences for movement, this first aspect can be considered as human centric.

Although migration is practiced by the human beings, its effects are not bounded only to one agency. With the increasing emphasis given to nation-states in the social science literature after mid-1940s, migrants started to be inherently linked

to the nation-states (Dahinden, 2016, p. 2209). Especially, those that are forced to move in relation to state-led causes have been considered as the source leading to anomaly in the legitimate patterns of movements in international political space (p.2210). The perception of such migratory movement was considered as something new that distorts status quo. Deriving from representation of minorities in nation-states, Arendt stated that the newest mass phenomenon in contemporary history, and the existence of an ever-growing new people comprised of stateless persons, the most symptomatic group in contemporary politics (1951, p. 277). Though she never connotes the term to crisis, her framing of 'symptomatic group' signifies the first step to the abstraction that the events' humane practices are taken away since they are not the 'citizens' on the move³⁰. Therefore, movement of them differs from the movement of legitimate ways, and contradicts with the sedentarist notion obsessed to fix those groups into a territorial entity. In that point, the center of focus has shifted away from the human actor to the state-system that even the international regime established for refugees has been created and maintained less for their protection than to preserve territorial state system (Frelick, 1992, p. 22; Zaragoza-Cristiani, 2017, p. 60; Chimni, 2009, p. 16).

The preservation of the territorial state system is done through conceptualization of those individuals. Though the conceptualization of those symptomatic group varies in accordance with their legal applications, large literature accepts the definition of Jacobsen's 'as those flee their country en masse, within a relatively short period (a few years)' (1996, p. 656). However, those who capitalize this conceptualization and operationalize on differing cases of human

³⁰ See (Diken, 2004)

mobility cannot escape from the notion that sees 'refugees' as manifestations of the problems of another country which suddenly become the problems of one's own' (p.662). Eventually, the conclusion would be to say 'the extralegal crossing of people from one country to another usually affects international relations' (p.662). Relatedly, with the gradual increase both in the number and percentage of refugee population³¹, international migration started to be considered as a high politics, meaning that those moving within the boundaries of a state occupy less importance than the ones who move transnational. This importance is given by the international political space that is deteriorated by the movement's irregularity. Henceforth, while movement within a national boundary is not considered as an anomaly³², accelerated transboundary movement caused to perceive the events as turbulence (Papastergiadis, 2000). In response, it was proposed to have a new international regime in which movements are regulated orderly, both covering all types of migration flows, as well as protecting basic human rights (Ghosh, 2003, p. 221).

What kind of predicament is the literature on migration talking about that leads to systemic crisis? The thesis has mentioned about the transition from human centric analysis to state-centric one in typologies of the literature through ways of conceptualizations that abstract the human aspect from the investigation (see figure 15). In result, it has led to the belief that 'the role of the nation-state in regulating flows of immigration has reached such a critical threshold' that 'the idea of spatially and socially exclusive territorial containers of political and social interaction' have altered (Schmidtke, 2008, pp. 1-3;92). Since the disability to control all the

³¹ In 1995 the greatest number of stateless people was reached (UNHCR, 2017)

³² Compare and contrast, for instance, (Öncü, 1999), (Castles, 2003) and (Cornelius, Martin, & Hollifield, 1994, p. 7)

movement on the one hand with the notion of obsession to spatial fixation, and the liberal values promoting the right to move, on the other, the literature has faced with the contradiction between the ‘abstract’ representation of migratory events and ‘concrete’ or raw practice of movement by human beings. This is where the third aspect of migration studies appears by creating a gray zone in which both the *security* of international political space in relation to legible movements and migrants’ freedom of movement are discussed. While the literature in this aspects challenges the conceptual constraints imposed over those migrants (Turton, 2003; Cabot, 2018; Dahinden, 2017; Van Meeteren, 2014, p. 18), it also favors the practices of transmigrants in the lived space (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994). Yet, the effects of increased international movement of people across national borders are not completely disregarded. Therefore, the literature on migration has reached to the point that problematizes the traditional norms of border control with liberal value of having right to move (Cornelius, Martin, & Hollifield, 1994; Hollifield & Wong, 2015).

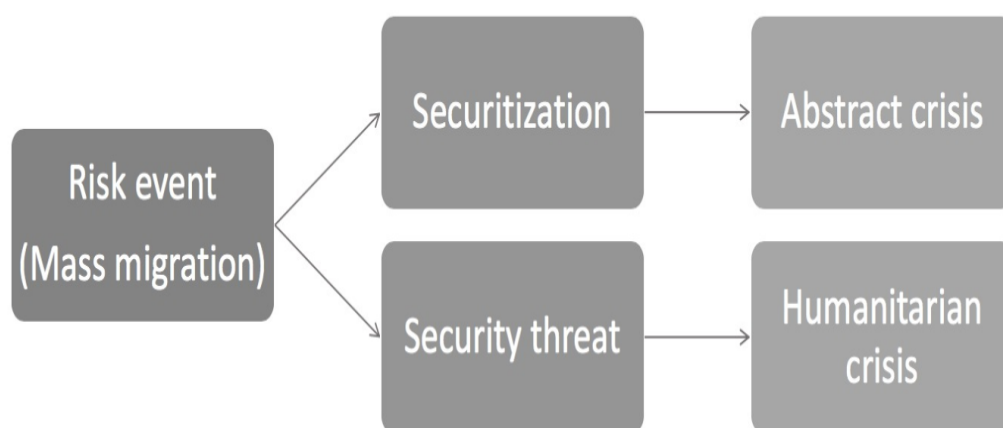


Figure 15. Predicament of crises – abstract and human centric, illustration by the author

To wrap up, it is observed that the transformation of debates in the literature of migration coincides with the conceptual development of the term – crisis after the 2000s. While in the first phase the migratory movements were not perceived as risky or threatful, with the penetration of concepts defining those on the move across borders as refugees or asylum seekers has steered the focus into abstract systemic security. Eventually, in the last phase the authors have incorporated the second aspect with liberal values favoring right to move. Hence, as with the concept of crisis has come to be understood along with risk and security, the conceptual representation of migrants has involved the same terms: risk and security. Because of the transboundary characteristics of migratory movements, it was discussed whether there is a change in international spatial regime. Going parallel with the crisis literature, it was asserted the frames such as turbulence has not proposed a radical change in traditional border control. The obsession to control/fix mobility has facilitated especially after the 9/11 events leading the notion of constant risk (Bigo, 2011, p. 33) that requires transboundary control (p.33). Traditional ways of border control has altered from making stop at the gates to becoming extra-territorial such as softer techniques through data-veillance (p.36). Yet, though changes have occurred in ways of controlling mobility from regulating territories for the irregular flow of people, the drive to control is still continuing in international political system. Therein, the question who/what turns an event into a crisis at global scale is answered by implying the international political space – also being termed as ill-structured mess – necessitates the continuity of movement control. Any *turbulence* in the regulation of movement is, therefore, abstractly labeled as ‘crisis’.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter has firstly focused on the term – crisis in relation to risk and security by conducting chronological and funnel type of literature review. Secondly, it integrated migration studies into the crisis concept by categorizing its transformation as a shift from human centrism to abstract/system centrism (see figure 16 below). In that way, it was aimed to explain how the four characteristics of abstract crisis match with ‘representation of mobility’ that abstract human-centric analysis of migratory events. The figure below speaks the two literature to each other: development of crisis concept to the evolution of the perception towards migratory movements. It firstly illustrates how the subjectively defined concepts like risk and threat renders the crisis term into an abstraction. Similar abstraction is done in the migration studies that terms such as refugee and asylum seekers turn the exercisers of movement into a representation. This representation puts significant emphasis on movement’s irregular and transboundary/transnational characteristics that cause anomaly in international political space where mobility should always be controlled. The difficulty in controlling mobility leads to the framing of events as ‘irregular’ necessitating to ask whether this abstract ‘crisis’ causes a change, or continuity. Yet, because of the paradox between traditional norm to control borders and liberal value to facilitate movement, the ill-structured messy international political space remains untouched (Üstübici, 2018, pp. 20-22). The space in which abstract crisis *continues* to exist required a change only in techniques controlling the migration, in order to preserve representation of IR space *producing* the ‘migration crisis’.

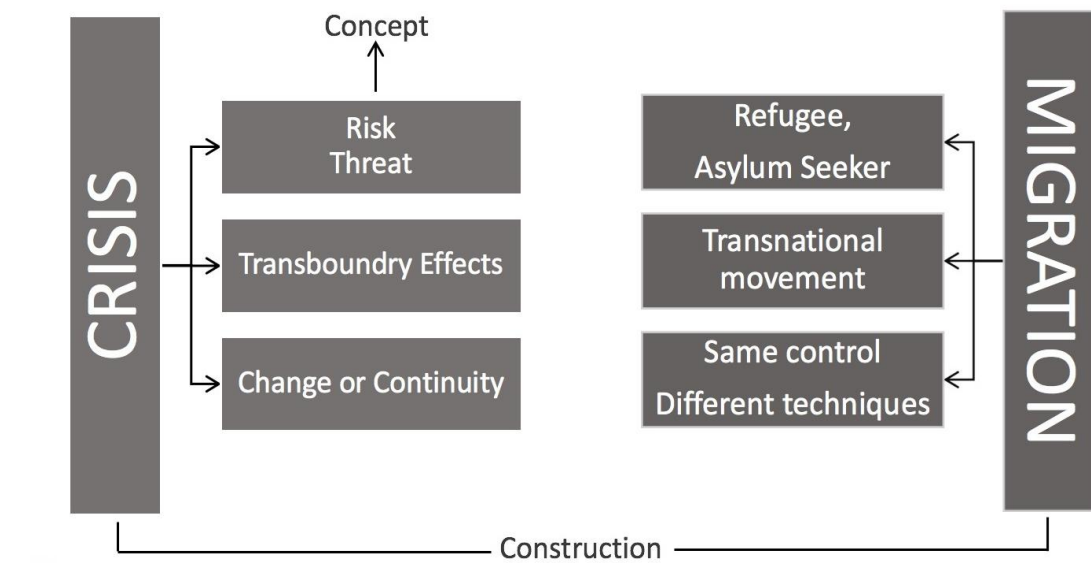


Figure 16. Construction of Crisis in relation to migratory movements, illustration by the author

5.3.1. Narrowing the Literature Down

The aim of the thesis is to critically engage with the term crisis when it is applied to the ‘refugee’ or related terms abstracting the event of migratory movement of individuals. In pursuing the question ‘who/what turns an event into a crisis at global scale’ within the scope of human mobility, the thesis has deconstructed international political space and mobility practiced on that space. It has been asserted that it is not the question of *who* but *what* that turns an event into crisis. The international political space created through cartography centers the sedentarist notion of thinking that leads to see irregular movement as anomaly. With the development of crisis literature towards an abstract definition, such movements have started to be investigated in relation to fixity. When faced with irregularity in the human mobility, the notion of abstract crisis arises. Therefore, in order to

support the argument developed so far, this section presents similar studies previously conducted. By narrowing the scope down to the imagined relationship between ‘crisis’ and ‘migration’, the chapter discusses the studies deconstructing the concepts.

5.3.2. Who Walked Behind?

The impact of the invention of the term ‘refugee’ has abstracted the physical practice of movement. The mobility of those has a negative representation in the international political space, as a result of their conceptual definition assigned on. The abstraction the concept creates is slightly unrecognized, and the creation of ‘new kind of person’ has been accepted as it is (Lippert, 1999, p. 299). While it was firstly used for the French Protestants fled from the French state in 17th century, eventually, it has gradually been universalized through daily language³³, and lastly institutionalized after the WW I³⁴. This universalization has normalized the concept and its implication to the extent that most migration studies do not try to deconstruct it. In result, crises have started to be produced automatically whenever such a movement occurred. Eventually, in this ill-structured mess, ‘refugee crises were now generally expected to arise *routinely*’ (emphasis added, p.302-303). Therefore, based on this conceptualization and its institutionalization in international political space, the movement of refugees produces knowledge that sees such forms of mobility as abnormal, or irregular.

³³ Encyclopedia Britannica (third edition) in 1796, defines refugees as those “leave their country in times of distress”

³⁴ Establishment of League of Nations’ Refugee Office in 1921, and UNHCR in 1951

In *the Contested Politics of Mobility*, Squire delves critically into this abnormality by differentiating *irregular* from *illegal* migration. She states that because migratory movements are associated with control, ‘framing of irregular migration as a political concern across regions is thus intimately linked to processes of securitization and criminalization, which inscribe exclusionary distinctions between ‘desirable’ and ‘undesirable’ or ‘productive’ and ‘threatening’ forms of migration’ (2011, pp. 2-4). In that regard, it is not the illegality, which a person cannot be in, but the irregularity creating the abnormality. Then, she deconstructs irregularity into four – irregularity as a condition, as a stake, as an ambivalence, and as an analytic. Irregularity is a constructed condition by the international political space in which it is reproduced by national, international and/or transnational agencies (p.6). Further, any objectivist account that uncritically adopts statist perspective conceptualizes irregularity as a ‘problem’ related to the ‘illegitimate’ behaviour of migrants (p.6). Henceforth, it is also a stake that irregularity is determined by the control of national, international and/or transnational agencies (p.8). Relatedly, irregularity has ambivalences that while politics of control tries to regulate the subjects on the move, this politics of movement enacts the politics of control. Hence, it is a continuous circle similar to the one that crisis literature has emphasized. By ‘distinguishing between different struggles analytically rather than according to a juridical or scalar logic’, Squire lastly proposes that agency of migrants should not be defined by the politics of mobility (p.14-15). Thus, through reflecting upon the conceptual constraints of the terms ‘irregular’ on migrants, and its effects on politics of control, she challenges the objectivist investigation of migration that produces anomaly.

This anomaly is investigated by Lindley as a paradox leading to crisis production. Both crisis and migration on the one hand are seen as threatening (crisis as jeopardizing social systems and human welfare; migration as undermining the integrity of the nation-state and bounded identities) (2014, p. 1). On the other hand, 'both are often described as characteristic of the contemporary world: scholars proclaim that we are in an 'age of crisis' and an 'age of migration' (p.1). However, she critically states that the articulation between crisis and migration as lived experiences and political abstractions are diverged. In order to separate the lived experiences from the politically construct crisis narration, she focuses on range of migratory movements that are linked to crisis concept. For instance, she states while Arab Spring constitutes the case of a crisis generating migration (p.25), the same movement on the other hand represents a crisis for the EU (p.115). Thus, the event can be considered as both 'crisis migration' and 'migration crisis'.

Indeed, while the framing of 'migration crisis' refers to abstract or constructed situations, 'crisis migration' refers to 'real crisis' (Long, 2014, p. 176). It was the first time that this differentiation is conceptualized; separating the abstract/construct from the reality (McAdam, 2014, p. 28). McAdam uses crises for cases in which 'there is a widespread threat to life, physical safety, health or subsistence that is beyond the coping capacity of individuals and the communities in which they reside' (p.29). Therein, she gives importance to the usage of crisis since its narration plays a crucial part in overcoming the abstraction that represents the presence of an extreme or sudden event (p.34). While abstract usage of crisis signals out the real life experiences, McAdam's critical analysis in this regard helps us overcome the risk that the language of "crisis" may serve to pathologize all

movement (p.43). Hence, migration studies in relation to crisis conceptualization has started to steer us to connote the term excessively to humanitarian incidents³⁵.

The study conducted by Burrell and Horschelmann constitutes a good example for the argument stating abstract concepts of refugee and asylum seeker transforms the event as crisis (2019, p. 46). In “Perilous Journeys: Visualising the Racialised ‘Refugee Crisis’”, they challenge the representation of individuals taking life-threatening journeys. Although they do not necessarily engage critically with conceptual development and the usage of the terms refugees and asylum seekers, they try to overcome the abstraction evident in discourses by examining the comic named *PositiveNegatives*. The comic presents narratives of lived experiences of those people on the move challenging the negative connotation assigned by the term refugee and asylum seekers. As the suggestion made in theoretical framework chapter, the comic conducts ethnographic researches in combination with illustration and photography, adapting personal testimonies into art, education and advocacy materials (p.51). Hence, it distorts the objectivist notion that sees the mobility of people across borders as a systemic/abstract crisis by representing an unconstructed nature of the movement.

Having been considered the critical studies conducted on mobility in relation to its conceptual representation as ‘irregular’, the thesis will lastly consult to the study of Kuipers and Welsh (2017). In surveying the usage of the term ‘crisis’ on diverse research areas such as ecology, medicine, sociology, and accountancy in three independent specialized academic journals in the crisis and disaster research

³⁵ See (Colombo, 2017), (Campesi, 2018)

field, they sort out thematic and typological usage of the term crisis (p.274). Their aim and method have influenced the thesis to lay out the combined usages the terms: 'refugee' and 'crisis'. A survey of selected journals focusing on refugee and migration studies will facilitate the thesis's hypothesis empirically. The thesis, however, wishes to go beyond Kuiper and Welsh's taxonomy by conducting frame analysis of the key terms searched, meaning it does not solely look into the key words of the articles but also their methods and overall discussions. Therefore, the graphs created in the next chapter will not only present the taxonomy of the phrase, but also draws attention how the abstract (re)production of crisis in relation to mobility is used in the literature.

CHAPTER VI

Unfolding ‘Refugee’ and ‘Crisis’

We find ourselves faced with an extraordinary, little-noticed phenomenon: the explosion of spaces. Neither capitalism nor the state can maintain the chaotic, contradictory space they have produced (Lefebvre, 1979)

A topic search, in Web of Science conducted in July, 2019 on the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migration’, results out 2.449 publications. Significantly, although ‘refugee crisis’ is used since 1981 in their data base, it skyrocketed after 2015, a few years after the Syrian conflict (see figure 17).

