

Global Citizenship *in the Making*? Claims to Rights, Belonging and Accountability

‘Where are the human rights, when someone escapes war and you shut down all the doors to his face?’ (Syrian woman, Kos); ‘Everybody has equal rights’ (Nigerian woman, Rome); ‘Back in time, we used to have Europeans as refugees . . . We expect to be treated humanely in Europe’ (Iraqi man, Kos); ‘Stop the war in Syria and return us’ (Syrian woman, Athens); ‘Consider us as humans, humans who can contribute not only to the economy but also in policy making’ (Ethiopian man, Malta); ‘They say that there is relocation, let them prove it. [That] there is protection, let them prove it . . . These offices should help us’ (Syrian woman, Istanbul). These quotes all come from research carried out during 2015–16 with people migrating across the Mediterranean in precarious conditions (see Squire et al., 2021). They have been chosen for discussion here for two reasons: first, because they are broadly representative of the multiplicity of claims advanced through the research by people migrating in situations of precarity and, second, due to the diversity of their verbal expression.

This chapter reflects on the ways in which migratory claims involve the refusal of violent governing practices. It asks: to what extent can claims generated through lived experiences of precarious migration be interpreted as enacting an incipient form of global citizenship? By unpacking how demands to rights, belonging and accountability are advanced by people in situations of precarity, it considers how global citizenship *in the making* provides an analytical framework that helps to make sense of contemporary migratory struggles. In so doing, the analysis exposes the shortfalls of existing theories of global citizenship and argues that the concept should neither be disregarded nor reified in theories of the politics of precarious migration. The first section introduces the research context, before further exploring debates around global citizenship. The analysis then explores a series of claims to rights, belonging and accountability that emerge

from the research, while also pointing to claims that potentially move beyond the conceptual bounds of global citizenship.

Research Context

The discussion in this chapter is grounded in an engagement with a counter-archive of migratory testimonies that was generated during 2015–16 as part of the *Crossing the Mediterranean Sea by Boat* (CTM) project.¹ CTM focused on governing practices advanced as part of the 2015 European Agenda on Migration, with interviews focusing broadly on lived experiences of precarious migration in the context of deterrent policy developments. Questions focused on the migratory journey and reception experiences, as well as on the expectations and aspirations of people ‘on the move’. Our research team interviewed 271 people in Germany, Italy, Malta and Turkey, all of whom were selected as they had migrated – or were planning to migrate – across the Mediterranean Sea by boat. The first phase of the research was completed during September–November 2015 and involved 136 qualitative semi-structured interviews with a total of 139 participants at three island arrival sites: Kos, Malta and Sicily.² The second phase of the research was completed during May–July 2016 and involved a further 121 interviews with a total of 132 participants at four urban sites: Athens, Berlin, Istanbul and Rome (Squire et al., 2017).

The project was originally focused on lived experiences of precarious migration, rather than on the claims that such experiences generated. However, it quickly became apparent that a key impact of policy developments on lived experiences of migration was that these generated a powerful range of demands or claims on the part of people migrating. By claims, I here refer to appeals or demands that ‘potentially affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or other collective actors’ (Koopmans et al., 2005: 24). Scholars have emphasised how such claims are embedded in established power dynamics, which create barriers to – as well as opportunities for – the recognition of demands by key ‘respondents’ (Bloemraad, 2018). Further reflection on these claims is undertaken here in terms that extend the work of the original research project.

The claims that form the focus of this chapter were advanced in the context of a European policy agenda that was orientated towards the prevention or ‘deterrence’ of migration (Squire et al., 2021). This agenda not only rendered reception or arrival conditions in Europe dire but was also implicated in deteriorating conditions beyond the territory of the European Union (EU). Such developments were in part advanced through policies and practices designed to ‘externalise’ border controls – namely, the extension of controls beyond the external borders of the state, or in this case beyond the borders of EU

states (Cobarrubias et al., 2023; see also Mountz, 2011). The demands arising through the research process in this regard were directly or indirectly addressed to respondents from diverse authorities, which reached across multiple sites (Squire 2021a, 2022).

