

Claims Making in Precarity: Types and Forms of Claims

‘They are people, and we are people’ (Syrian woman, Istanbul, CTM IST2.16). ‘If you – there is a war raging on in your country and you get the chance to reach a safe country, won’t you take that chance?’ (Syrian man, Berlin, CTM BER2.22). ‘I never saw a real action taken by the EU that can make real change in Africa’ (man from the Côte d’Ivoire, Malta, CTM MAL1.22). Chapter 1 drew on research carried out during 2015–16 with people migrating across the Mediterranean in precarious conditions. It considered how a range of demands to rights, belonging and accountability can be analysed through the expansive lens of global citizenship *in the making*. Nevertheless, the chapter also emphasised the importance of holding global citizenship in question, rather than advancing it as a theory. In so doing, it advanced a preliminary analysis of a range of demands that exceed (and potentially work against) the framework of global citizenship.

This chapter digs deeper into the refusals of militarised violence, racialised hierarchies of the human and mobility injustices introduced in Chapter 1, further unpacking the testimonies from which the statements identified in Figure 1.2 as ‘outliers’ have been taken (see Chapter 1). ‘They are silent. International silence’ (CTM, IST2.16); ‘I didn’t want to carry the blood in my name’ (CTM, BER2.22); ‘those who colonise us they have a lot of organisations in my country’ (CTM, MAL1.22). These claims are revisited here not only to explore their content further, but also to examine their diverse forms of expression. Not all claims are advanced explicitly and directly: some are more implicit and indirect and thus need careful interpretation. This points to the importance of paying attention to the ways in which claims can take different forms or involve different modes of expression.

In further exploring different types and forms of claims in this chapter, the analysis first points to the limitations of existing scholarship on political claims making. It aligns itself instead with critical scholarship surrounding ‘migrant activism’. The chapter then further develops the methodological framework by which to analyse implicit and indirect – as well as explicit and direct – claims. Returning to the claims above, it draws on various forms of claims to argue that a critique of coloniality should not necessarily be seen as antithetical to global citizenship *in the making* in analytical terms. Rather, coloniality and global citizenship can be interpreted as complementary analytical frameworks that facilitate understanding of the emergence of forms of political subjectivity that challenge the contemporary ‘international’ and the violence that this engenders. To put it another way, claims can sometimes both make *and* unmake global citizenship.

Revisiting Claims

As discussed in Chapter 1, this book engages global citizenship *in the making* as a framework for the analysis of claims advanced on the basis of lived experiences of precarity. Turning now to the existing literature on political claims making, a well-known definition of claims describes these as appeals or demands that ‘actually or potentially affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or other collective actors’ (Koopmans et al., 2005: 24). Such a definition is derived from an established body of work on citizenship and the ‘contentious politics’ of immigration and cultural diversity, which focuses both on mobilisations that fit within existing political processes as well as on ‘controversial’ demands for rights and privileges advanced ‘*by* migrants, *against* migrants and *on behalf* of migrants’ (Koopmans et al., 2005: 2–3, original emphasis). Scholars often examine these processes of claims making as they relate to political opportunity structures, or to vulnerabilities within a political system that create openings for change through social movements or mobilisations.

It is worth noting that the concept of political opportunity structure has been developed by migration studies scholars beyond a structuralist or institutionalist approach. Consideration has instead been paid to how ‘different conceptions of national identity and their crystallization in nation-specific integration and citizenship policies’ function as ‘institutional and discursive opportunities and constraints’ that shape both the rights, duties and resources offered to immigrants, as well as affecting which claims are held to be legitimate (Koopmans et al., 2005: 6). On this basis, scholars often examine the claims of immigrant and minority groups to rights and privileges across various

national contexts (e.g. Giugni and Passy, 2004). Despite the move towards a more nuanced account of structure and agency, however, a state-based model of citizenship, policy formation and public discourse stands at the centre of such an approach. Indeed, it has been argued by some scholars in this field that there is 'nothing beyond the nation-state that can serve as a new anchor for collective identities' (Koopmans et al., 2005: 4).