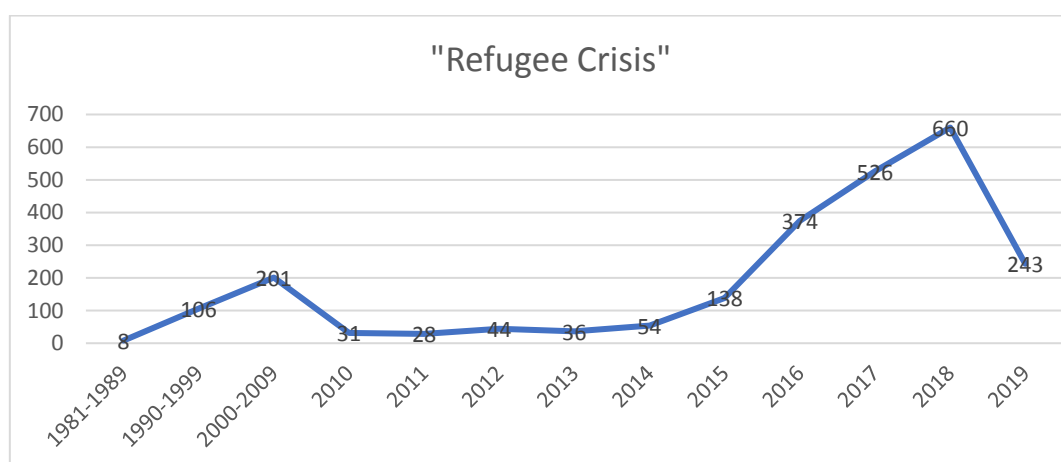


Figure 17. Distribution of publications on ‘refugee crisis’ in the database of Web of Science

As illustrated in the figure above, in 2017 the number of publications has tripled compared to the averages for the publications from 2000 to 2009. Throughout the abovementioned years, the two disciplines – International Relations and Political Science, are the fields which the biggest portion of publications are coming from (see figure 18). It has been the concern of the thesis to engage with the regardless usage of the phrase – ‘refugee crisis’ in research articles. Further, the phrase has been used vastly by the two departments, as indicated in the beginning of the Chapter II.





Figure 18. Departmental distribution of publications, in Web of Science, in July 2019

An initial finding deduced from these figures would be to argue that the effects of the conflict in Syria causing mass scale of human mobility and emergencies in international politics led to also the proliferation of the publications on this theme. Basically, such analysis would justify the usage of ‘crisis’ alongside ‘migration’ and/or ‘refugee’ by highlighting the three main characteristics of the incident; the amount/number/scale of influx (İçduygu, 2015, p. 6), policy gridlocks responding to the movement (Özden, 2013, p. 6), and accelerated humanitarian atrocity (Berti, 2015). However, the usage of the term is not unique to the Syrian case. Though the publications on the topic was little, it was used in various events of human mobility³⁶³⁷. Further, the term is not used uniquely to these three main characteristics neither, as different events of human mobility with different types and themes have also been labeled as ‘crisis’ in the literature.

It is the ultimate goal of the thesis to explore ‘why’ a trend for using the term ‘crisis’ and ‘migration’ together has emerged and continued with some fluctuations in popularity since the late 1980s. The thesis responds to the question ‘what turns an event into crisis’ by deconstructing space and mobility as the explanatory exercise. As it was argued in the chronological literature review on crisis, an event may not constitute crisis for some, while for others it may³⁸. Furthermore, facilitated by the literature focusing critically on migration, the thesis has detected that great portion of ‘crisis’ labeling on migratory events is produced initially by the perception of human mobility having irregular characteristics. Being

³⁶ See for instance (Crisp, 1987) discussing refugee movement as crisis in Africa, in 1987

³⁷ See for instance (Suhrke, 1993) discussing refugee movements as crisis in developing worlds

³⁸ Crisis literature lists various factors determining how an event turns to a crisis, such as coping capacity and political ambitions (Boin, Hart, & McConnell, 2009).

thought to be as ‘risky’, such mobilities are characterized as a matter of security. Recalling from the figure 11, the thesis has shown the process leading to ‘abstract crisis’. However, it would be an oversimplification to call all the publications are embedded under such category. Therefore, informed by the data retrieved from Web of Science, in July 2019, the thesis aims to categorize the literature approaching human mobility as ‘crises’ in three aspects by operationalizing the theoretical/conceptual framework established.

Those categories classify the research articles based on their methodological approaches to the topic of human mobility. Namely, these categories are ‘human centric’, ‘systemic/abstract’, and ‘humanized abstraction’. They are termed in accordance with the theoretical framework of the thesis combining ‘movement’ and ‘space’ in one research theme – migration. First, ‘human centric’ refers to spatial practices or physical movement that research articles under such category deal only with ‘real life’ events uninformed by constructed categories such as ‘refugee’ policies and ‘territorial state’. Their main foci are the changing spatial experiences of those who are on the move. Secondly, ‘systemic/abstract’ refers to the representation of space, or representation of mobility that research articles under this delves greatly into concepts of ‘refugee’ and/or ‘territorial state’. The main argumentations revolve around the representation of the practitioners of movements as abstract ‘subjects’ that each has different conceptual resonance in international law and politics. Being termed as ‘refugees’ or ‘asylum seekers’ or ‘stateless persons’, their spatial practices and movement are represented as abstract, and movement of those creates anomaly in international political space, also seen as ‘crisis’. Analysis of such articles has informed the thesis that the main themes are

centered on policies, international law regulating mobility, sovereignty, and legal rights of the subjects on the move. Third category, which the thesis suggests as a way out from ‘abstract crisis’ in theoretical framework chapter, refers to representational (lived) space or representational (lived) mobility. As the combination of the first and second categories, research articles under this aspect are informed by the raw practices of human movement that shape/create the abstract policies, law, and concepts, and being re-shaped/created them. To put in other words, research articles under this category focus on two processes; one the one hand how practices of movement affect the policies, law and institutions regulating the characteristic of movement, and regularizing the subjects on the move, and on the other hand, how the policies, law and institutions affect the characteristics of movement. In result, such articles are informed both by the real life events within movements and policies targeting such events. Therein, the thesis sees such category as a way approaching the term ‘crisis’ in a comprehensive way, avoiding the illusion of ‘abstraction’.

This chapter aims to empower the thesis’s hypothesis by categorizing the literature on human mobility in three aspects. The combination of the three categories unifies the migration research, similar to Lefebvre’s social space, or state space in IR (see figure 9), and Cresswell’s human mobility (see figure 10). Hence, this chapter projects a typology of migration researches created by the sample of 119 articles in three scholarly e-journals while delving into the usage of the term ‘crisis’ in relation to mobility.

6.1. Selection of e-Journals, Searching Criteria, Themes & Types

This section firstly clarifies the reason why the thesis chooses to focus on academic journals, instead of discourses of state representatives, or reports of International Organizations engaging with migration. Secondly, it will talk about how the research articles published in those journals are extracted. Thirdly, the section displays thematic graphs listed by the years of publications after talking in-detail about coding process. The graphs are presented separately under the three categories mentioned above.

6.1.1. Selected Journals – JIRM, JRS, IMR

A great majority of the migration literature adopting the method of frame and narrative analysis is inclined to analyze either the official documents, report, or texts of political entities such as states, IOs, NGOs, newspapers, or the speeches of their representatives. The argumentation of crisis narrative produced from such sources, however, is embedded to reproduce the concept itself since those sources are the actors on the environment that deliberately choose to use the term for specific policy purposes. Hence, such analyses provide no room for deconstruction of the usage of the term. In result, the research question – ‘what turns an event into crisis in global scale, and why’ would be unanswered, as the focus of the thesis was on those ‘who(es)’.

The thesis focuses on the literature studying the migratory movement within crisis narratives since scholarly publications do not necessarily be narrowed by the policy suggestions aiming to regulate the ‘movement’ in the ‘environment’. The abovementioned sources are required to seek answer for emergency events, and expected to operate practically. They are expected to take territorial state and the abstract representation of the subject on the move as taken. In other words, since they operate in the international political space, they have no room to critically engage or act outside of the constructed boundaries of such representations. The literature, on the other hand, is the place of source in which research articles may engage critically with the usages of such concepts – refugee, territorial state and crisis, by not taking them as ontologically given. Hence, categorization of different themes written in selected journals helps reveal how ‘crisis’ is used on what occasions; crisis in ‘human centric’ approach, ‘abstract/systemic’ crisis or ‘humanized abstraction’. In this way, the hypothesis of the thesis stating ‘irregular human mobility in international political space causes abstract crisis in international political space’ is empowered by such categorizations of the literature.

It is the limitation of the thesis to focus only on the three scholarly journals in the vast pole of migration studies. They are namely *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies (JIRS)*, *Journal of Refugee Studies (JRS)*, and *International Migration Review (IMR)*. The two reasons have determined the selection of these journals; the impact factor and their interdisciplinary approaches. Impact factor is the index that measures the quality of the journal contributing to scholarly development, and knowledge production. It is calculated by the quantity of articles published in the journal in relation to number of citations that the articles receive.

In other words, if a journal publishes great amount of articles in a year, but those published researches receive insignificant number of citation, the impact factor would be low for that journal. In that regard, the three journals' impact factors – JIRS having 0.891 (2018) impact factor, JRS having 1.737 (2018), and IMR having 1.738 (2018) are significant enough for analysis.

Yet, impact factor is not the only determinant for the selection of these three journals. Interdisciplinary approach has considered to be crucial in order to avoid self-fulfilling prophecy. In order to have an equal weight for each three different categories, these journals were selected since their publications vary in terms of method, theory and case. For instance, if the *International Journal of Refugee Law* was selected, the number of articles listed under the 'abstract/systemic' category would be expected to be higher since the journal focuses on the refugee law and State practices. To put it differently, the usage of crisis found in the articles published in this journal would presumably be discussing legal and policy related issues, which are labeled as abstract by the thesis. Relevantly, if the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (JEMS) was selected, the weight of the category 'human centric crisis' would be higher compared to others, since the journal focuses on the causes of ethnic conflict and discrimination on migrants. Thus, the thesis has decided to focus on the mentioned three journals in order not to disturb expected distributions of the articles on the three categories.

JIRS covering refugee and migration studies across the globe publishes theoretical and empirical researches concentrating on migration governance, integration, and policies and practices. Thus, articles published in here adopt

different methodological stance that the thesis can list them under three categories equally. Similarly, *Journal of Refugee Studies* explores problems of forced migration and national, regional and international responses. It is a forum in which crisis is used for human centric and systemic views, as well as in combination. Going in parallel, *International Migration Review* facilitates the study of all aspects of sociodemographic, historical, economic, political, legislative, spatial, social, and cultural aspects of human mobility. Therefore, the sample of these three journals represent the large N of whole migration studies within the scope of analysis this thesis pursues.

6.1.2. Extraction of Research Articles

Extraction of research articles from the specified journals is the most important layer that a small mistake in choosing the proper terms in searching can cause the thesis go to waste. Having been considered the scope of the journals in line with the ultimate aim of the thesis, 5 key terms are chosen; “refugee”, “crisis”, “conflict”, “mobility”, and “irregular”.

Having been deconstructed international political space, it was demonstrated that territory is a political technology that abstracts concrete space of the Earth through political maps. Further, it has been argued that conceptualization of territory refers indirectly to the notion of control of the sovereign space. Likewise, by way of deconstructing movement and mobility in international political space, it was emphasized that the application of the notion of control

determines the legitimate ways of movement. Thus, those who move illegitimately, thus irregularly, are seen as ‘anomaly’. After the two deconstructions have been combined with the trialectics of Lefebvre and Cresswell, it was elaborated more on why irregularity of the movement is seen as risk event. By consulting to the risk and security literature, the thesis has displayed the division between abstract and life-threatening crises (see figure 15). Therein, whether the event is a matter of security, or securitization, it becomes a matter of labeling to call it as crisis. Yet, the emphasis the thesis has made is mobile, and irregular, characteristic of such events *in the first place* starts the process of labeling. This is why the thesis delves into the examination of the usage of the phrase ‘refugee crisis’.

In that regard, the first term of the search criteria is to include “refugee” separately from “crisis”, in order not to corrupt the extraction process that would have led to self-fulfilling prophecy. Moreover, the two terms should be intersected to each other in one set in order to narrow the findings down. Thus, the first set in the universe is {[“refugee”] AND [“crisis”]} listing out research articles related to refugees and events labeled as crisis. Yet, additional terms are required in order to detect different labeling of events other than ‘crisis’. Some researchers prefer to use “conflict” instead of ‘crisis’, yet the event being investigated is the same. Hence, the first element of the second set is to include “conflict” for searching criteria. As it was discussed in the literature review chapter focusing on migration studies, people unexpectedly move as a result of life threatening events, or conflicts, which inserts the notion of ‘irregularity’ into the practice of movement. In order to catch this argument, the fourth term is chosen as “mobility”. Having been cautious, the second set in the universe is created as {[“conflict”] AND [“mobility”]}. Similar to

the reason in searching the words “refugee” and “crisis” separately, the term mobility is searched individually. Therein, the intersection point of the two set does not necessarily directs searching criteria to the research articles mentioning events as ‘crisis’ or subjects of the movement as ‘refugee’. Also, this criteria enables the thesis to catch research articles preferring not to use such terms. Thereby, the first universe is created as such; {[["refugee"] AND ["crisis"]] OR [{"conflict"} AND [{"mobility"}]}}. The combination of the two sets in the universe will provide a sample of research articles that are relevant for the three categories developed in the thesis. The materials gathered in this sample/universe talk about refugees in ‘crisis’-like situations in combination with their mobilities in times of conflict. Lastly, term “irregular” is added in order to narrow the sample down with regard to the hypothesis. The term is in the second universe in order not to disrupt the criteria developed in the first one. When “irregularity” is added as a set in different universe, its intersection with the first universe will present a sample that help testing the main argument of the thesis – political representation of space as being consisted of territorially bounded states leads to the impulsion to see an *uncontrolled* movement as risky, and eventually process to call it as *crisis*.

Eventually, when the 5 terms are searched in all categories in a way that encompass 'title' and 'key words' of the materials, the final criteria is created as; [[[All "refugee"] AND [All "crisis"]] OR [[All "conflict"] AND [All "mobility"]]] AND [All irregular] (see also the 19). The red point is the sample representing the place where materials are gathered from. The searching criteria is applied to all the three journals in order to have cohesiveness.

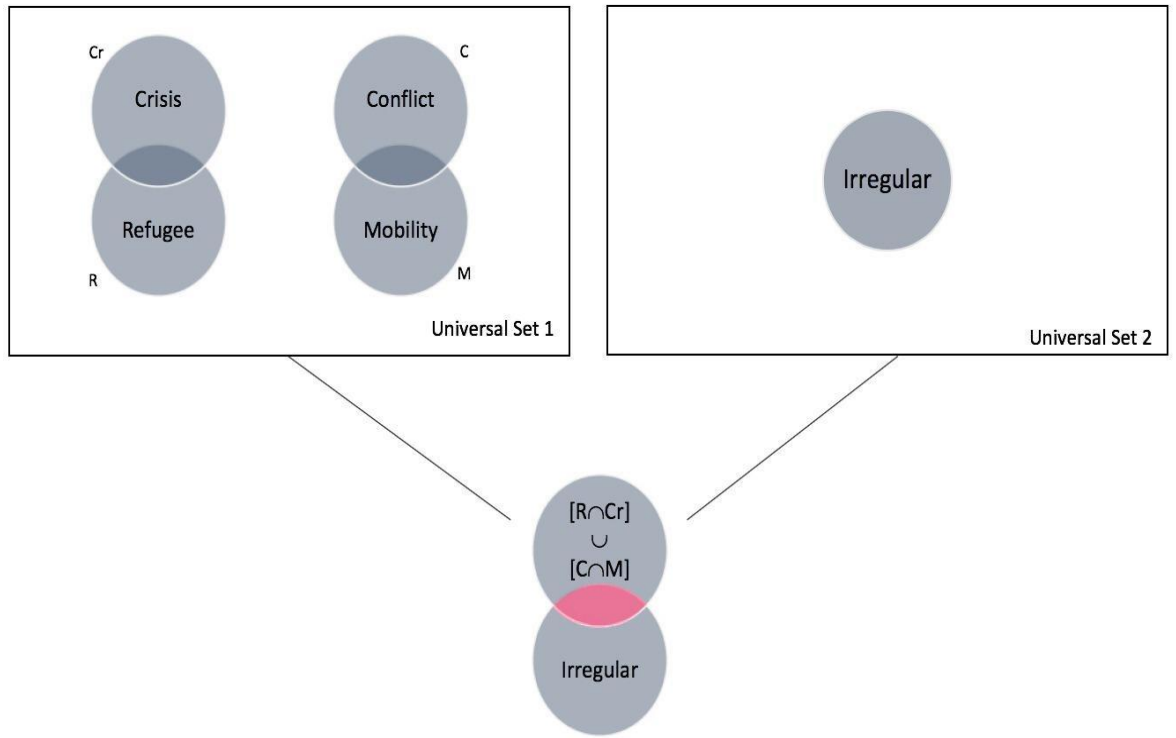


Figure 19. Illustration of search criteria

6.1.3. Coding Process and Themes/Types

Initial step is made by listing the materials in accordance with their year of publications; starting from 2019 to 2006 for JIRS and JRS, and 1999 for IMR³⁹. By making categories for two years of periods, it was aimed to detect possible changes in the patterns of migration studies.