During the second phase of analysis the team began to ask research participants more directly what they would want to convey to European policy makers and people from European societies if they had the chance. The interviews also included context-specific questions in the second phase of the research, as the awareness of the research team deepened around key areas of concern. For example, those who had travelled to Italy via the ‘central Mediterranean route’ were asked about the conditions in Libya, the severity of which were only just becoming apparent at that time. By contrast, those who had travelled to Athens via the ‘eastern Mediterranean route’ – and those in Istanbul who were planning to do so – were asked about their knowledge of the March 2016 EU–Turkey ‘deal’, which was designed to prevent arrival to the EU. A wide range of more or less explicit demands emerged from the research, many of the most striking of which are explored in this chapter.³ It is on the basis of an appreciation of the importance of such claims that the chapter seeks to open to question the potential and limitations of global citizenship *in the making* as an analytical framework.

Global Citizenship

Before examining in further detail the claims introduced at the start of this chapter, it is worth revisiting the concept of global citizenship as a reminder of the distinctive approach taken in this book. Global citizenship has been articulated in various ways within the existing literature: as an individual moral status that forms the grounds for the practice of rights and obligations within a global political community (Cabrera, 2010); as a series of rights and obligations that are enacted by an emergent global civil society of activists (Carter, 2001) and that generate a cosmopolitan democracy (Archibugi and Held 2011); and as a normative ideal of cosmopolitan citizenship that is orientated towards global justice (Tan, 2017). It has also been advanced as an orientation to education that can foster international cooperation and understanding through the creation of ‘citizens of the world’ (Nussbaum, 1998).

The sub-discipline of political theory has been a rich ground for debates around global citizenship. This is particularly the case in the field of cosmopolitan political thought, where the legal, institutional and normative dimensions of global citizenship have been a key focus. The concept in this regard has been engaged in relation to legal debates about individual human rights

and institutional debates about ‘world government’ (Goodin, 2013), while also remaining normatively orientated towards a concern regarding the universal moral worth of all people. Scholars in the field have also moved beyond the more abstract or theoretical aspects of global citizenship, to focus on its actual practice (Cabrera, 2010; see also Carter, 2001). This reflects an appreciation of the performative aspects of ‘citizenship without frontiers’ (Isin, 2012). That said, debates within this area of political theory have often remained largely normative in orientation.

By contrast to the normative inflection of debates about global and cosmopolitan citizenship, works surrounding the alternative concepts of ‘transnational citizenship’ (Bauböck, 1994) and ‘postnational citizenship’ (Soysal, 1994) tend to be of a more explanatory or interpretive leaning (see also Chapter 2). For example, legal and institutional factors have been important to the analysis of transnational citizenship, which focuses on the ways in which citizenship rights and obligations change when an individual leaves their country of citizenship (Bauböck, 1994). This emphasis has become particularly significant over recent years in the field of diaspora studies, whereby the formal extension of extra-territorial rights to citizens overseas involves informal processes of identity formation and belonging that cut across the boundaries of a single state (Collyer, 2017).⁴

Even if analyses of transnationalism foster appreciation of multiple affiliations and extra-territorial rights, transnational citizenship is often conceived in relation to a territorial framework of state sovereignty and national political community. Scholars of postnational citizenship have gone further here to suggest that citizenship of the nation-state is under erasure due to the shift of authority to the supranational level and the emergence of forms of membership that exceed the nation-state. For example, Yasemine Soysal has suggested that the diffusion of human rights norms and their extension to guestworkers in Europe transforms collective action and political membership, potentially creating ‘a new order of sovereignty’ whereby the nation-state upholds rules and principles that are ‘increasingly determined at the global level’ (1994: 144). The legal and institutional dimensions again play a key role here in analysing how global norms generate transformations of territorial citizenship.