Division of materials into yearly orders has made it easy for coding processes. After scanning the titles and the abstracts of the materials, the thesis has consulted to a software program named NVIVO 12⁴⁰ in order to create codes/nodes.

³⁹ Articles were collected to the best of capabilities of Bilkent and Koç Universities' libraries

⁴⁰ Especially being used for the analyses of unstructured texts, interviews, focus groups, journal articles, and surveys, the software program is used for qualitative researches.

In the first step ‘auto-coding’ feature of the soft-ware was used. Though such empowerment from the NVIVO has given insights about possible themes of the selected materials, the end results were not in line with the analysis of the crises categorizations. The program has presented generic themes such as ‘migration’, ‘immigration’ and ‘policy’. In return, the ‘word frequency query’ feature was used for the term – ‘crisis’ in order to see its affiliation to words coming before and after it, in each sentences. Being chosen randomly, three figures below display the word trees of the word frequency query results for the term crisis. Depending on the time period and journals, the connotation of ‘crisis’ differs, but the NVIVO provides guidance to reveal the commonalities. What the three figures indicate in common is that ‘crisis’ is used in relation to ‘migration’, ‘immigration’ and ‘refugee’ as well as to other the terms such as ‘refugee’, ‘migration’, ‘Syrian’, ‘irregular’ and ‘humanitarian’. These results not only prove that searching criteria has successfully used for data extraction from the journals, but also inform the thesis about relational usages of the term.

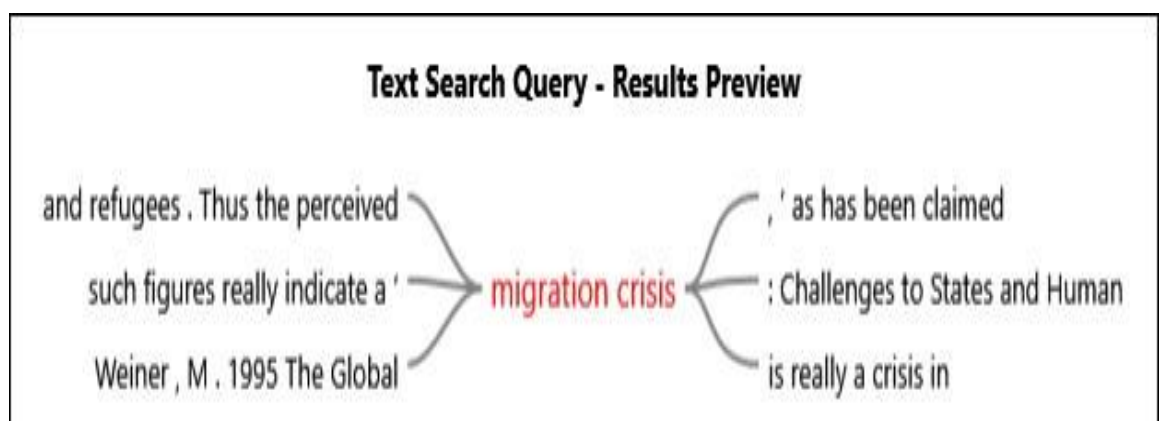


Figure 20. IMR, materials between 2004-2002

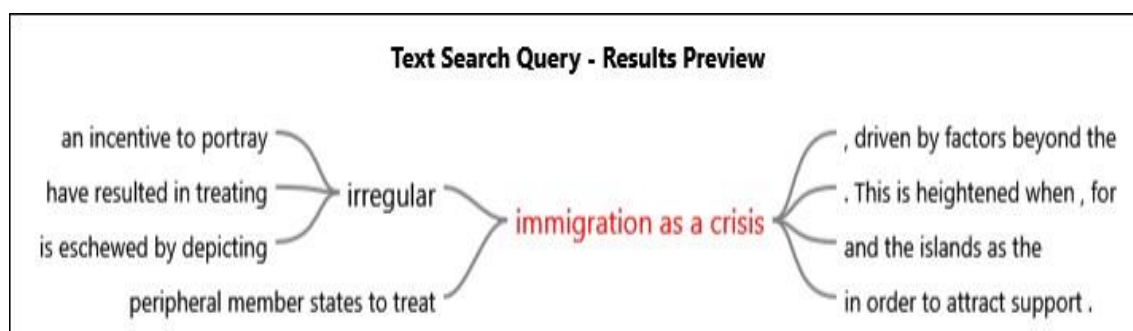


Figure 21. JIRS, materials between 2016-2014

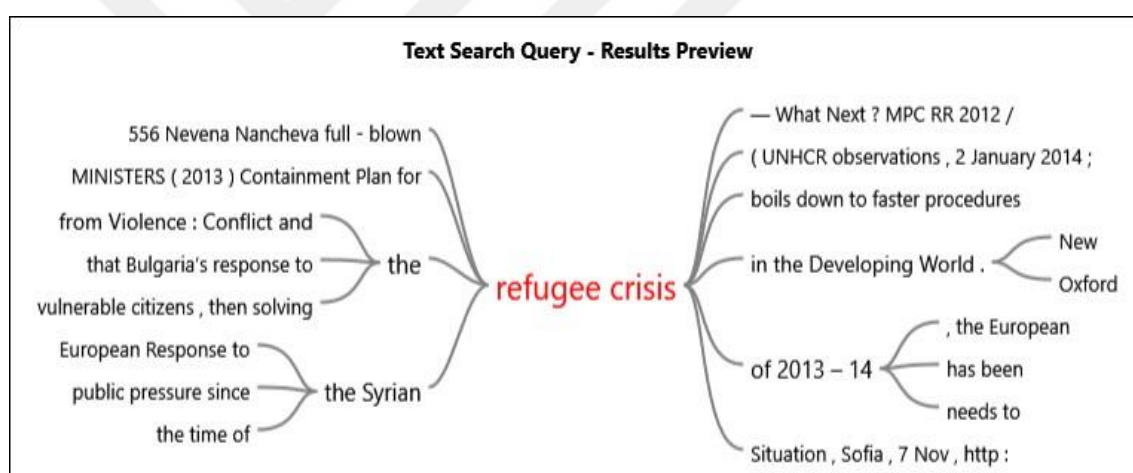


Figure 22. JRS, materials between 2016-2014

However, it was not sufficient to base themes and types depending on the results since most of the articles use crisis as an auxiliary example for their general argumentation. Such orientation would distort the gist points of the materials. Thus, the author manually coded the materials by reading their abstract, methods and conclusions.

After a careful scanning of selected articles with the help of NVIVO 12 plus, the thesis initially developed a wide range of themes and types, such as ‘border control’, ‘forced vs voluntary mobility’, ‘social rights’, ‘social inequality’, ‘risk and securitization’, ‘culture’, ‘institutional capabilities’, ‘irregular and potential migrants’, ‘entry policies’ and ‘gender’. However, it was impossible to represent such a vast variation of themes in thematic graphs. Besides, the author has seen that some of these themes could be merged into wider themes. For instance, ‘border control’, ‘forced vs voluntary mobility’, ‘risk and securitization’ and ‘entries policies’ can be categorized under one umbrella theme – Politics of Mobility. Further, ‘social rights’, ‘social inequality’, ‘gender’, ‘culture/religion’ and ‘institutional capabilities’ can all be put under more generic theme – ‘Inclusion and Exclusion’. Hence, as it can be seen in table 1, on the Y axis, two general themes are created, and the materials are numbered in line with the three categorizations of the X axis.

Table 1. Categories and Themes

	Human Centric	Systemic/Abstract	Humanized Abstraction
Politics of Mobility			
Inclusion & Exclusion			

As the ultimate aim of the thesis is to differentiate the types of crises by three categories, establishment of such a table is the best option considered in order to differentiate ‘abstract/systemic’ crisis from the real-life ‘crisis’.

In the pursuit of providing generic typology of migration studies, the three themes are supported by the types. Again, for each theme, three encompassing types are grouped (see table 2 below). Based on the journals’ overall approach, there are slight variations, however, between the types under the same theme. For instance, the second type under the Politics of Mobility theme showed minor variations that while it is called ‘Irregularity, Representation and Labeling, Protection’ for the analysis of JRS, it was called ‘Irregularity, Statelessness, Protection’ for IMR. However, in order to provide a comprehensive typology applicable to all the three journals, the thesis has decided to unify types under same titles. Such arrangements are made depending on the relative weight of the articles discussion certain issues determining the name of the type⁴¹.

A crucial clarification should be made on ‘crisis’ under the theme of Politics of Mobility. Although each type is provided with one or two exemplary sources for justification, this type requires particular attention. It is put under ‘Politics of Mobility’ theme in order to classify the materials talking critically or ontologically about the mobile events creating ‘crisis’. It plays particular role in the general classification that the main orientation of the materials listed in here is to discuss the concept of crisis in relation to human mobilities. The materials listed under this type focus on the concept itself, while the other categories accept the term as given,

⁴¹ Other adaptations regarding the names of the types follow the same processes.

or refer to the event as it is in order to discuss something else that is listed under other types by the thesis.

Eventually, when being represented in graphs, in total the thesis illustrates 16 thematic/typologic graphs for three journals in three categories. In result, when put under the three categories the reader will be enabled to see what *type* of crises is being talked about under what *theme*.

Table 2. Themes and Types

Politics of Mobility		
Migration & Mobility & Border control	Irregularity, Representation and Labeling, Protection	‘Crisis’
Inclusion & Exclusion		
Urban refugees – Networks – self-organization – Gender	Legal and Policy Reforms/Constraints	Institutional (In)capability

Therefore, the thesis goes beyond the matter of what themes are being discussed in relation to ‘crisis’. It displays *how* the knowledge of crisis is being reproduced, through the graphs, in the next section. Thematic graphs rigorously illustrate the diversity of the migration studies that what type of thematic and typologic discussions around which a category of ‘crisis’ is implied.

6.2. Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies (JIRS)

6.2.1. Politics of Mobility

33 research articles collected under the Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies, 15 of them fall under the theme of 'Politics of Mobility'. Significantly, only article is found that solely engages with humanitarian aspect of the migratory movements. The main foci are mainly centered on the combined aspect that neither the human subject, nor the abstract policy processes are neglected. Hence, materials collected from JIRS fall mainly under two crises categories – abstract/systemic, and humanized abstraction. The two figures below indicate the division of the materials under this theme.

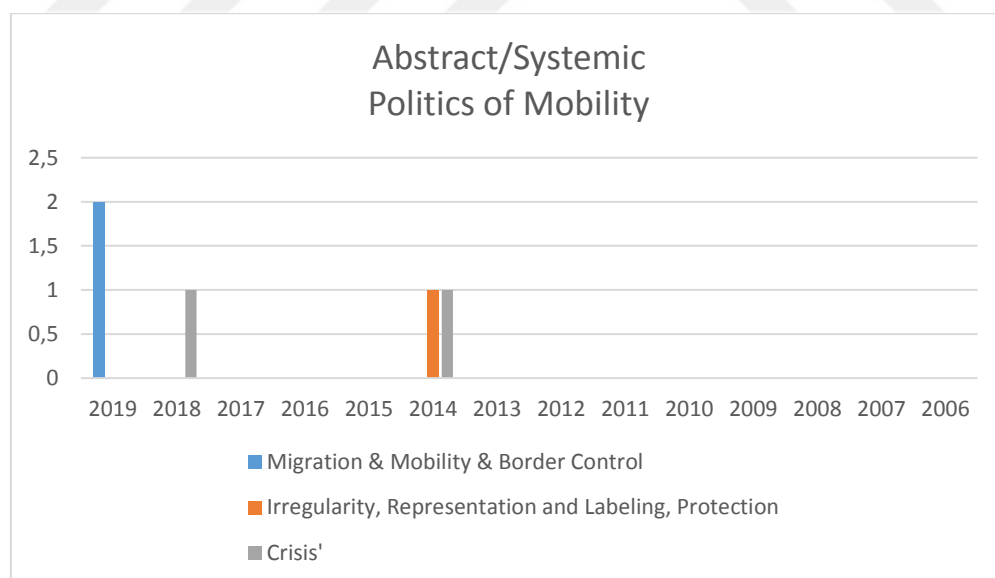


Figure 23. Politics of Mobility, in 'Abstract/Systemic' category

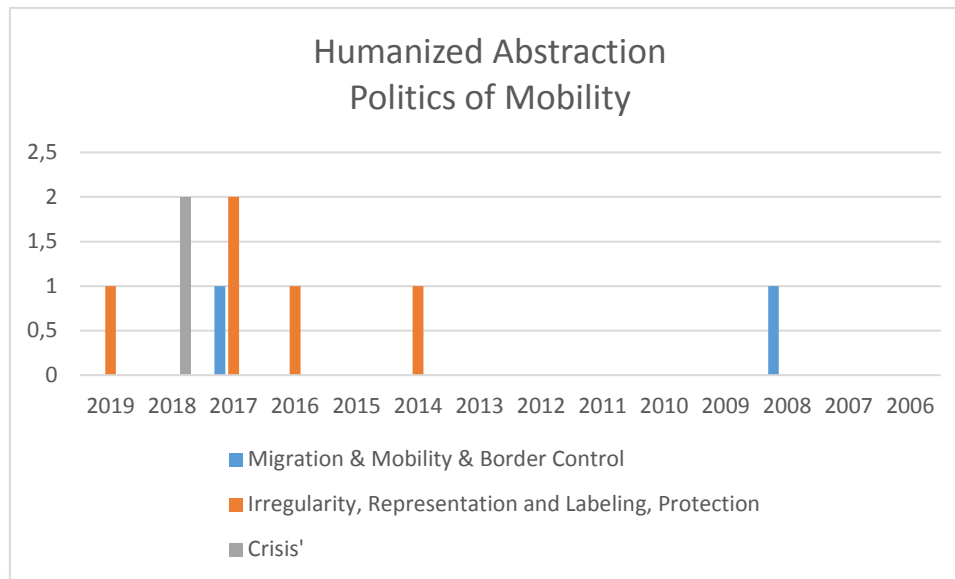


Figure 24. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category

In the category of ‘abstract/systemic’ crisis (Figure 23), politics of mobility is analyzed only with regard to mobility of individuals in relation to its control. In total, 5 research articles are inserted in here. To clarify how this section in the theme is organized, study of Triandafyllidou and Ricard-Guay is selected as a sample (2019). In their research titled, ‘Governing Irregular and Return Migration in the 2020s: European Challenges and Asian Pacific Perspectives’, they focus on the governance of (irregular) migration that its management is done to restrict such movements (p.115). By focusing on two books that critically engage with irregular migration and complex mobility, the article conceptually discusses about the very phenomenon of irregular migration. Thus, it is coded under the type – ‘Migration & Mobility & Border Control’. Further, since its method is on the concepts and labeling, being away from human subjects, it is centered under the abstract/systemic crisis category.

Relatively big portion of materials are put under the category of ‘humanized abstraction’ crisis. For they are methodologically informed by the subjects’ experiences in real life events as well as political discussions, they are sorted in ‘humanized abstraction’ category. Again, a research article from Triandafyllidou (2018) is chosen for representing the coding process in the ‘humanized abstraction’ category. In ‘A “Refugee Crisis” Unfolding: “Real” Events and Their Interpretation in Media and Political Debates’, the author differentiates the connotation of crisis into two: ‘real’ life events and representation of them in media. Hence he uses two phrases interchangeably ‘refugee crisis’ for representation part, and ‘refugee emergency’ for real life event part (p.200). The material was initially thought to be put in ‘crisis’ category since it critically engages with the term itself. Then, it was seen that the argumentation is also about the migration to the EU, it was also decided to be classified under the theme of ‘Politics of Mobility’. Importantly, the article is categorized under the category of humanized abstraction as it points not only the effects of real-life crisis on human beings, but also to the EU policies and politics. Hence, it combines abstract discussions on the field of migration with real-life experiences

6.2.2. Inclusion & Exclusion

18 materials in total are coded under this theme and divided into three types – ‘Urban refugees – Networks – self-organization – Gender’, ‘Legal and Policy Reforms/Constraints’, and ‘Institutional (In)capability’. Since it was seen that only one material is studied abstractly in this theme, no graph is created for the

‘abstract/systemic’ category. Eight research articles are placed under ‘human centric’ crisis, while nine of them are placed under ‘humanized abstraction’ category.

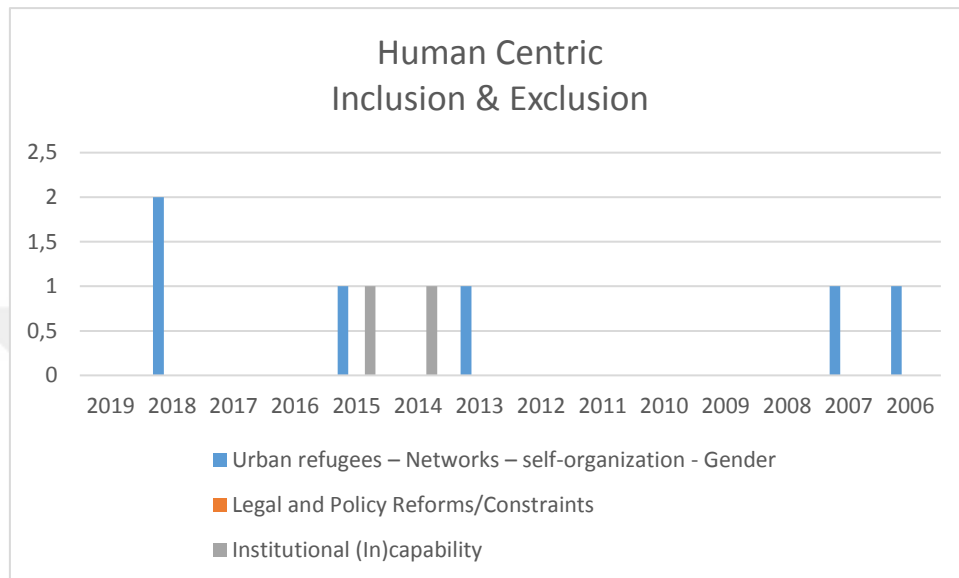


Figure 25. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Human Centric’ category

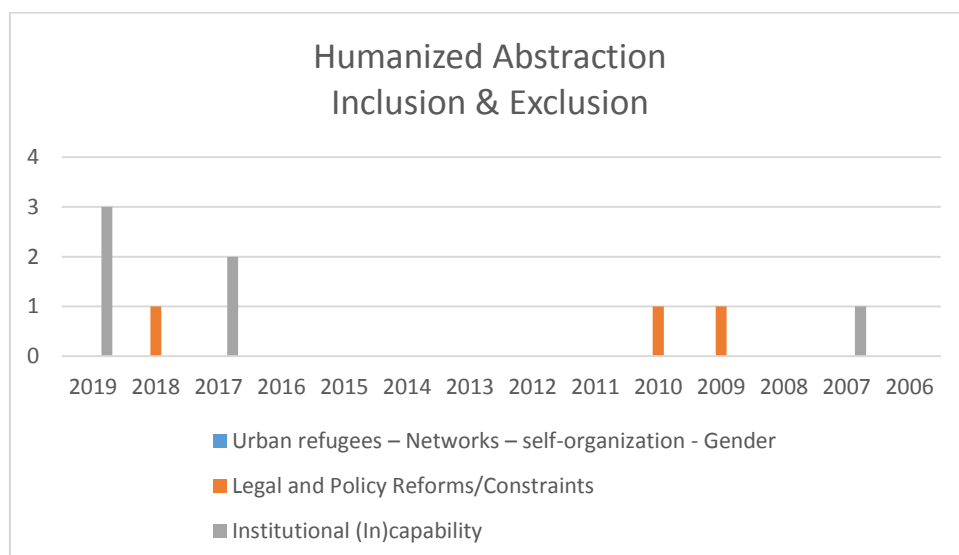


Figure 26. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category

Without repeating the process of categorical placing of the materials regarding the crisis type, brief introduction of the three research articles for two different types in each category is provided. Firstly, the study of Kraler (2019) is placed under ‘Institutional (In)capability’ type because the author discusses the regularization process of irregular migrants as an award of a legal status within the scope of institutional arrangements (p.95). Further, since it engages both with the abstract issues of migration policies and legal conceptions by conducting face-to-face interviews with regularized and nonregularized migrants it is put under ‘humanized abstraction category’ (p.98) in figure 26.

The study of Bradford and Clark (2014), on the other hand, is put under human centric category with the same type of ‘Institutional (In)capabilities’ since they analyze narratives of strangerhood given by young migrants living in Malta as a result of institutional disabilities for their integration process.

The study of Scrinzi (2018) is placed under the human centric category. In generic theme it argues the livelihood of domiciliary care workers in Italy is eroded by the ‘presence of migrant live-in caregivers, who are privately employed, inexpensive, and often irregular’ (p.3). Therein, the main emphasis is made on the lively-hood experiences which falls under the category of human centric. Further, as the discussion is on the changing aspect of gendered working types, it was placed under the type of ‘Gender’. As integration to a constructed and gendered notion of a working type, the material is placed under the theme of ‘Inclusion & Exclusion’.

6.3. International Migration Review (IMR)

6.3.1. Politics of Mobility

45 research articles collected under the International Migration Review, 28 of them falls under the theme of ‘Politics of Mobility’. Although the materials are divided under all the three categories, journal’s orientation is mainly on the ‘abstract/systemic’ category of crisis. Only 2 articles are placed under ‘human centric’ category’ while 22 research articles are placed under ‘abstract/systemic’ category. The three graphs below indicate the division of the materials under this theme.

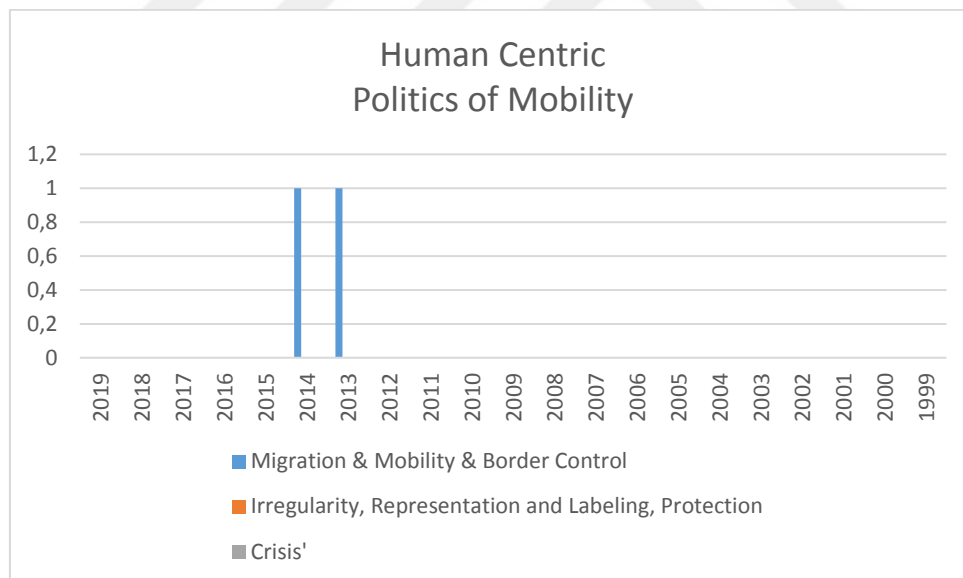


Figure 27. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Human Centric’ category

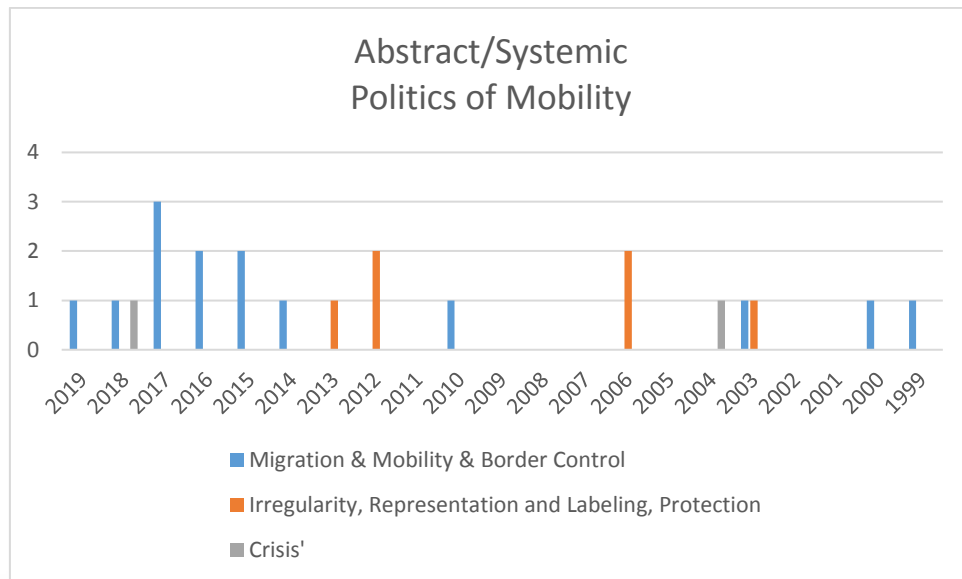


Figure 28. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category

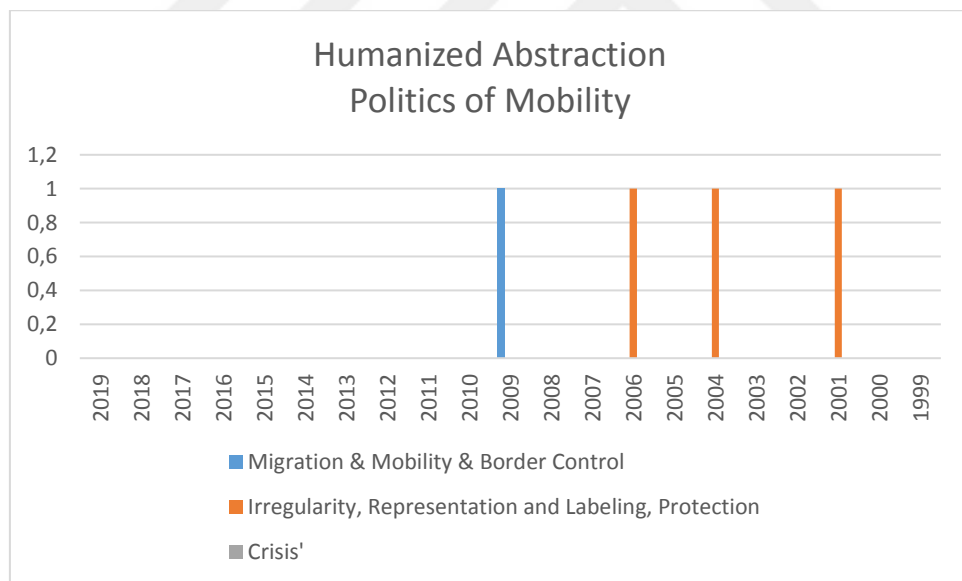


Figure 29. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category

In orderly way, five research materials are introduced as examples showing the criteria in establishing such types. Firstly, the research titled ‘Smuggled Versus Not Smuggled Across the Czech Border’ is the source falling under the ‘human

centric' category of crisis (Drbohlav, Stych, & Dzurova, 2013). For the authors assess the spatial behavior of unauthorized migrants in their attempts to irregularly cross the Czech state's "green" border, it is coded as under the type of 'Migration & Mobility & Border Control'. Also, since the analysis is done through focusing on the subject practicing the movement, it is placed under the 'human centric' category.

Secondly, the study of Czaika and Haas (2017) is placed under the type of 'Migration & Mobility & Border Control' since it examines the effects of visa policy regimes on migration dynamics. For they are not relating the research on human subjects but only to the policies regarding migration control, it is placed under 'Abstract/systemic' category of crisis.

Thirdly, the material titled 'What Determines the Embeddedness of Forced-Return Migrants? Rethinking the Role of Pre- and Post-Return Assistance' (2009) is introduced going under the type of 'Migration & Mobility & Border Control' under the crisis category of 'humanized abstraction'. They analyze the return migration experiences of 178 rejected asylum seekers and migrants who did not obtain residence permit to six different countries. For the authors are investigating the prospects for sustainable return migration, it is placed under the 'Politics of Mobility' theme. Although the role of financial assistance towards the return migrants is mentioned in determining the destiny of return processes, the main emphasis is on the mobility aspect of the issues. Thus, a possible third theme of 'Economy and/or Finance' is thought to be used as an auxiliary part in the mobility process. On the other hand, by using combined research methods, this material pays

regard to of human subjects in the type of ‘Protection’ while being informed by the abstract issues such as policies and legal constraints.

Fourthly, Castles (2004) discusses the role of three elements constituting the production of abstract crisis; the social dynamics of the migratory process; factors linked to globalization and transnationalism; and factors within political systems. Since his focus is on the abstract mechanisms like those, it was placed under the category of ‘abstract/systemic’ while the type is about ‘crisis’. Further, as those elements refer to the management and/or control of human mobility, it is also coded under ‘Politics of Mobility’ theme.

Lastly, the material titled ‘The Decline of International Migration as an Economic Force in Rural Areas: A Mexican Case Study’ (2014) is placed under abstract/systemic category. By focusing on the reduction of remittances as a result of anti-immigrant policies, the research article conducts a household survey in five rural communities. Through the survey the author analyzes the settlement periods of the migrants in a specific destination country. Therein, it is put under the theme of ‘Politics of Mobility’ with the type of ‘Migration & Mobility & Border Control’ as the author analyzes the importance of international migration and remittances with regard to anti-immigrant policies. Furthermore, the article discusses solely the changing trends in migration to the case specificity. Hence, it does not combine abstract/systemic aspect with human scope.

6.3.2. Inclusion & Exclusion

17 materials in total are coded under this theme and divided into the same three types – ‘Urban refugees – Networks - self-organization’, ‘Legal and Policy Reforms/Constraints ’, and ‘Institutional (In)capability ’. It is observed here again that the bigger portion of the materials are weighted on the ‘abstract/systemic’ category of crisis. In the same vein, the division of the materials across the crisis categories are displayed by three graphs.

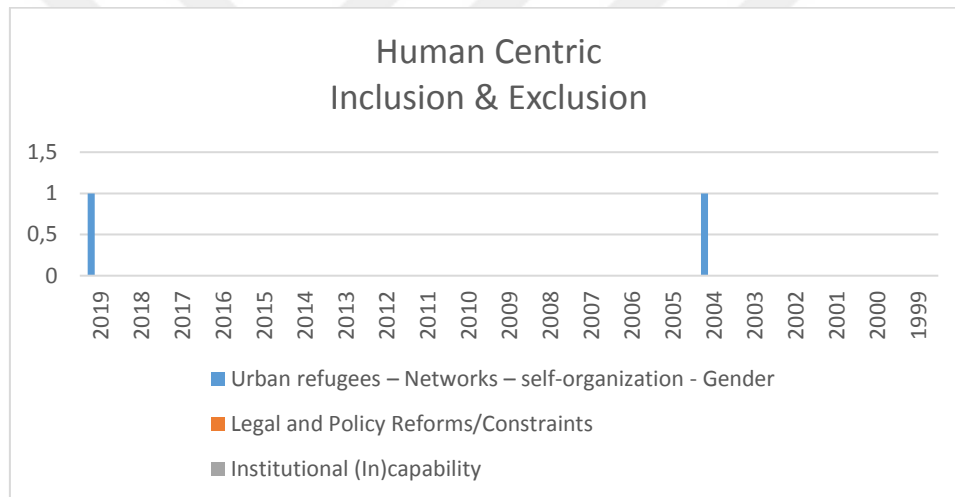


Figure 30. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Human Centric’ category

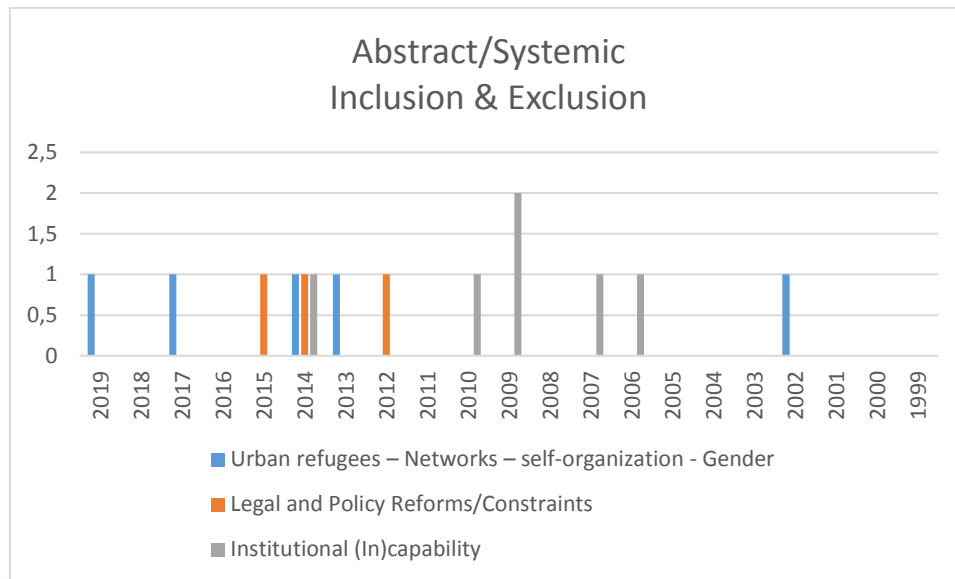


Figure 31. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category

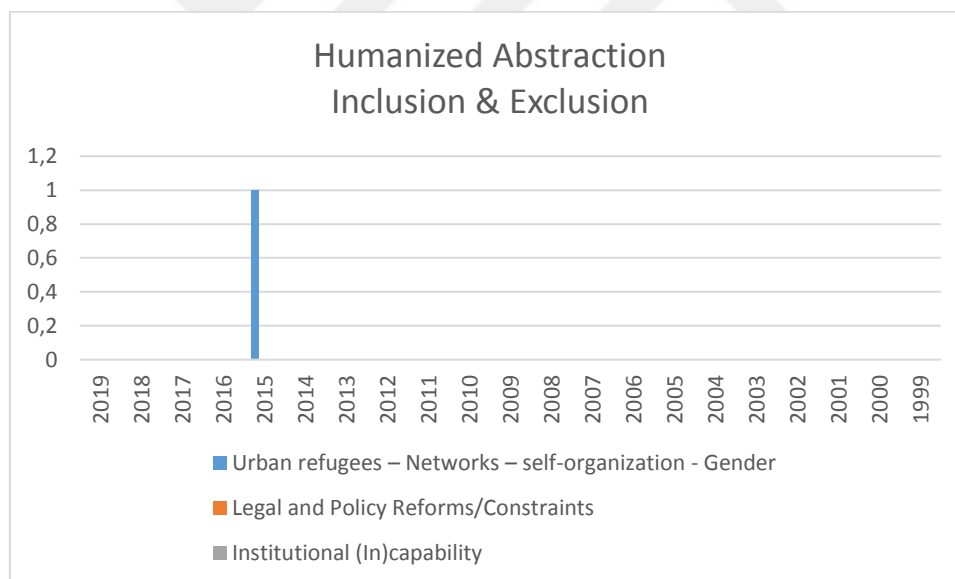


Figure 32. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category

In order for clarification, three materials are chosen to have the role of representing the coding criteria in the process of creating the graphs. Firstly, the material titled

‘The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States’ (2004) is selected since it is one of the two sources falling under the category of ‘human centric’. For it discusses the role of immigrant churches provided to ethnic communities with refugees fleeing from discrimination, it is placed under the theme of ‘Inclusion and Exclusion’. Although the establishment of churches could have been interpreted as institutions, the author understands the main point of the source as to discuss how the immigrants’ ways of living has shaped the character as well as the content of American religious institutions. Thus, it was placed under the specified type. Further, since the focus is entirely on the human subjects, it was put under the category of ‘human centric’ crisis.