Although there have been numerous critiques of the postnational thesis since it has been advanced (e.g. Bloemraad, 2004; Koopmans and Stratham, 1999), debates surrounding both transnationalism and postnationalism have nevertheless provoked important questions about the transformation of authority, membership and rights under conditions of ‘globalisation’. Such questions have also been important to scholars examining the governance of cross-border migration, where it has been argued that migration management is characterised by ‘multi-layered’ governance – a situation in which different

authority structures interact with each other (Kunz, Lavenex and Panizzon, 2011). For example, researchers have emphasised the ways in which practices of managing migration have involved international organisations (Geiger and Pécoud, 2010; Lavenex, 2016) and transregional partnerships (Betts, 2011), as well as state actors. Furthermore, scholars of polycentric governance have drawn attention to the range of formal and informal actors involved in practices of governing migration (e.g. Koinova, 2022). Indeed, in a context whereby border controls have increasingly become externalised to third states and the high seas (Cobarrubias et al., 2023; Ould Moctar, 2024), a messy mismatch of practices and actants have been shown to fracture conventional conceptions of spatial order and political authority (see Brachet, 2016).

While the externalisation of governing practices within the field of migration has opened opportunities for claims to be advanced at multiple levels (e.g. the local, national and supranational), it can also generate confusion for those subject to such governing practices. For example, when we asked research participants about their understanding of the EU–Turkey ‘deal’ few understood who was responsible for this or what exactly it would mean for them. Similarly with regard to the situation in Libya, it was often unclear as to which respondents were deemed responsible for the harms our research participants had experienced. Where people in situations of precarity are unable to identify who and where to direct claims related to the harms they experience, multilevel governance could be said to produce what democratic theorists call a ‘crisis of accountability’ (Thompson, 1999).

As the opening to this chapter indicates, claims in situations of precarity do persist despite problems of accountability. Indeed, a key insight arising from the first part of this book is that a growing complexity of practices of governing migration cut across traditional political scales in terms that generate new openings for claims to rights, belonging and accountability. Such developments also create opportunities to consider what escapes from the political categories that we inherit – or of what emerges in the space that Engin Isin and Peter Nyers refer to as between the ‘no-longer’ and ‘not-yet’ of political subjectivity (2014: 9). The analysis of claims making in this regard facilitates consideration of how far and in what ways lived experiences of precarious migration generate an incipient form of global citizenship. Global citizenship’s potential is thus explored here as a performative concept rather than in normative, legal or institutional terms, through the analysis of claims as socially embedded communicative practices that potentially generate political transformations (Rai, 2014; see also Rai et al., 2021).⁵

As an analytical framework global citizenship *in the making* has expansive potential, and not only in identifying claims that fracture – or cut across and

through – multiple territorial ‘levels’ of analysis. It also has expansive potential because it serves as a multi-dimensional analytical framework that facilitates appreciation of various facets of citizenship – status, rights, membership, and participation – as well as their overlap in practice. Drawing from Lynn A. Staeheli’s emphasis on the importance of analysing the ‘rearticulation’ of citizenship in its various dimensions across multiple sites (2010: 393), this book opens to question the practice and performance of citizenship through a focus on claims making in situations of precarity. In so doing, it neither seeks to advance yet another proclamation that state-based citizenship is outdated, nor does it advance a normative defence of global citizenship as an ideal towards which we should aim.

The emphasis on global citizenship *in the making* is also important because it facilitates an analysis of different types and forms of claims – in their multiplicities. ‘The global’ and ‘citizenship’ are thus not approached as overarching universal concepts, but as made and unmade through a multiplicity of claims. The analysis therefore includes claims that exceed the scope of global citizenship’s definition, or that even potentially appeal to its abolition (see Part III). Global citizenship *in the making* is not, therefore, a theory that signals a shift towards a new ‘level’ of political subjectivity, membership or governance. Rather, it is engaged as a means to explore the politics of precarious migration and the significance of claims that refuse the bounds or the limits of the statist ‘international’ (see Agnew, 1994). Holding all this in mind, let’s now revisit the quotes from the opening of this chapter.

Claims to Rights, Belonging and Accountability

The demand for rights forms a key dimension of many of the claims from the CTM project archive, in particular the appeal to human rights: ‘Where are the human rights, when someone escapes war and you shut down all the doors to his face?’ Forming part of an interview with a Syrian woman who was interviewed in Kos in 2015, this claim to human rights came in response to the observation that ‘Europe just talks about human rights and things like this.’ She went on to say: ‘If they really cared for the Syrians, they would take the people legally so that no one had to die in this sea and none of this would have happened’ (CTM, KOS1.46A). The woman was speaking here during the midst of the so-called European migration crisis, on an island where people arriving by boat were forced to resort to sleeping in tents on the street while they awaited authorisation to travel to mainland Greece. She was also speaking at a time when Syrian arrivals to Europe were still recent, and there remained relatively widespread acceptance of the need for people to flee the conflict.