Secondly, the study of Fargues’ (2009) is selected. Being under the type of ‘Institutional (In)capability’, the article emphasizes the lack of policy efforts and institutional capabilities in the process of migrant integration. The research article argues that most migrants in SEM countries found themselves in irregular situation. However, this argument presupposes the necessity of institutions that determines the ‘regularity’ of human subjects. Hence, it falls under the ‘abstract/systemic’ category.

Thirdly, the material titled ‘Reunifying Versus Living Apart Together Across Borders: A Comparative Analysis of sub-Saharan Migration to Europe’ (2015) is selected. It is classified under the ‘humanized abstraction’ category of crisis as the authors consider both the aspects of law and practices of human subjects. In addition, it is put under the theme of ‘Inclusion and Exclusion’ since it focuses on the family/couple reunification that is seen as an important element for migrants’

living arrangements. Moreover, since the research article focuses on the everyday life of the migrants, it was put under the related type.

6.4. Journal of Refugee Studies (JRS)

6.4.1. Politics of Mobility

38 materials were gathered from the Journal of Refugee Studies, and 20 of them are under the theme of 'Politics of Mobility', coming before 'Inclusion and Exclusion' with the number of 18. The research articles from this journal are mainly spread between the two mentioned themes. Significantly, in general the materials are aggregated under the 'humanized abstraction' category of crisis with the theme – 'Politics of Mobility'. This data gives insights that the journal is usually engaging with the theme by considering both the human subjects as well as the policy and other abstract tools imposed on them. For the theme of 'Inclusion & Exclusion', the journal follows the same pattern as illustrated through the three graphs below.

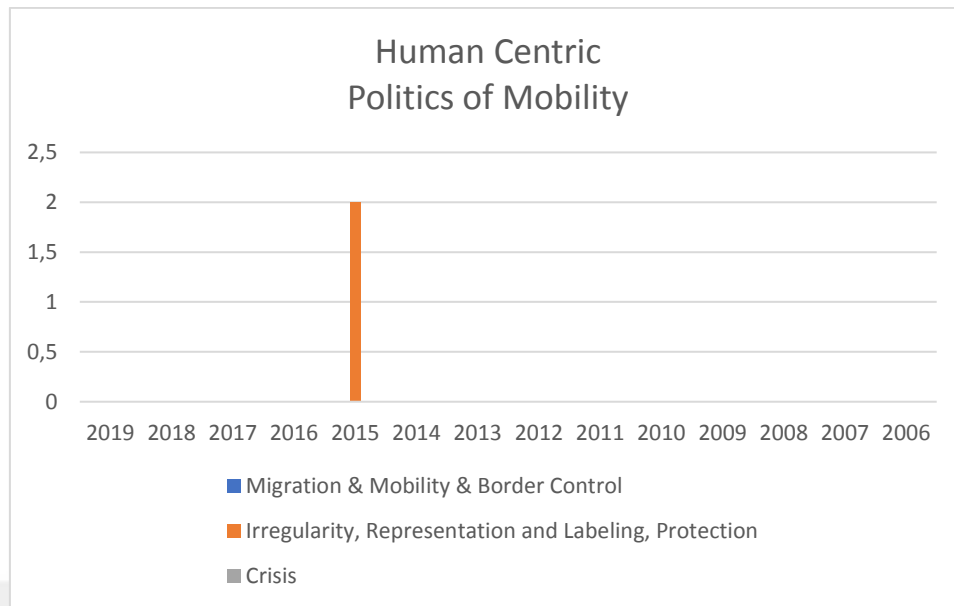


Figure 33. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Human Centric’ category

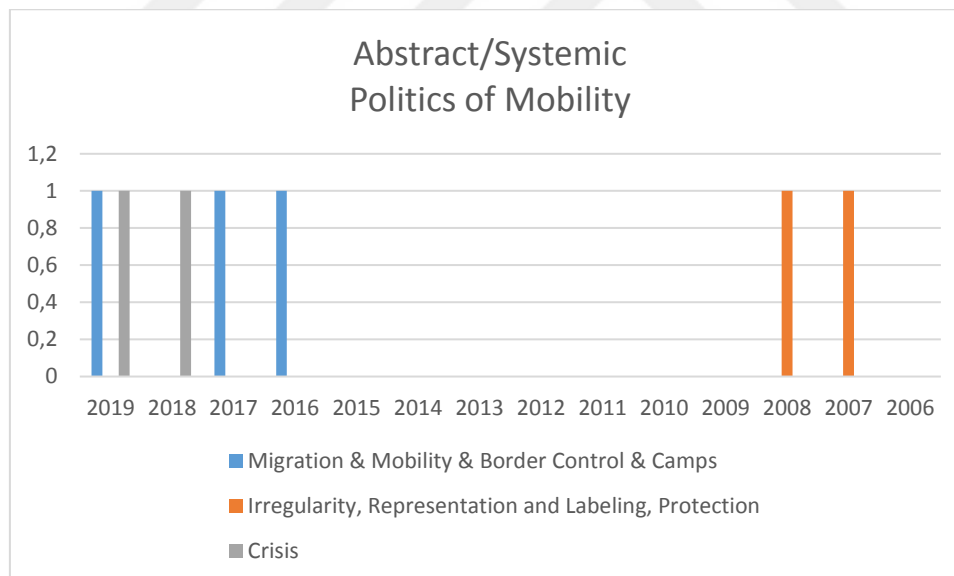


Figure 34. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category

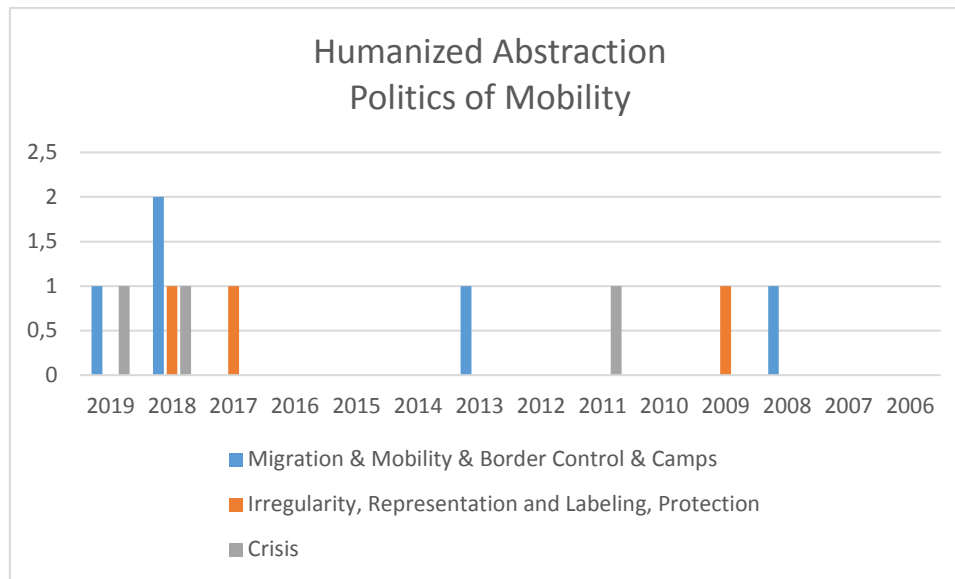


Figure 35. Politics of Mobility, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category

In orderly way, two research materials are introduced as examples showing the criteria in establishing such types. Firstly, the study titled ‘Improper Distance: The Refugee Crisis Presented by Two Newsrooms’ (2018) is examined in order to reveal the process of codification in this theme. It is put under the type of ‘Crisis’ as the authors assess the two major newspapers in Spain and Norway between October 2015 and March 2016 covering the refugee crisis in Europe. They indirectly reflect on the abstract nature of crisis by emphasizing on the constructed aspect of it. By stating politicians are the dominant sources creating such narratives, the authors critically engage with the concept in relation to refugees. Though they also complain about the lack of emphasis given to the experiences of refugees in policy centered researches, they are placed into the ‘abstract/system’ category because of their methodological stance. Further, since their research materials are newspapers investigating the movement of refugees, it is situated under the ‘Politics of Movement’ theme.

Similar complaint is made by the research article titled ‘Afghan Refugee Journeys: Onwards Migration Decision-Making in Greece and Turkey’ (2017) for the neglect of refugee experiences in researches. They, however, intend to contribute the literature by integrating their experiences into the research by doing regression analysis with the data set of 364 Afghans in Turkey and Greece. Hence, it goes under the category of ‘Humanized Abstraction’.

6.4.2. Inclusion & Exclusion

16 materials in total are coded under this theme and divided into the same three types. It is seen that considerable amount of the materials are weighted on the ‘humanized abstraction’ category of crisis.

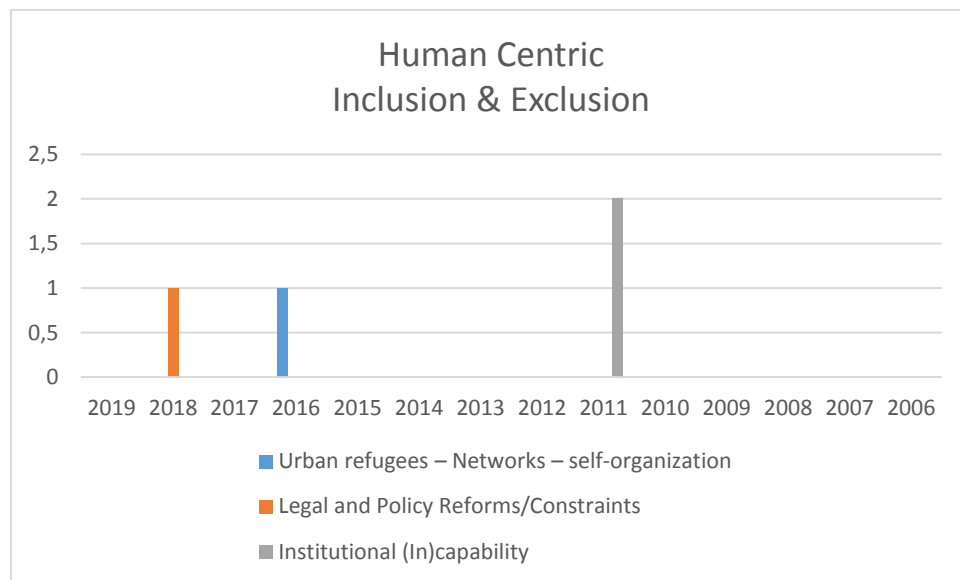


Figure 36. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Human Centric’ category

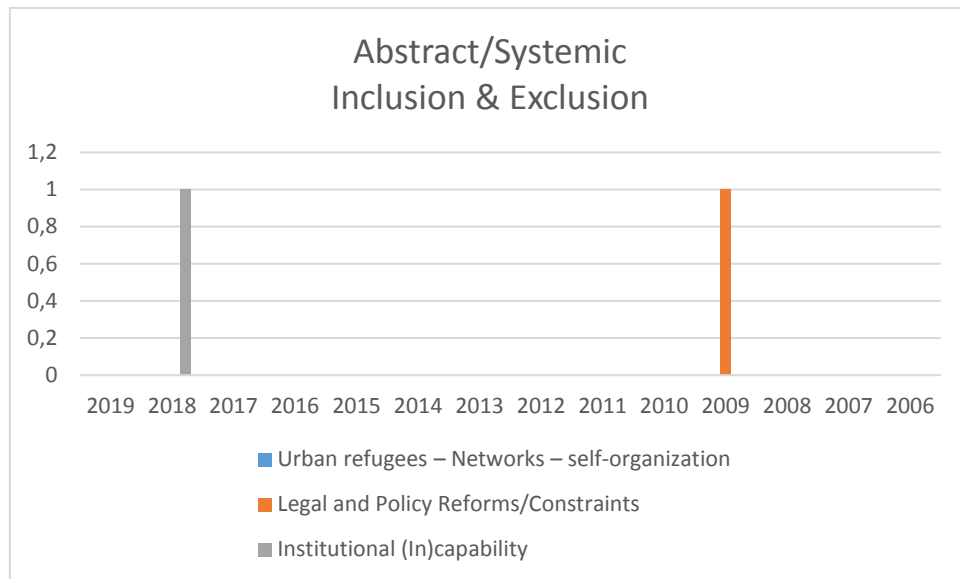


Figure 37. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category

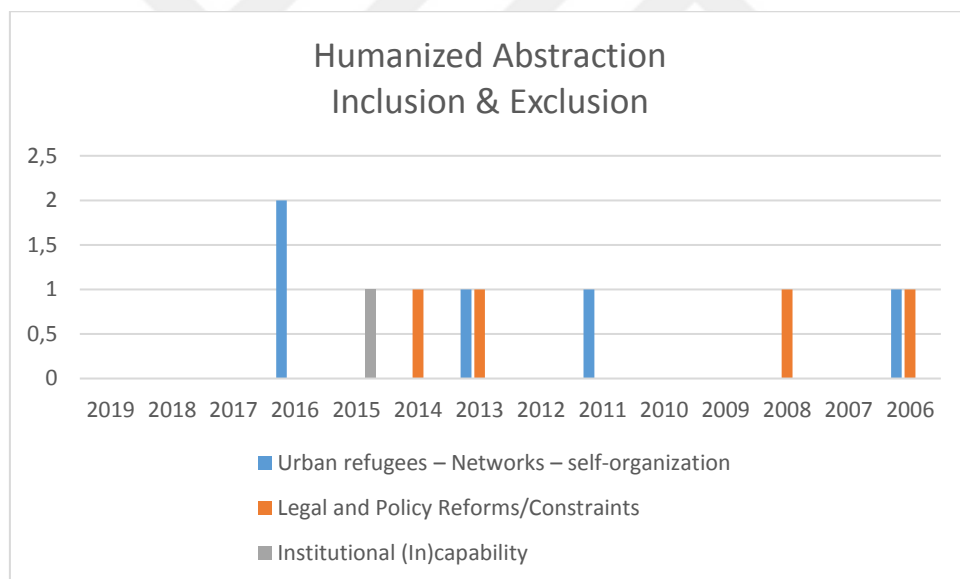


Figure 38. Inclusion & Exclusion, in ‘Humanized Abstraction’ category

To exemplify, three materials are chosen. First one titled ‘The Conditions and Migratory Aspirations of Syrian and Iraqi Refugees in Jordan’ (2018) is placed under the category of ‘human centric’ as it focuses on the experiences of Iraqi and Syrian refugees in Jordan. Further, since it analyzes how refugees react to changing

circumstances and the structural constraints of life in exile, it is put under ‘Legal and Policy Reforms/Constraints’ type. Since those circumstances can have impact on the decision-making process of refugees whether to leave or stay, it is placed under the theme of ‘Inclusion and Exclusion’.

Second source is chosen because of its emphasis on urban aspects (Grabska, 2006). Everyday life of refugees in urban context is thought to be under this theme because urban space is the arena in which ‘real-life’ processes of integration are exercised. The article investigates the difference between those refugees with legal status and those residing illegally in Egypt in terms of legal security and livelihood coping strategies. For it considers both ways of categories – policies and responds to those by refugees in urban contexts, it is placed under the category of combined.

Third material is focusing on sanctuary movement in North America in the 1980s (Marfleet, 2011). It is put under the ‘Institutional (In)capability’ part because the material talks about Churches as religious institutions have started to provide protection to the vulnerable groups such as refugees and asylum seekers. For it traces only the process of such movements in relation to institutional arrangements, it falls under the abstract/systemic category.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed literature on migration approaching irregular migratory events as ‘crisis’ or as its synonym ‘conflict’ by integrating them to three categories created by the combination of Lefebvre’s and Cresswell’s trialectics on space and mobility. The argument of ‘abstract crisis’ developed in the theoretical framework

chapter is tested through the extraction of research articles from three journals. Eventually, findings have not only presented a typology of migration studies, but the categorization of approaches in migration studies. In order to reveal the differences among the crisis types for the aim of clearing the messiness in the usage of the phrase, the chapter has illustrated thematic graphs. Crucially, it was asserted that when used without reference to the subjects' experiences, the usage of 'crisis' narratives stays in the abstract level that is not actually a crisis in real life.



CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

The main goal of the thesis was to scrutinize the question – *who or what turns an event into a crisis at global scale, and why?* As a supplementary, the study is puzzled by the process *how did the transition to calling migration a crisis take place?* Having been concerned by the excessive usage of the phrase ‘refugee/migration crisis’ in referencing the mobile characteristic of migratory events, the thesis has firstly chosen to concentrate on the *what* aspect of the question. The rationale for choosing the *what* aspect is to avoid falling into a trap that would reproduce the crisis narrative used by the actors operating in international political space. For the *who* part would steer the thesis to examine the actors, it would pre-condition the assumption that migratory events are already a ‘crisis’. Hence, since the thesis rejects to accept migratory events as crisis, it has chosen to start with clarifying the research question.

This rejection comes with an argument that states when the mobile characteristic of an event is seen as irregular, it constitutes risk in the international

political space. At this point, *why* part of the research question has directed the study to deconstruct the concepts of space and mobility. The initial step was to reject the constructed space in international arena as being constituted by territorial states that controls certain area. For accepting such an ‘environment’ as ontologically given this study would be embedded to adopt sedentarist thought that fixes the analysis into spatiality. In result, sedentarist thought would direct the thesis to accept movements should be under control, while the ultimate aim was to challenge the state centric notion. Thus, any irregularity in movement type would direct the thesis to see such migratory events as risky in the international state system. The thesis, however, has managed to take a distance from the dominance of state-centrism fixing our notion to three geographical assumptions – *spatial fetishism*, *methodological territorialism*, and *methodological nationalism* (Brenner, 2019, p. 38).

The deconstruction of international space has brought another requirement to delve into the concept of mobility. Since the rejection of sedentarist thought has disenabled to see human mobility with reference to a particular state territory (who moves to where), the thesis has obliged itself to examine why human mobility is not represented as a simple act of moving from point A to B, in international arena. It was argued that the representation of movement as irregular is institutionalized through labeling people on the move with terms such as ‘refugee’, ‘asylum seeker’ or ‘stateless person’. Therein, the thesis has aimed to emphasize that the adoption of such terms necessitates to see the events as being different from normality defined by the territorial state system. In response, the thesis has consulted the literature engaging critically with human mobility from the inception of its

conceptualization . The process of labeling human mobility as showing variance with respect to the type of movement has been presented as ‘physical act of movement’, ‘representation of movement’, and ‘experienced movement’. Henceforth, the event of human mobility has been rejected to be taken as given.

In order to clarify the intention of the author, the two deconstructions are combined in the theoretical/conceptual framework chapter in providing a viewpoint to different crisis-labeled events with three categories. It is proposed that focusing only on ‘abstract space/ representation of space’ and ‘representation of movement’ would steer researchers to see irregular mobility as crisis in international political space⁴². This critical position , then, needs to be supported by the relevant literature. The thesis relies on chronological and funnel type literature reviews on crisis and migration. Beginning with the review of the scholarly literature on crisis separate from migration, the thesis aimed to see how the literature explains what constitutes crisis independent from mobility. Eventually, the evolution of migration studies has been traced and then combined with the crisis concept. Building upon the reviewed literature, the thesis has managed to validate the proposed three types of categories for crisis in relation to human mobility. The concept of ‘abstract crisis’ was illustrated by Figure 11 that is distinct from human centric and humanized abstraction categories.

Finally, the three categories of crisis were operationalized on the migration literature gathered from three independent scholarly journals. The reason to focus on academic publications was rationalized, in pursuing the *what* question, as the

⁴² For further discussion see (Cobarrubias, 2019, p. 776) critically discussing how map lines becomes the accepted explanation of “migratory crisis” and “illegal border crossings”.

literature is the only place being partly independent from the international political environment. Hence, it is the only place in which the phrase ‘refugee/migration crisis’ might be examined critically. Moreover, as the collected materials were scanned and coded, the thesis has created a taxonomy of migration literature in relation to crisis by introducing three main themes.

The overall findings are discussed based on the themes and categories proposed. The research articles collected from the three journals mainly discuss the ‘Politics of Mobility’ theme while ‘Inclusion and Exclusion’ is seen as the second most discussed. This weighted distribution of themes on ‘Politics of Mobility’, confirms the claim of the present study which notes that *it is the irregular characteristic of the movement, being understood as risky, that leads to labelling of migratory events as crisis in the initial step*. However, the graph illustrating the relatively high weight on the ‘Politics of Mobility’ theme does not indicate all the materials discussing the theme conceptualizes crisis as ‘abstract’. For research under the ‘Politics of Mobility’ theme can also be critical towards the ‘representation of space’ and ‘representation of mobility’ through conceptually engaging with the ontologically given terms, the thesis provides another graph illustrating categorical distribution of the articles in all journals.

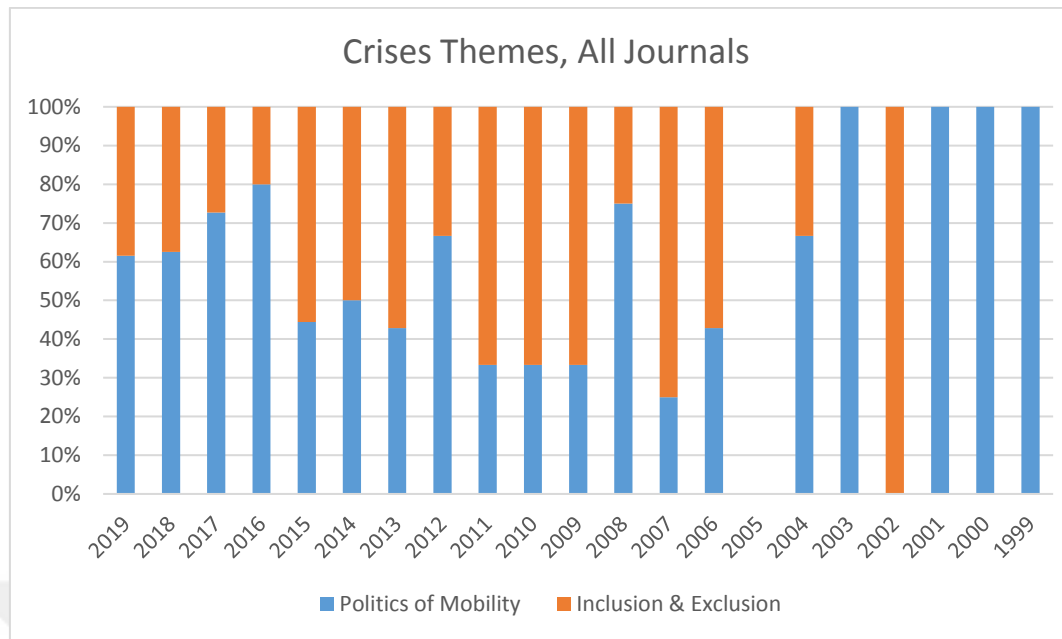


Figure 39. Crises themes, in all journals

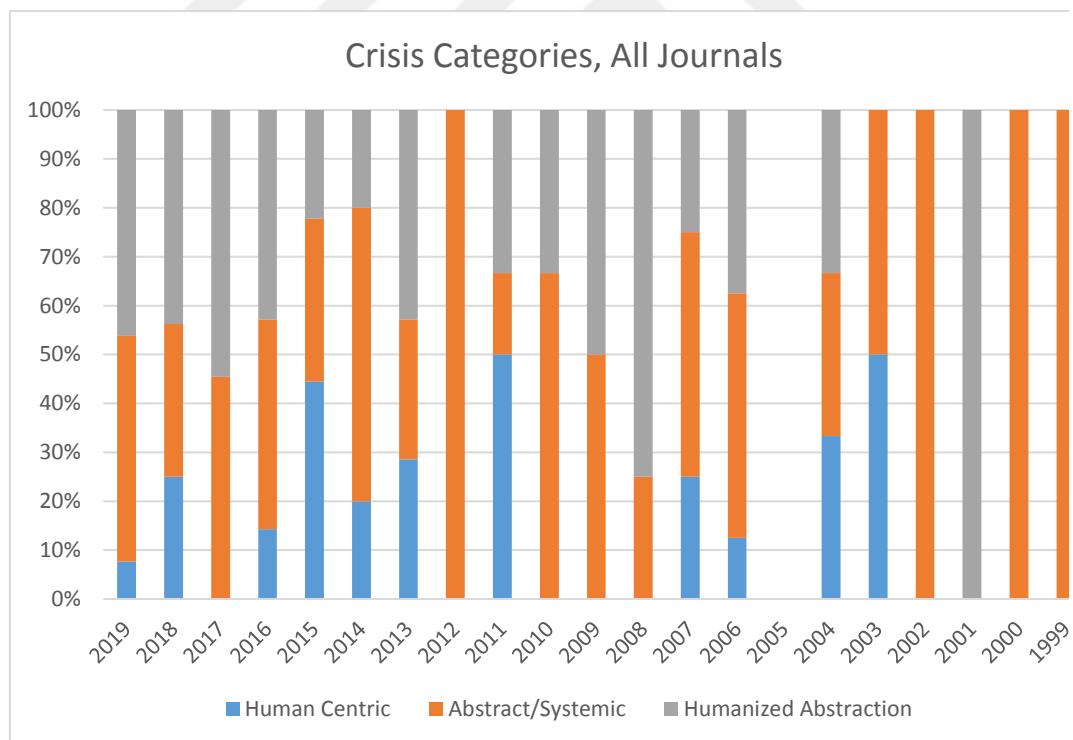


Figure 40. Crisis Categories, in all journals

It was the suggestion of the thesis asserted at the end of theoretical/conceptual framework chapter that research on migratory events should be conducted in ‘combined way’ under which the research includes both the experiences of subject exercising mobility and policies and laws shaping the abstract representation of such events.

Before mentioning the contribution of the thesis as concluding remarks, two possible criticisms towards the modified model of theory section should be explained. Since the section on the theoretical background of conceptualizing crisis constitutes the backbone of the research in which the three categories of crises and migration themes are established, it is necessary to elaborate more on them.

The processes of deconstructions have always been risky since it was required to modify concepts and theories. The thesis acknowledges such a risk when it borrows Lefebvre’s conceptual triad for its own analysis. The first criticism might be directed towards the usage of the triad in this study being diverged from Lefebvre’s original intention. Although Lefebvre’s intention in the *Production of Space* is to investigate how social space is produced in urban context, the thesis, influenced by Brenner and Elden (2009), has read the state space, as territory, in IR context. Also, the thesis diverges from the conventional usage of the triad⁴³ that instead of operationalizing the concepts onto a case study, it has operationalized them into the migration literature by establishing typology and taxonomy - classifying the items on the basis of empirically observable and measurable characteristics (Smith, 2005).

⁴³ See for example (Saraçoğlu & Belanger, 2018)

Second criticism could be directed against the analysis of the crisis narrative itself by importantly asking the question – are not the all crises abstract? The thesis responds this criticism by illustrating the difference between objective and subjective definitions of security/threat (see figure 15). Based on the chronological literature review, it has been revealed that irregular migratory events constitute two types of risks; one is for the lives of subjects on the move and the other is for the abstract international political space. These two different reference points that the irregular migratory events pose to open up the discussion regarding the security of subjects versus security of international political space. The latter is also defined by the term securitization that the event is politically shaped to be a security manner. Therein, this labeling becomes an abstract matter that such risk events do not pose threat to concrete environment, or the human beings. Also being defined as humanitarian disaster/catastrophe, the former process on the other hand refers to the concrete space, or the livelihood of the subjects on the move. For it is not an abstract debate there is no need to securitize the events that are already a security manner for the subjects. In that regard crises are produced from ontological definition of risk and security. Therefore, it is from this difference that abstract crisis are separated from the concrete crisis. Along with this separation, the thesis progresses to provide typology and taxonomy of crises.

How was the typology created? The thesis has observed that there are three directions the research articles are following through; ‘human centric’, ‘abstract/systemic’ and ‘humanized abstraction’. These three categories are created in accordance with the framework established by the integration of triads from Lefebvre and Cresswell into the studies on human mobilities. As conceptual triads

differentiate concrete space in the discussion of IR or social space and physical movement in the discussion of mobility from representation of space/movement, the categorizations followed the same logic. In ‘human centric’ aspect, materials are coded with regard to their sole discussions on un-represented human subjects. Being uninformed by the abstract debates such as policies and laws regulating human mobility, materials under this category analyze human experience regarding to practiced movements. ‘Abstract/Systemic’ category, on the other hand, refers to the representation of space/mobility in the triads. As this concept in the triad emphasizes the role of abstract space representing the concrete environment differently from its actuality, debates under this category are dealing with concepts and policies regarding to human mobility. The discussions under here are occupied solely by the policies and regulations that represent the international political space and human mobility in an abstract form. Hence, though their general discussion is centered on human mobility, insignificant emphasis is given to the human subjects. The third category is the place that the two aspects are integrated in the study of human mobility. It is the category that thesis suggests for conducting such a study since it is both informed by the abstraction and its inter-related application to human subjects.

. Eventually, the thesis has investigated the literature on migration by the sample of 119 articles collected from three journals, and sorted them under three categories by considering their thematic discussions. Interpretation of the materials under the created themes and categories was used to test the research argument – *it is the irregular characteristic of the movement, being understood as risky, that leads to labelling of migratory events as crisis in the initial step.*

7.1. Distinctiveness of the Study

The thesis reads migration literature within the lenses of Lefebvre and Cresswell's trialectics in order to ease the excessive usage of crisis narratives. This attitude makes the study more than a descriptive analysis in three ways.

First, this research adopts a unique way of operationalizing Lefebvre's conceptual triad. By conceptually explaining international political space, the operationalization is not made on a concrete case, but on a literature investigating the migratory events. Since the literature usually borrows the trialectics for analyzing built environments, such a different operationalization enhances knowledge about conceptual triad of Lefebvre which has been mostly used by the urban scholars. If the whole cluster of literature on migration is thought to be a space where scholarly knowledge is produced, interlinked relationships among the three categories of crises – 'human centric', 'abstract', and 'humanized abstraction' reveal the three-stepped process of *production of knowledge* through which we are enabled to see intended usages of crisis narrative. Therefore, the trialectics are enhanced to be used not only for the analysis of empirical cases, but for the analysis of scholarly knowledge production.

Second, the established typology and taxonomy contributes the literatures on migration and crisis. Emphases on crisis types provide clarification about the intertwined usage of the phrases 'refugee' and 'crisis' – whether it refers to humanitarian or policy turmoils. Therefore, a student of a migration studies does not have to find himself/herself into a situation that s/he does not have to interpret the phrase by making content analysis of the research article s/he reads. The crises

categories also provide way for methodological considerations for the migration studies. It is observed throughout the research that most studies that are listed under ‘human centric’ category conduct ethnographic method, while ‘abstract/systemic’ ones conduct process tracing investigating the discourse analysis or policy outcomes. Henceforth, by introducing the third category the thesis also provides a suggestion in a way that encourages further studies to combine different methods.

Third, the thesis aims to challenge the dominance of sedentarist view, omnipresent in IR field especially, by integrating Cresswell’s trialectics into Lefebvre’s. This combined theoretical stance provides a point of view that tries to see events within a nomadic thought. Therefore, the thesis lastly encourages further researches to consider the possibility – if IR can be read as mobile in a way that sees irregular movement not as a ‘crisis’.