Many Syrians with whom we spoke in 2015 and 2016 expressed their shock and even disbelief at the living conditions they faced on arriving in Europe – a region perceived by many as the birthplace of human rights. The woman's appeal to human rights and to the legitimacy of Syrians fleeing conflict can be interpreted in this regard as a questioning of European values and a refusal of their limited application (Squire et al., 2021: 129–60). Beyond an appeal to human rights, the statement above is therefore also a demand for accountability – accountability for the deaths of people forced to make dangerous journeys across the Mediterranean Sea and for the suffering of those who survived such journeys only to become stuck in destitute conditions. Similar claims to rights and accountability arise in the statements of others whom we interviewed.

'Back in time, we used to have Europeans as refugees . . . We expect to be treated humanely in Europe' (CTM, KOS1.03). This statement by an Iraqi man in Kos is also indicative of the difficult living conditions that he and others experienced on the island. However, his appeal for humane treatment goes further here to involve a demand for protection by the host community that has failed to fulfil the act of reciprocity perceived as being due. Implicit to his assertion that 'we used to have Europeans as refugees' (CTM, KOS1.03) is the sense of a wider global community, whose embedded norms of solidarity and protection have been broken by Europe's denial of refuge and humane treatment. The longer historical links between Europe and the countries and regions from which people travel are also rendered tangible through this statement. In this regard, an appeal to the legitimacy of migration is integral to the claim, though not necessarily in terms that are clearly directed towards answerable respondents.

An appeal to membership of the wider human community is also evident in the statement by the Ethiopian man from Malta who, instead of appealing for protection, demanded to be able participate in the political and economic spheres as an equal member of society: 'Consider us as humans, humans who can contribute not only to the economy but also in policy making' (CTM, MAL1.26). On arrival to Europe many of the people with whom we spoke were sleeping rough or were stuck in centres with limited mobility. They could not work and were silenced in wider debates about the so-called migration crisis. People who had been in Europe for longer also faced ongoing exclusions. Appeals to humanity such as that of this Ethiopian man are thus indicative of frustration on the part of those arriving who find they are unable to fulfil their potential as an active member of society.

The CTM testimonies indicate that generalised appeals to humanity are often advanced alongside more situated demands to accountability by people

with lived experience of precarious migration: 'Stop the war in Syria and return us'. The Syrian woman in Athens who advanced this demand expressed concern that Syrians are subjected to a lack of 'dignity'. She made a plea – 'we're humans', while also advancing a more specific request for European leaders to take action to stop the war, or 'at least let us live in security'. Going further, she went on to say: 'We don't want Europe. We want our country. But the war isn't ending. The regime is standing. . . . We're just a pawn in their hands and they are playing with us – Russia and America and Europe and Saudi Arabia and Qatar' (CTM, ATH2.15).

The interview with this Syrian woman was undertaken in a context whereby many people had become stuck in Athens following the closure of borders into northern Europe in 2016. She was travelling with two children aged eight and ten, and all three of them were waiting to reunite with her husband who had been in Germany for ten months. Demanding that Europe either take a different stance in relation to the conflict in Syria to enable her family to return home, or that meaningful support be provided to Syrians fleeing the country, she expressed her frustration about being unable to move onwards within Europe or backwards to her home country. In this context, the woman also raised concerns that the reunification process was moving at a much slower speed than relocations and returns. Notable here is that the demands advanced are not simply claims to rights and belonging, but also to the accountability of European and world leaders for the Syrian conflict, for the generalised lack of security for Syrians in European countries, and for ineffective family reunification policies.

An appeal to accountability as well as to status and rights was also front and centre within the demand advanced by a Syrian woman in Istanbul: 'They say that there is relocation, let them prove it. [That] there is protection, let them prove it . . . These offices should help us' (CTM, IST2.17). The divorced fifty-three-year-old woman who made this statement had lived in Istanbul with her mother and sister since 2013. The two sisters were interviewed together and explained how they had been searching for a legal route to Sweden to reunite with their sons because they did not want to take a dangerous route with their elderly mother, for fear she could not manage it. Identifying as refugees 'fleeing' for 'safety', the offices to which the woman refers in the quote are likely the relocation offices of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). The woman expressed her dissatisfaction with the officials in Turkey who reportedly informed the women that a 'space would open for us'. She went on to say that, in actuality, 'they didn't open it' (CTM, IST2.17).