References

- Adamson, F. B. (2006). Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security. *International Security*, 31(1), 165-199.
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Aginam, O. (2005). *Global Health Governance: International Law and Public Health in a Divided World*. University of Toronto Press.
- Agnew, J. (1994). The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1(1), 53-80.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London, New York: Verso.
- Aradau, C. (2007). Governing Terrorism Through Risk: Taking Precautions, (un)Knowing the Future. *European Journal of International Relations*, 13(1), 89-115. doi:10.1177/1354066107074290]
- Arendt, H. (1951). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. . New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.
- Bærenholdt, J. O. (2013). Governmobility: The Powers of Mobility. *Mobilities*, 8(1), 20-34. doi:10.1080/17450101.2012.747754

- Baldwin, D. (1997). The Concept of Security. *Review of International Studies*, 23(1), 5-26.
- Barlow, J. P. (1996). A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace. In *Postcards from the Net: An Intrepid Guide to the Wired World* (pp. 365–367). Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Basch, L., Schiller, N. G., & Blanc, C. S. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized NationStates*. London: Routledge.
- Bauman, Z. (1987). *Legislators and Interpreters*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Baur-Ahrens, A. (2017). The Power of Cyberspace Centralisation: Analysing the Example of Data Territorialisation. In M. Leese, & S. Wittendorp, *Security/ Mobility Politics of Movement* (pp. 37-56). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Beauchamps, M., Hoijtink, M., Leese, M., Magalhães, B., Weinblum, S., & Wittendorp, S. (2017). Introduction: Security/ Mobility and the Politics of Movement. In M. Leese, & S. Wittendorp (Eds.), *Security/Mobility: Politics of Movement* (pp. 1-17). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Beauchemin, C., Nappa, J., Schoumaker, B., Baizan, P., Gonzalez-Ferrer, A., Caarls, K., & Mazzucato, V. (2015). Reunifying Versus Living Apart Together Across Borders: A Comparative Analysis of sub-Saharan Migration to Europe. *International Migration Review*, 49(1), 173–199. doi: 10.1111/imre.12155

- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (1 ed.). (M. Ritter, Trans.) London: Sage Publications.
- Beier, A. (1985). *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640*. Methuen, London.
- Benjamin, W. (1999). *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Berti, B. (2015). The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Regional and Human Security Implications. *Strategic Assessment*, 17(4), 41-53.
- Biggs, M. (1999). Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(2), 374-405.
- Bigo, D. (2006). Protection: Security, Territory, Population. In J. Huysmans, A. Dobson, & R. Prokhovnik (Eds.), *The Politics of Protection: Sites of insecurity and political agency* (pp. 84-100). New York: Routledge.
- Bigo, D. (2011). Freedom and Speed in Enlarged Borderzones. In *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (pp. 31-50). New York: Routledge.
- Bilgin, P. (2017). *The International in Security, Security in the International*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Blondin, D., & Boin, A. (2018). Managing Crises in Europe: A Public Management Perspective. In E. Ongaro, & S. v. Thiel (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-55269-3

- Boin, A. (2009). The New World of Crises and Crisis Management Implications for Policymaking and Research. *Review of Policy Research*, 26, 367-377. doi:10.1111/j.1541-1338.2009.00389.x
- Boin, A. (2018). The Transboundary Crisis: Why we are unprepared and the road ahead. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 1-6. doi:10.1111/1468-5973.12241
- Boin, A., & Rhinard, M. (2008). Managing Transboundary Crises: What Role for the European Union? *International Studies Review*, 10, 1-26.
- Boin, A., Hart, P. '., & McConnell, A. (2008). Crisis Exploitation: Political and Policy Impacts of Framing Contests. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(1), 81-106. doi:10.1080/13501760802453221
- Boin, A., Sundelius, B., & Stern, E. (2005). *The Politics of Crisis Management: Public Leadership Under Pressure*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradbury, J. (1989). The Policy Implications of Differing Concepts of Risk. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 14(4), 380-399. doi:10.1177/016224398901400404
- Bradford, S., & Clark, M. (2014). Strangers on the Shore: Sub-Saharan African “Irregular” Migrants in Malta. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 12(1), 9-26. doi:10.1080/15562948.2013.877703
- Branch, J. (2014). *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Brecher, M. (1977). Toward a Theory of International Crisis Behavior: A Preliminary Report. *International Studies Quarterly*, 21(1), 39-74.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/2600147>
- Brenner, N., & Elden, S. (2009). Henri Lefebvre on State, Space, Territory. *International Political Sociology*, 3, 353–377.
- Brenner, N. (2019). *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Burgess, P. J. (2016). An Ethics of Security. In *Transformations of Security Studies: Dialogues, diversity and discipline* (pp. 94-108). New York: Routledge.
- Burrell, K., & Horschelmann, K. (2019). Perilous Journeys: Visualising the Racialised “Refugee Crisis”. *Antipode*, 51(1), 45-65.
doi:[10.1111/anti.12429](https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12429)
- Burstein, P. (1999). Social Movements and Public Policy. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam, & C. Tilly (Eds.), *How Social Movements Matter* (pp. 3-21). Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Buzan, B. (1983). *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (2 ed.). Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.
- Cabot, H. (2018). The European Refugee Crisis and Humanitarian Citizenship in Greece. *Journal of Anthropology*, 1-25.
doi:[10.1080/00141844.2018.1529693](https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2018.1529693)

- Campbell, D. (1998). *Writing Security* (Revised ed.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Campos-Delgado, A. (2018). Counter-mapping Migration: Irregular Migrants' Stories through Cognitive Mapping, , DOI:. *Mobilities*, 13(4), 488-504. doi:10.1080/17450101.2017.1421022
- Caquard, S. (2011). Cartography I: Mapping narrative cartography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(1), 135–144. doi:10.1177/0309132511423796
- Carlson, J. D., Hubach, C., Long, J., Minter, K., & Young, S. (2013). Scramble for the Arctic: Layered Sovereignty, UNCLOS, and Competing Maritime Territorial Claims. *SAIS Review of International*, 33(2), 21-43.
- Castles, S. (2004). The Factors that Make and Unmake Migration Policies. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 852-884. doi:10.1183/04/3803.0147
- Chambers, I. (1990). *Border Dialogues: Journeys in Postmodernity* . London; New York: Routledge.
- Chimni, B. (2009). The Birth of a 'Discipline': From Refugee to Forced Migration Studies. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(1), 11–29. doi:10.1093/jrs/fen051
- Clapton, W. (2011). Risk in International Relations. *International Relations*, 25(3), 280-295. doi:10.1177/0047117811415480
- CNN. (2016, 31 03). *Rumsfeld / Knowns*. Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=REWeBzGuzCc>

Cobarrubias, S. (2019). Mapping Illegality: The i- Map and the Cartopolitics of “Migration Management” at a Distance. *Antipode*, 51(3), 770–794.
doi:10.1111/anti.12512

Cornelius, W. A., Martin, P. L., & Hollifield, J. F. (1994). Introduction: The Ambivalent Quest for Immigration Control. In W. A. Cornelius, P. L. Martin, & J. F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (pp. 3-42). California: Stanford University Press.

Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*. New York: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2010). Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28, 17-31.

Cresswell, T. (2013). Citizenship in Worlds of Mobility. In O. Soderstrom, D. Ruedin, S. Randeria, G. D'Amato, & F. Panese (Eds.), *Critical Mobilities* (pp. 105-124).

Crisp, J. (1987). Africa's Refugee Crisis. *African Affairs*, 86(343), 283.
doi:10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a097900

Czaika, M., & Haas, H. d. (2017). The Effect of Visas on Migration Processes. *International Migration Review*, 51(4), 893–926. doi:10.1111/imre.12261

Dahinden, J. (2016). A plea for the ‘de-migrantization’ of research on migration and integration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(13), 2207-2225.
doi:10.1080/01419870.2015.1124129

- Dahinden, J. (2017). Transnationalism reloaded: the historical trajectory of a concept. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(9), 1474-1485.
doi:10.1080/01419870.2017.1300298
- De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (S. Rendall, Trans.) London: University of California Press.
- Diken, B. (2004). From refugee camps to gated communities: biopolitics and the end of the city. *Citizenship Studies*, 8(1), 83-106.
- Doty, R. L. (1998). Immigration and the Politics of Security. *Security Studies*, 8(2-3), 71-93. doi:10.1080/09636419808429375
- Dowty, A., & Loescher, G. (1996). Refugee news as Grounds for International Action. *International Security*, 21(1), 43–71. doi:10.1162/isec.21.1.43
- Drbohlav, D., Stych, P., & Dzurova, D. (2013). Smuggled Versus Not Smuggled Across the Czech Border. *International Migration Review*, 47(1), 207–238. doi:10.1111/imre.12018
- Druckman, D. (2005). *Doing Research: Methods of Inquiry for Conflict Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA:: Sage.
- Elden, S. (2004). *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*. New York: Continuum.
- Elden, S. (2005). Missing the Point: Globalization, Deterritorialization and the Space of the World. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(1), 8-19.

- Elden, S. (2007). Governmentality, Calculation, Territory. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25(3), 562–580.
- Elden, S. (2007). There is a Politics of Space because Space is Political: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space. *Radical Philosophy Review*, 10(2), 101–116.
- Elden, S. (2010). Land, Terrain, Territory. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(6), 799–817. doi:10.1177/0309132510362603
- Elden, S. (2013). *The Birth of Territory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Entrikin, J. N., & Berdoulay, V. (2005). The Pyrenees as place: Lefebvre as guide. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(2), 129-147. doi:10.1191/0309132505ph536oa
- Fairchild, H. P. (1913). *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*. New York: Macmillan.
- Fargues, P. (2009). Work, Refuge, Transit: An Emerging Pattern of Irregular Immigration South and East of the Mediterranean. *International Migration Review*, 43(3), 544–577. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00777.x
- Favell, A. (2008). Mobility (1): A Social Worker's Tale. In A. Favell, *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe* (pp. 83-99). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Fidler, D. (1997). The Globalization of Public Health: Emerging Infectious Diseases and International Relations. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*.
- Fierke, K. M. (2015). *Critical Approaches to International Security* (2 ed.). Cambridge: Polity. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1099492&site=eds-live>
- Ford, R. (1999). Law's territory (a history of jurisdiction). *Michigan Law Review*, 97(4), 843–930. doi:10.2307/1290376
- Frelick, B. (1992). The False Promise of Operation Provide Comfort: Protecting Refugees or Protecting State Power? *Middle East Report*, 176, 22-27. doi:10.2307/3012607
- Gandy, O. H. (1993). *The Panoptic Sort: A Political Economy Of Personal Information*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Ghosh, B. (2003). New International Regime for Orderly Movements of People: What will it Look Like? In *Managing Migration: Time for a New International Regime?* (pp. 6-26; 220-248). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gkolfinopoulos, G. (2017). 'Illegals' in the Law School of Athens: Public Presence, Discourse, and Migrants as Threat. In M. Leese, & S. Wittendorp (Eds.), *Security/Mobility: Politics of Movement* (pp. 93-113). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Grabska, K. (2006). Marginalization in Urban Spaces of the Global South: Urban Refugees in Cairo. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3), 287–307.
doi:10.1093/jrs/fel014
- Guillaume, X. (2013). Criticality. In M. Salter, & C. Mutlu, *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (pp. 29-32). London: Routledge.
- Haas, H. d. (2009). *Mobility and Human Development*. United Nations Development Programme.
- Haas, H. d. (2010). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227–264. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00804.x
- Handel, A. (2009). Where, Where to and When in the Occupied Territories: An Introduction to Geography of Disaster. In A. Ophir, M. Givoni, & S. Hanafi (Eds.), *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of the Israeli Rule in the Occupied Territories* (pp. 179-222). New York: Zone Books.
- Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Harley, J. (2004). Maps, Knowledge, and Power. In D. Cosgrove, & S. Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape* (pp. 277-312). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hay, C. (1999). Crisis and the Structural Transformation of the State: Interrogating the Process of Change. *Crisis and the structural transformation of the state: interrogating the process of change*, 1(3), 317-344. doi:10.1111/1467-856X.00018

- Hermann, C. (1969). International Crisis as a Situational Variable. In J. Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (pp. 409-421). New York: Free Press.
- Hillier, B. (2007). Cities as Movement Economies. In B. Hillier, *Space is the Machine* (pp. 111-137). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Hindess, B. (2000). Citizenship in the International Management of Populations. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 43(9), 1486-1497.
- Hirschman, C. (2004). The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1206-1233. doi:0 137-91 8310413803.0147
- Hollifield, J. F., & Wong, T. K. (2015). The Politics of International Migration: How Can We 'Bring The State Back In'? In C. B. Brettell, & J. F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (3rd ed., pp. 227-287). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Holton, R. (1987). The Idea of Crisis in Modern Society. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 38(4), 502-520.
- İçduygu, A. (2012). Turkey's Evolving Migration Policies: A Mediterranean Transit Stop at the Doors of the EU. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(4), 407-415.
- İçduygu, A. (2015). İçduygu, A. (2015). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead.* , 1-18. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

- Işın, E. F. (2002). *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Jacobsen, K. (1996). Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes. *The International Migration Review*, 30(3), 655-678.
- Jasanoff, S. (1998). The Political Science of Risk Perception. *Reliability Engineering and System Safer* 3, 59, 91 99. doi:10.1016/S0951-8320(97)00129-4
- Jeandesboza, J., & Pallister-Wilkins, P. (2016). Crisis, Routine, Consolidation: The Politics of the Mediterranean Migration Crisis. *Mediterranean Politics*, 21(2), 316-320. doi:10.1080/13629395.2016.1145825
- Joffe, H. (1999). *Risk and 'The other'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, R. (2009). Checkpoint Security. Gateways, Airports and the Architecture of Security. In K. F. Aas, H. O. Gundhus, & H. M. Lomell (Eds.), *Technologies of InSecurity: The Surveillance of Everyday Life*. London: Routledge-Cavendish.
- Jones, R. C. (2014). The Decline of International Migration as an Economic Force in Rural Areas: A Mexican Case Study. *International Migration Review*, 48(3), 728–761. doi:10.1111/imre.12085
- Karasulu, A. (2014). “If a leaf falls, they blame the tree”: scattered notes on Gezi resistances, contention, and space. *International Review of Sociology*, 24(1), 164–175.

- Kasperson, R., Renn, O., Slovic, P., Brown, H., Emel, J., Goble, R., . . . Ratick, S. (1988). The Social Amplification of Risk: A Conceptual Framework. *Risk Analysis*, 2(8), 177-187.
- Klugman, J. (2009). *Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development*. UNDP-HDRO . New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Konvitz, J. (1987). *Cartography in France: Science, Engineering and Statecraft*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press .
- Kraler, A. (2019). Regularization of Irregular Migrants and Social Policies: Comparative Perspectives. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 17(1), 94-113. doi:10.1080/15562948.2018.1522561
- Kuipers, S., & Boin, A. (2015). Exploring the EU's role as transboundary crisis manager: The facilitation of sense-making during the Ash-crisis. In R. Bossong, & H. Hegemann (Eds.), *European Civil Security Governance: Diversity and Cooperation in Crisis and Disaster Management* (pp. 191-210). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kuipers, S., & Welsh, N. H. (2017). Taxonomy of the Crisis and Disaster Literature: Themes and Types in 34 Years of Research. *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy*, 8(4), 272-283. doi:doi.org/10.1002/rhc3.12123
- Kuschminder, K. (2017). Afghan Refugee Journeys: Onwards Migration Decision-Making in Greece and Turkey. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 31(4), 566–587. doi:10.1093/jrs/fex043

Kvittingen, A., Valenta, M., Tabbara, H., Baslan, D., & Berg, B. (2018). The Conditions and Migratory Aspirations of Syrian and Iraqi Refugees in Jordan. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 32(1), 106–124.

doi:10.1093/jrs/fey015

Lawrence, J. C. (2014). The EU in Crisis: Crisis Discourse as a Technique of Government. *Netherlands Yearbook of International Law*, 44, 187-202.

doi:10.1007/978-94-6265-011-4_9

Leary-Owhin, M. (2016). A Fresh Look at Lefebvre's Spatial Triad and Differential Space: A Central Place in Planning Theory? In I. Rudas (Ed.), *Advances in Mathematics and Computer Science and their Applications*. Sofia: WSEAS Press.

Leckie, G. J., & Given, L. M. (2010). Henri Lefebvre and Spatial Dialectics. In G. J. Leckie, L. M. Given, & J. E. Buschman (Eds.), *Critical Theory for Library and Information Science: Exploring the Social from across the Disciplines* (pp. 221-236).

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.) Cambridge: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. (D. Nicholson-Smit, Trans.) Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution*. (R. Bononno, Trans.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*. (N. Brenner, S. Elden, Eds., G. Moore, N. Brenner, & S. Elden, Trans.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1979). Space: social product and use value. In J. W. Frieberg (Ed.), *Critical Sociology: European Perspectives* (pp. 285-296). New York: Irvington Publishers.

Leinbach, T. R. (2000). Mobility in Development Context: Changing Perspectives, New Interpretations, and the Real Issues. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 8(1), 1-9. doi:10.1016/S0966-6923(99)00034-4

Lindley, A. (2014). Exploring Crisis and Migration: Concepts and Issues. In A. Lindley (Ed.), *Crisis and Migration: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 1-23). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lippert, R. (1999). Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime. *Alternatives*, 24, 295-328.

Lischer, S. K. (2017). The Global Refugee Crisis: Regional Destabilization & Humanitarian Protection. *International Security*, 146(4), 85-97. doi:10.1162/DAED_a_00461

Lo Presti, L. (2016). (Un)Exhausted Cartographies: Re-living the visuality, aesthetics, and politics of contemporary mapping theories and practices. PhD Thesis, Università degli Studi di Palermo, Dipartimento di Culture e Società, Palermo.

- Loescher, G. (1992). Introduction. *The Adelphi Papers*, 32(268), 3-8.
doi:10.1080/05679329208449097
- Lohrmann, R. (2000). Migrants, Refugees and Insecurity: Current Threats to Peace? *International Migration*, 38(4), 3-22.
- Long, K. (2014). Imagined Threats, Manufactured Crises and 'Real' Emergencies: The Politics of Border Closure in the Face of Mass Refugee Influx. In A. Lindley (Ed.), *Crisis and Migration: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 158-180). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Luhmann, N. (1993). *Risk: A Sociological Theory*. New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: The Technology Press & Harvard University Press.
- Lyon, D. (2006). Airport Screening, Surveillance, and Social Sorting: Canadian Responses to 9/11 in Context. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 48(3), 397-411. doi:10.3138/cjccj.48.3.397
- Malkki, L. (1992). National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 24-44.
- Marfleet, P. (2011). Understanding 'Sanctuary': Faith and Traditions of Asylum. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 24(3), 440-455. doi:10.1093/jrs/fer040
- McAdam, J. (2014). Conceptualizing 'Crisis Migration': A Theoretical Perspective. In S. F. Martin, S. Weerasinghe, & A. Taylor (Eds.),

Humanitarian Crises and Migration: Causes, Consequences and Responses (pp. 28-50). New York: Routledge.

McCann, E. J. (1999). Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the US City. *Antipode*, 31(2), 163-184.

McClelland, C. (1961). The Acute International Crisis. *World Politics*, 182-204.
doi:10.2307/2009561

McClelland, C. (1964). Action Structures and Communication in Two International Crises: Quemoy and Berlin. *Background*, 7(4), 201-215.
doi:10.2307/3013646

Merrifield, A. (2006). *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Meyer, J. (1987). The World Polity and the Authority of the Nation-State. In *Institutional Structure: Constituting State, Society, and the Individual*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Mishra, A., & Mishra, H. (2010). Border Bias: The Belief That State Borders Can Protect Against Disasters. *Psychological Science*, 21(11), 1582–1586.
doi:10.1177/0956797610385950

Mitroff, I. I., Alpaslan, M. C., & Green, S. E. (2004). Crises as Ill-Structured Messes. *International Studies Review*, 6(1), 165-194.