It is worth noting that the conditions in Turkey were particularly difficult for Syrians at the time of this interview, although the two sisters and their

mother were living in relatively comfortable conditions compared to many others we interviewed. Still, the aspiration to reach Europe was embedded in a rather optimistic perception of a place where refugees are treated ‘like humans and not like animals’ and are provided with opportunities such as ‘the right to work and open a shop’ (CTM, IST2.17). ‘Migrants’ were thus described by this woman as travelling to be in ‘a country with human rights’, while ‘refugees’ were deemed to be ‘human with the right to live A right to everything’ (CTM, IST2.17). Behind this distinction between migrants and refugees lay a direct demand for officials to be held accountable for the suffering of Syrians unable to reunify with family members in Europe.

Citizenship – and Beyond

So, how helpful is the concept of global citizenship in interpreting these claims? What is clear is that those advancing the claims above do not use the word ‘citizenship’ to frame their demands, nor is the term ‘global’ one that is referenced directly. In other words, the analysis here does not suggest that people with lived experiences of migration directly identify themselves as ‘global citizens’. What is also clear is that the language of human rights, humane treatment and humanness or humanity are central to each of the claims, which involve demands for accountability, rights and belonging or participation as part of a wider ‘human’ community. The claims above are thus expansive, as well as grounded in concrete struggles that – to a greater or lesser degree of explicitness – demand mobility justice through a refusal of the violence of contemporary governing practices.

The ways in which accountability is framed in these interviews reflects the focus of the original research project on the European policy agenda, yet also goes further. For instance, they also embody demands that are directed to international organisations (UNHCR) and world leaders (from Russia, America, Saudi Arabia and Qatar), as well as more broadly to host communities and societies. Despite the potential crisis of accountability arising in situations where externalised governing practices complexify lines of responsibility, claims are thus advanced in terms that refuse both the limitations of citizenship and the international *statist quo* (see Introduction). A preliminary migrant-orientated analysis of the politics of precarious migration from the CTM project in this respect indicates the importance of an expansive analytical framework of global citizenship *in the making*, which facilitates appreciation of a multiplicity of claims to status, rights, membership and participation that cut across and through conventional conceptions of spatial order and political authority (see Figure 1.1).

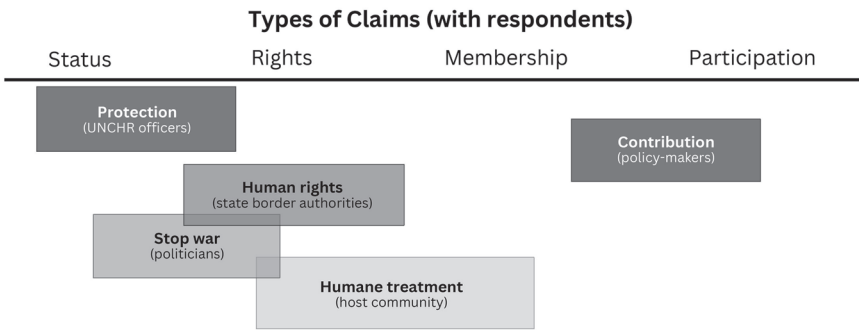


Figure 1.1 Types of claims (with respondents) – including claims to global citizenship

Figure 1.1 represents the claims discussed above in a simplified form, under conceptual categories that are listed along the top horizontal line (i.e. status, rights, membership and participation). Each claim includes a respondent that I have identified based on the more detailed analysis of each quote (which is included in brackets). At this stage the visualisation remains focused on the content or *types* of claims, while in the next chapter different *forms* of claims will be examined in terms that shed further light on the vertical placement and tonal coding of different claims. The types of claims included cover demands to protection, human rights, humane treatment, the right to contribute, and the ending of warfare, as follows:

- **Protection** (under status, towards rights): ‘They say that there is relocation, let them prove it. [That] there is protection, let them prove it . . . These offices should help us’ (CTM, IST2.17).
- **Human rights** (under rights): ‘Where are the human rights, when someone escapes war and you shut down all the doors to his face?’ (CTM, KOS1.46A).
- **Humane treatment** (under rights/membership): ‘Back in time, we used to have Europeans as refugees . . . We expect to be treated humanely in Europe’ (CTM, KOS1.03).
- **Contribution** (under membership/participation): ‘Consider us as humans, humans who can contribute not only to the economy but also in policy making’ (CTM, MAL1.26).
- **Stop war** (under status/rights): ‘Stop the war in Syria and return us’ (CTM, ATH2.15).

That these various claims generally fit relatively easily under the categories of status, rights, membership and participation is suggestive of the potential

significance of citizenship as a theoretical framework by which to make sense of claims in precarity. Since their reach often extends beyond the territorial state, they are also suggestive of the significance of global citizenship as a theory of precarious migration arising from such claims. That said, it is also important to consider the *limitations* of global citizenship as a framework for the analysis of claims, and to avoid the imposition of a homogenising interpretation of the politics of precarious migration. While global citizenship *in the making* holds potential as an expansive analytical framework for understanding of a multiplicity of demands arising in situations of precarity, this is not to theoretically reduce such claims to global citizenship.

It is perhaps helpful here to further reflect on one of the claims, from a statement advanced by a Nigerian woman in Rome: ‘Everybody has equal rights’ (CTM, ROM2.06a). This claim may initially appear to fit neatly into the framework of global citizenship, since it appeals to universal rights in a context whereby lived experiences of precarious migration put these in jeopardy. However, on unpacking the quote further, there are also dimensions to the claim that exceed the scope of global citizenship – and even put it under question. The woman who made this statement was interviewed alongside two other Nigerian women in Rome in 2016. They had all travelled through Libya. The demand for equal rights was presented in response to the interviewer asking the group whether they believed that they had the right to enter Italy and the EU. One of the other women replied that she did believe they had the right to enter, because: ‘White people normally go to Nigeria, they are safe, they are okay. I know that very well. So everybody I want, you know, God created everybody’ (CTM, ROM2.06c). Following the appeal to equal rights by her friend, the woman quoted above went on to say: ‘So it is the same. Everybody is free. You are free to go to Nigeria, there is your choice. So, your push allows us enter Italy freely without no problem, that is what we want’ (CTM, ROM2.06c).

More than simply a generalised claim to universal rights and freedoms, the demand for equal rights here can be understood as a claim to mobility justice that is grounded in the refusal of racially unjust border controls. It is implicitly advanced through a religious appeal to a form of universal personhood that cuts through racial difference. At the same time, the differentiated and hierarchical application of rights and freedoms is explicitly identified as racially unjust – enjoyed by ‘White people’ but not by people from Nigeria. This is suggestive of a direct confrontation with the whiteness of the European researcher interviewing the group of Nigerian women, based on the demand for entrance into Italy ‘without no problem’. As a claim to racial equality and mobility justice, such a demand thus moves beyond abstract or universal

forms of rights and belonging to challenge the racialised hierarchies and colonial forms of subjugation embedded in contemporary practices of governing migration. Paying careful consideration to the statement that ‘everyone have equal rights’ thus indicates that this claim might be interpreted as superficially affirming global citizenship, while at the same time exceeding its limits.

This discussion points to the need to avoid assuming global citizenship as the most appropriate theory by which to make sense of claims in precarity. Indeed, a closer reading of several testimonies generated by the CTM research guards against a reductive interpretation of such claims as exhausted by the concept of global citizenship. For example, the claim advanced about ‘white people’ above can in many respects be understood as implicitly demanding the eradication of racial and colonial structures of power and hierarchy, including those that are embedded in exclusionary citizenship regimes (see Squire, 2021a, 2024). While an interpretation of the demand that ‘everybody has equal rights’ is enabled through the engagement of global citizenship *in the making* as an analytical framework, this does not mean that the statement can be reduced to a demand for global citizenship. Instead, it might be better interpreted as problematising the contemporary ‘international’ through claims that implicitly and indirectly challenge the limits of conventional citizenship and the *statist quo*. To put it another way, these claims can potentially be interpreted as unmaking citizenship in its contemporary formation.

A question arises here as to whether an abolitionist approach might be better placed to make sense of the politics of precarious migration. Abolition refers to the dismantling of systems of subjugation through their replacement with alternatives that reflect an appreciation that ‘life is precious’ (Gilmore, 2020: np, 2023 270; see Part III). I have highlighted elsewhere how some claims that are grounded in lived experiences of precarity can be interpreted as demands for the abolition of militaristic and colonial structures and institutions (Squire 2021a). For example, a refusal of militarism is evident in the testimonies of several Syrian men in Berlin who described their escape from Syria in terms of a refusal to kill: ‘I don’t kill anyone’ (CTM, BER2.03); ‘I didn’t want to carry the blood in my name’ (CTM, BER2.22); ‘I don’t want to kill anybody’ (CTM, BER2.30). A woman interviewed in Istanbul went further, with anti-militarism beginning to merge with anti-colonialism in her reflection on the ‘connected’ trajectories of coloniality and violence (see Bhabra 2016). She said: ‘Who is responsible [for the bloodshed in Syria]? It is the politics of the powerful countries . . . The powerful countries are watching us. They are silent. International silence’ (CTM, IST2.16).

Recurring colonial dynamics were also explicitly highlighted as problematic by a man from Côte d'Ivoire who was interviewed in Malta and who pointed to the problems of Europe's continued occupation of his home country. He said: 'those who colonise us, they have a lot of organisations – or by the government, by the country of Europe – to cooperate with our government in my country' (CTM, MAL1.22). Taken together, these testimonies suggest that claims in precarity do not simply involve demands for universal rights, belonging and accountability in terms that appeal to equality and humanity – but that they also go further to refuse the violence of colonial recurrences that are embedded in the formation of humanity through racialised exclusion (see Wynter, 2003). Beyond demands that might be interpreted as enacting an incipient form of global citizenship, such claims might also be interpreted as demands for the abolition of exclusionary citizenship regimes and the violent practices of governing migration that these entail.

The question of abolitionist politics will be revisited later in this book, particularly in Part III which explores claims enacted through the generation of alternatives to processes of 'organised abandonment' (Gilmore, 2015, 2023). For now, suffice to say that some of the demands above do indeed bring a specificity that implies a refusal of the institutional scaffolding of citizenship regimes and the international inequities within which these are embedded. For example, the appeal 'I didn't want to carry the blood in my name' (CTM, BER2.22) can be interpreted as an 'act of desertion' from military conscription based on religious conscience (see Squire, 2015a). Meanwhile, claims that there is 'international silence' (CTM, IST2.16) regarding the war in Syria or claims that highlight Europe's extractivist postcolonial activities in Africa can be interpreted as a rejection of racial capitalism and the recurring legacies of colonial power. Rich and powerful countries, a world that remains silent, predatory European organisations, corrupted African governments: these are just some of the respondents directly or indirectly identified in these testimonies as answerable to the challenges faced by people with lived experiences of precarious migration (see Figure 1.2).

Global citizenship plays an ambivalent role in many of the claims emerging from the CTM research. On the one hand, the benefit of engaging global citizenship *in the making* as an expansive analytical framework is that it facilitates consideration of such claims both in their incipient formation as well as in their contextual specificity. On the other hand, the limitation of global citizenship is that some claims appear to exceed its conceptual scope – even challenging mobility injustices that are integral to the very foundation of citizenship. This is represented in Figure 1.2, which sets the claims discussed above *apart* from