Mitzen, J. (2006). Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma. *European Journal of International Relations*, 12(3), 341–370. doi:10.1177/1354066106067346

- Mountz, A., Coddington, K., Catania, R. T., & Loyd, J. M. (2012). Conceptualizing Detention Mobility, Containment, Bordering, and Exclusion. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(4), 522-541.
- Muller, B. J. (2010). *Security, Risk and the Biometric State: Governing borders and bodies*. New York: Routledge.
- Mumford, L. (1961). *The City in History*. California: Harcourt
- Mutlu, C. E., & Salter, M. B. (2013). *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Natorski, M. (2015). Epistemic (Un)Certainty in Times of Crisis: The Role of Coherence as a Social Convention in the European Neighbourhood Policy after The Arab Spring. *European Journal of International Relations*, 22(3), 646–670. doi:10.1177/1354066115599043
- Obstfeld, M. (1985). *Capital Mobility in the World Economy: Theory and Measurement*. Working Paper, Columbia University, Department of Economics, New York.
- Okyay, A. S. (2017). Turkey's post-2011 Approach to Its Syrian Border and Its Implications for Domestic Politics. *International Affairs*, 93(4), 829-846.
- Oren, I. (2014). *Political Science as History: A Reflexive Approach' in Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* (2 ed.). (P. Schwartz-Shea, & D. Yanow, Eds.) (London & New York: Routledge.

- Özçürümez, S., & Şenses, N. (2011). Europeanization and Turkey: Studying Irregular Migration Policy. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 13(2), 233-248.
- Özçürümez, S., & Yetkin, D. (2014). Limits to Regulating Irregular Migration in Turkey: What Constrains Public Policy and Why? *Turkish Studies*, 15(3), 442-457.
- Özden, Ş. (2013). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey*. Badia Fiesolana: Migration Policy Center.
- Pailey, R. N. (2017). Between rootedness and rootlessness: How sedentarist and nomadic metaphysics simultaneously challenge and reinforce (dual) citizenship claims for Liberia. *Migration Studies*, 1-20.
doi:10.1093/migration/mnx056
- Pallister-Wilkins, P. (2017). Humanitarian Rescue/Sovereign Capture and the Policing of Possible Responses to Violent Borders. *Global Policy*, 8(1), 19-24. doi:10.1111/1758-5899.12401
- Pallitto, R., & Heyman, J. (2008). Theorizing Cross-Border Mobility: Surveillance, Security and Identity. *Surveillance & Society*, 315-333.
doi:10.24908/ss.v5i3.3426
- Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Petersen, W. (1958). A General Typology of Migration. *American Sociological Review*, 23(3), 256-266. doi:10.2307/2089239

- Petto, C. M. (2007). *When France was King of Cartography: The Patronage and Production of Maps in Early Modern France*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Phillips, W., & Rimkunas, R. (1978). The Concept of Crisis in International Politics. *Journal of Peace Research*, 15(3), 259-272.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/002234337801500304>
- Pickles, J. (2004). *A History of Spaces: Cartographic reason, mapping and the geo-coded world*. London: Routledge.
- Pinder, D. (1996). Subverting Cartography: The Situationists and Maps of the City. *Environment and Planning A*, 28(3), 405-427. doi:10.1068/a280405
- Pipitone, J., & Raghavan, C. (2017). Socio-Spatial Analysis of Study Abroad Students' Experiences in/of Place in Morocco. *Journal of Experiential Education*, 40(3), 1-15. doi:10.1177/1053825917709823
- Pirttilä, J. (2004). Is International Labour Mobility A Threat to the Welfare State? Evidence from Finland in The 1990s. *Finnish Economic Papers*, 17(1), 18-34.
- Ramji-Nogales, J. (2017). Migration Emergencies. *Hastings Law Journal*, 68, 609-656.
- Robinson, J. (1968). Crisis. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 3, 510-514.
- Rosenthal, U., & Kouzmin, A. (1993). Globalizing an Agenda for Contingencies and Crisis Management: An Editorial Statement. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 1(1), 1-12. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5973.1993.tb00001.x

- Rosenthal, U., & Kouzmin, A. (1997). Crises and Crisis Management: Toward Comprehensive Government Decision Making. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 7(2), 277-304.
- Rosenthal, U., Charles, M., & Hart, P. (1989). *Coping With Crises: The Management of Disasters, Riots, and Terrorism*. Illinois: Charles C Thomas Pub Limited.
- Roux- Dufort, C. (2007). Is Crisis Management (Only) a Management of Exceptions? *Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 15(2), 105-114.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5973.2007.00507.x
- Ruben, R., Houte, M. v., & Davids, T. (2009). What Determines the Embeddedness of Forced-Return Migrants? Rethinking the Role of Pre- and Post-Return Assistance. *International Migration Review*, 43(4), 908–937. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00789.x
- Salehyan, I. (2008). The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), 787–801.
- Salter, M. B. (2006). The Global Visa Regime and the Political Technologies of the International Self: Borders, Bodies,. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 31(2), 167-189.
- Salter, M. B. (2008). Securitization and Desecuritization: a Dramaturgical Analysis of the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 11(4), 321-349.

- Salter, M. B. (2013). To Make Move and Let Stop: Mobility and the Assemblage of Circulation. *Mobilities*, 8(1), 7-19.
- Sassen, S. (1996). *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press .
- Sassen, S. (2006). *Territory, Authority, Rights; From Medieval To Global Assemblages*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.
- Sassen, S. (2013). When Territory Deborders Territoriality. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1(1), 21-45. doi:10.1080/21622671.2013.769895
- Sayes, E. (2014). Actor–Network Theory and methodology: Just what does it mean to say that nonhumans have agency? *Social Studies of Science*, 44(1), 134–149. doi:10.1177/0306312713511867
- Schmidtke, O. (2008). Borders in Public Perception: Renationalizing Modes of Inclusion and Exclusion. In O. Schmidtke, & S. Özçürümez (Eds.), *Of States, Rights, and Social Closure: Governing Migration and Citizenship* (pp. 91-112). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schmidtke, O. (2008). Introduction: National Closure and Beyond. In O. Schmidtke, & S. Özçürümez (Eds.), *Of States, Rights, and Social Closure Governing Migration and Citizenship* (pp. 1-17). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scholte, J. A. (2005). *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (2 ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scrinzi, F. (2018). Beyond “Women’s Work”: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Management of Paid Care Work in Nonprofit Domiciliary Services in Italy. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*. doi: 10.1080/15562948.2018.1538472
- Shah, N. (2012). The Territorial Trap of the Territorial Trap: Global Transformation and the Problem of the State’s Two Territories. *International Political Sociology*, 6, 57–76.
- Shaw, R., Graham, I., & Akhter, M. (2012). The Unbearable Humanness of Drone Warfare in FATA, Pakistan. *Antipode*, 44(4), 1490-1509.
- Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The New Mobilities Paradigm. *Environment and Planning*, 38(2), 207-226. doi:10.1068/a37268
- Silva, M. F., Brurås, S., & Bañares, A. B. (2018). Improper Distance: The Refugee Crisis Presented by Two Newsrooms. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 31(4), 507–527. doi:10.1093/jrs/fex045
- Simonsen, K. (2019). Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time: The Contribution from Henri Lefebvre. *Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography*, 87(1), 1-14.
- Slovic, P. (1987). The Perception of Risk. *Science*, 236(4799), 280-285.
- Smith, A. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. New York: Blackwell.

- Smith, K. B. (2005). Typologies, Taxonomies, and the Benefits of Policy Classification. *Policy Studies Journal*, 30(3), 379-395.
doi:10.1111/j.1541-0072.2002.tb02153.x
- Smith, P. J. (2000). Transnational Security Threats and State Survival: A Role for the Military? *Parameters*, 77-91. Retrieved from <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=562>
- Smith, S. J. (1999). The Cultural Politics of Difference. In D. Massey, J. Allen, & P. Sarre (Eds.), *Human Geography Today* (pp. 129-150). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Soja, E. W. (1996). *Thirdspace*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Squire, V. (2011). The Contested Politics of Mobility: Politicizing Mobility, Mobilizing Politics. In V. Squire (Ed.), *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (pp. 1-26). New York: Routledge.
- Squire, V. (2018). Researching precarious migrations: Qualitative strategies towards a positive transformation of the politics of migration. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 20(2), 441–458.
doi:10.1177/1369148118759616
- Stanek, L. (Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre). Space as Concrete Abstraction: Hegel, Marx, and Modern Urbanism in Henri Lefebvre. In K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom, & C. Schmid (Eds.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Stern, E. K. (2003). Crisis studies and foreign policy analysis: Insights, synergies, and challenges. *International Studies Review*, 5(2), 183-191.

doi:10.1111/1521-9488.5020016

Suhrke, A. (1993). A Crisis Diminished: Refugees in the Developing World.

International Journal, 48(2), 215-.

Şenoğuz, H. P. (2017). Border Contestations, Syrian Refugees and Violence in the Southeastern Margins of Turkey. *Movements Journal for Critical*

Migration and Border Studies, 3(2), 165-178.

Tarrow, S. T. (2011). Contentious Politics and Social Movements. In S. T.

Tarrow, *Power in Movement Social Movements and Contentious Politics*

(pp. 16-36). Cambridge University Press.

Tester, K. (1994). *The Flaneur*. (K. Tester, Ed.) Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Torpey, J. C. (2018). *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (2 ed.). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Triandafyllidou, A. (2018). A “Refugee Crisis” Unfolding: “Real” Events and

Their Interpretation in Media and Political Debates. *Journal of Immigrant*

& Refugee Studies, 16(1-2), 198-216.

doi:10.1080/15562948.2017.1309089

Triandafyllidou, A., & Ricard-Guay, A. (2019). Governing Irregular and Return

Migration in the 2020s: European Challenges and Asian Pacific

Perspectives. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 17(2), 115-127.

doi: 10.1080/15562948.2018.1503383

Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Turton, D. (2003). *Conceptualising Forced Migration*. University of Oxford. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.

UN. (2016, 03 15). *Syria conflict at 5 years: the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time demands a huge surge in solidarity*. Retrieved from UNHCR News Press:

<https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2016/3/56e6e3249/syria-conflict-5-years-biggest-refugee-displacement-crisis-time-demands.html>

United Nations. (2017). *International Migration Report 2017*. Retrieved 06 11, 2019, from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017_Highlights.pdf

Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London: Routledge.

Üstübeci, A. (2018). *The Governance of International Migration*. Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press.

Van Meeteren, M. (2014). *Transnational activities and aspirations of irregular migrants in Belgium and the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Waever, O. (1989). *Security, the Speech Act: Analysing the Politics of a Word*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.

- Waever, O. (1995). Securitization and Desecuritization. In R. D. Lipschuts (Ed.), *On Security* (pp. 46-86). New York, NY: Columbia University press.
- Walker, R. (1990). Security, Sovereignty, and the Challenge of World Politics. *Alternatives*, 15(1), 3-27.
- Walters, W. (2006). Border/Control. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), 187-203. doi:10.1177/1368431006063332
- Walters, W. (2006). Rethinking Borders Beyond the State. *Comparative European Politics*, 4(2-3), 141–159. doi:10.1057/palgrave.ccp.6110076
- Watkins, C. (2005). Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation: An Application of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad. *Culture and Organization*, 11(3), 209-220. doi:10.1080/14759550500203318
- WBCSD. (2009). *Mobility for Development*. World Business Council for Sustainable Development.
- Weaver, O. (2011). Politics, Security, Theory. *Security Dialogue*, 42(4-5), 465-480. doi:10.1177/0967010611418718
- Wellens, K. (2003). The UN Security Council and New Threats to the Peace: Back to the Future. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 8(1), 15–70. doi:10.1093/jcsl/8.1.15
- Williams, P. D. (2008). Security Studies: An Introduction. In P. D. Williams, *SECURITY STUDIES*: (pp. 1-10). New York: Routledge.

- Wimmer, A., & Schiller, G. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks*, 2(4), 301–334. doi:10.1111/1471-0374.00043
- Wimmer, A., & Schiller, N. G. (2003). Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 576-610.
- Wittendorp, S. (2017). Reinventing Political Order? A Discourse View on the European Community and the Abolition of Border Controls in the Second Half of the 1980s. In M. Leese, & S. Wittendorp (Eds.), *Mobility/Security: Politics of Movements* (pp. 132-152). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Zaragoza-Cristiani, J. (2017). Containing the Refugee Crisis: How the EU Turned the Balkans and Turkey into an EU Borderland,. *The International Spectator*, 52(4), 59-75. doi:10.1080/03932729.2017.1375727



Appendices

Appendix A: Sources for the *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*

JIRS	Politics of Mobility	Inclusion & Exclusion
Human Centric	- (Bryan & Denov, 2011)	- (Scott, 2018) - (Ortensi, 2015) - (Bradford & Clark, 2014) - (Clifton, 2010) - (Strug & Mason, 2007) - (Demartini, 2006) - (Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2013) - (Scrinzi, 2018) - (Buján, 2015)
Systemic/Abstract	- (Triandafyllidou & Ricard-Guay, 2019) - (Spencer & Delvino, 2019) - (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2018) - (Bernardie-Tahir & Schmoll, 2014) - (Mainwaring, 2014)	- (Tan, 2006)
Humanized Abstraction	- (Stevens & Dimitriadi, 2019) - (Triandafyllidou, 2018) - (Acciaioli, Brunt, & Clifton, 2017) - (Kyaw, 2017) - (McAuliffe, 2017) - (Colombo, 2018) - (Bhuyan, Osborne, & Cruz, 2016) - (Lemaire, 2014) - (Çağlar & Gereöffy, 2008)	- (Kraler, 2019) - (Atac, & Rosenberger, 2019) - (Rosenberger, 2019) - (Bhimji, 2018) - (Hoffstaedter, 2017) - (Reed & Barbosa, 2017) - (Quintiliani, 2009) - (Behnia, 2007)

Appendix B: Sources for the *International Migration Review*

IMR	Politics of Mobility	Inclusion & Excluision
Human Centric	- (Drbohlav, Stych, & Dzurova, 2013) - (Jones, 2014)	- (Hirschman, 2004) - (Hofmann & Buckley, 2013) - (Friberg & Midtbøen, 2019)
Systemic/Abstract	- (Schewel, 2019) - (Bylander, 2018) - (Freier & Holloway, 2018) - (Czaika & Haas, 2017) - (Scott, 2017) - (Feys, 2017) - (Haas, Natter, & Vezzoli, 2016) - (Beine, et al., 2016) - (Margheritis, 2015) - (Bjerre, Helbling, Rømer, & Zobel, 2015) - (Winders, 2014) - (Charsley, Storer-Church, Benson, & Hear, 2013) - (Opeskin, 2012) - (Kawar, 2012) - (Mahler & Pessar, 2006) - (Calavita, 2006) - (Castles, 2004) - (Morris, 2003) - (Vogel, 2000) - (Macklin, 2003) - (Haas, 2010) - (Haus, 1999)	- (Arcarazo & Freier, 2015) - (Gamlen, 2014) - (Hear, 2014) - (Sabater & Domingo, 2012) - (Fargues, 2009) - (Seol & Skrentny, 2009) - (Boswell, 2007) - (Castles, 2002) - (Cavounidis, 2006) - (Carling, 2014) - (Verwiebe, Reinprecht, & Wiesboeck, 2017) - (Zwysen, 2019) - (Preibisch, 2010)
Humanized Abstraction	- (Ruben, Houte, & Davids, 2009) - (Akcapar, 2006) - (Kosic & Triandafyllidou, 2004) - (Chang, 2001)	- (Beauchemin, et al., 2015)

Appendix C: Sources for the *Journal of Refugee Studies*

JRS	Politics of Mobility	Inclusion & Exclusion
Human Centric	- (Ghebrezghiabher & Motzafi-Haller, 2015) - (BenEzer & Zetter, 2015)	- (Kvittingen, Valenta, Tabbara, Baslan, & Berg, 2018) - (Glorius, Doomernik, & Belloni, 2016) - (Horstmann, 2011) - (Snyder, 2011) - (Huennekes, 2018)
Systemic/Abstract	- (Kluknavska, Bernhard, & Boomgaarden, 2019) - (Tennis, 2019) - (Silva, Brurås, & Bañares, 2018) - (Spijkerboer, 2017) - (Glorius, Doomernik, & Nancheva, Bulgaria's Response to Refugee Migration: Institutionalizing the Boundary of Exclusion, 2016) - (Duffield, 2008) - (Zetter, 2007)	- (Sunata & Tosun, 2018) - (Knudsen, 2009) - (Marfleet, 2011)
Humanized Abstraction	- (Sözer, 2019) - (Kandyli, 2019) - (Lynn-Ee Ho, 2018) - (Bochmann, 2018) - (McNevin & Missbach, 2018) - (Janmyr & Mourad, 2018) - (Kuschminder, 2017) - (Gerard & Pickering, 2013) - (Hear, 2011) - (Hedman, 2009) - (Lubkemann, 2008)	- (Glorius, Doomernik, Hinger, Schäfer, & Pott, 2016) - (Lecadet, 2016) - (Losoncz, 2015) - (Landau & Amit, 2014) - (Murcia, 2013) - (Palmgren, 2015) - (Landau & Duponchel, 2011) - (Gale, 2008) - (Grabska, 2006) - (Landau, 2006)