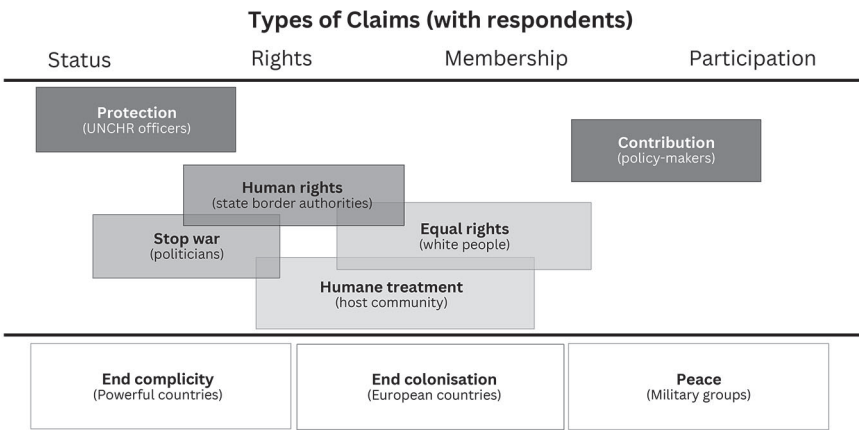


Figure 1.2 Types of claims (with respondents) – including claims that exceed global citizenship.

those that more explicitly appeal to forms of status, rights, membership and participation as shown in Figure 1.1. These are listed as follows:

- **End complicity:** ‘Who is responsible [for the bloodshed in Syria]? It is the politics of the powerful countries . . . The powerful countries are watching us. They are silent. International silence’ (CTM, IST2.16).
- **Stop colonisation:** ‘those who colonise us, they have a lot of organisations – or by the government, by the country of Europe – to cooperate with our government in my country’ (CTM, MAL1.22).
- **Peace:** ‘I don’t kill anyone’ (CTM, BER2.03); ‘I didn’t want to carry the blood in my name’ (CTM, BER2.22); ‘I don’t want to kill anybody’ (CTM, BER2.30).

Figure 1.2 also includes the claim to equal rights discussed previously, which I tentatively include under global citizenship while emphasising its complexity:

- **Equal rights** (under rights/membership): ‘Everybody has equal rights’ (CTM, ROM2.06a); ‘White people normally go to Nigeria’ (CTM, ROM2.06c). ‘Everybody is free. You are free to go to Nigeria, there is your choice. So, your push allows us enter Italy freely without no problem, that is what we want’ (CTM, ROM2.06c).

In Chapter 2, we will return to these claims to unpack their varied forms, as well as their different types. For now, suffice to say that working with global citizenship as a question rather than as a thesis – while engaging global citizenship *in the making* as an expansive analytical framework – enables us to explore

the multidimensionality of claims in precarity. It is on this basis that the book suggests that the concept of global citizenship should be considered in terms of its making and unmaking, rather than being disregarded or reified in the analysis of the politics of precarious migration.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on research carried out during 2015–16 with people migrating across the Mediterranean in precarious conditions, to explore how a multiplicity of claims refuse the violence of contemporary governing practices. It has asked: to what extent can claims advanced in situations of precarity be interpreted as enacting an incipient form of global citizenship? Unpacking a series of demands to rights, belonging and accountability that are advanced by people with lived experiences of precarious migration, the chapter has shown how generalised appeals to humanity are often expressed alongside more situated demands for answerability to the violence of contemporary governing practices. These can be interpreted through the engagement of global citizenship *in the making* as an expansive analytical framework. However, they also exceed global citizenship in conceptual terms through the refusal of militarised violence, racialised hierarchies of the human and related mobility injustices. As such, some claims might be interpreted as a broader refusal of the violence of governing practices through which the institutional scaffolding of citizenship and the contemporary ‘international’ are embedded.

The discussion in this chapter affirms the importance of holding the concept of global citizenship in question, rather than advancing it as a thesis. The analysis has exposed the shortfalls of existing theories of global citizenship, while also pointing to their ongoing resonance. Rather than approaching ‘the global’ or ‘citizenship’ as overarching universal concepts or advancing global citizenship as a normative ideal or legal and institutional foundation for politics, the chapter therefore emphasises the importance of engaging global citizenship *in the making* as an analytical framework that retains openness to the enactment of a multiplicity of claims. Indeed, this analytical framework demands openness to claims that exceed the scope of the concept’s definition and that challenge the *statist quo* from which theories of global citizenship emerge. In this regard, I argue that the concept should neither be disregarded nor reified in the analysis of the politics of precarious migration. The next chapter subjects global citizenship to further questioning by exploring the claims that serve as ‘outliers’ in Figure 1.2. In so doing, the analysis considers the importance of paying attention to the implicit and indirect – as well as the explicit and direct – expression of claims that are advanced in situations of precarity.