As indicated in Chapter 1, postnationalism has been subjected to widespread critique by scholars working on political claims making. This is both because top-down constraints on states by supranational institutions are shown to be limited, as well as because the supranational level is seen as having failed to provide better opportunities for pro-immigrant claims than the national political arena (Koopmans et al., 2005). This critique of postnationalism is further advanced by an analysis of an inability of such scholarship to explain cross-national differences or to account for the continued relevance of national over local contexts in patterns of claims making (Koopmans, 2004). When it comes to transnationalism, the claims making literature views this as more significant to the claims of immigrant groups. However, transnational claims are largely framed in terms of the 'homeland politics' of pre-defined identity groups, to explore the ways that claims directed to (or from) the 'homeland' also involve the 'the country of resettlement' (Koopmans et al., 2005: 126–7). A focus on existing institutional and discursive structures and practices – including the statist category of 'the immigrant' – in this regard closes down opportunities to examine claims that cut across multiple sites and scales. As such, scholars of political claims making risk reaffirming a form of methodological nationalism in which identification with nation-states is reflected and reinforced through social science research (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003).

This book seeks to move away from methodological nationalism by examining claims that cut across state borders and national constituencies. Such a focus is indicative of an appreciation of the multiplicity of actors or actants involved in contemporary practices of governing migration (Chapter 1), as well as of the barriers that people in precarious situations often experience in advancing claims explicitly and directly to institutions and agencies operating under national jurisdictions. While scholars have shown how people with irregular status may sometimes have a degree of 'autonomy' that facilitates claims making (Rosenhek, 1999), they have also shown how assumptions of state sovereignty close opportunities for the legitimation of governing practices by people in precarious conditions (see Abizadeh, 2008). Indeed, this is indicative of the need to pay close attention to the ways in which sedimented power dynamics shape the relations between 'claimants' and 'respondents' (Bloemraad, 2018). However, to focus on the opportunities and constraints for

successful claims within a national discursive and institutional framework ultimately risks reinscribing uneven power relations within the process of analysis.

By moving in a different direction to that of the scholarship outlined above, this book follows the refusals and disruptions of existing power dynamics as they emerge through struggles over precarious migration across multiple sites and scales. As such, it does not propose a new ‘level’ of politics and belonging above or below the nation-state. Rather, the book explores the politics of precarious migration in terms of emergent or incipient forms of political subjectivity that go beyond a narrow view that pitches the nation-state against a supranational alternative. The analysis seeks to engage a relational focus on accountability or answerability for the violence of contemporary governing practices, but not simply by accounting for the institutional and discursive conditions under which different political claims gain greater or lesser recognition. It goes further to consider how the claims of people with lived experience of precarious migration potentially generate an alternative politics that exceeds a national or state-based framework.¹

While scholars of citizenship and the contentious politics of immigration and cultural diversity tend to overlook the claims of people whose status, location and positionality do not fit into established institutional and identity-based frameworks, critical scholars of the ‘contentious politics’ of refugee and migrant protest movements focus precisely on struggles that are enacted ‘outside of the confines of particular nation-states’ (Ataç Rygiel and Stierl, 2016: 529; see also Nyers and Rygiel 2012). Such works have emphasised how ‘migrant activism’ involves ‘acts of citizenship’ or ‘something “after citizenship”’ (Ataç Rygiel and Stierl, 2016: 529–30; cf. Turner, 2016), which emerge from struggles that are ‘formed in and through *relationships of solidarity*’ (Ataç Rygiel and Stierl, 2016: 531, original emphasis). In other words, the contentious politics of refugee and migrant protest movements requires consideration of the political significance of claims, yet without reducing these to questions around whether such claims can succeed in changing policy or political discourse within the domestic sphere.

Developing an analysis that moves beyond a focus on established institutions and discourses (or beyond the *statist quo*) is important in exploring what escapes from our existing political categories – or of what emerges in the space between the ‘no-longer’ and ‘not-yet’ of political subjectivity (Isin and Nyers, 2014: 9). Indeed, this emphasis is all the more critical in relation to the politics of precarious migration, where the likely success of claims is precluded by more fundamental problems of testimonial and hermeneutic injustice – that is, a situation in which those defined as ‘irregular migrants’ lack broader credence as legitimate claimants and in which lived experiences of precarious migration do not make sense within wider frameworks of knowledge (cf. Fricker, 2010;

see Chapter 4). This book argues that it is by developing an analysis of different types *and* forms of claims that we can engage with those demands that are often expressed in implicit and indirect terms. The importance of such work is not to assess whether such claims ‘succeed’ or ‘fail’ in enacting change within the domestic political sphere, but rather to consider how they contribute to an emergent politics of precarious migration that is significant in worldly – if not strictly global – terms.

Implicit and Indirect Forms of Claims Making

Before returning to further analyse the ‘outlying’ demands from Figure 1.2 (Chapter 1), let’s first return to the definition of claims introduced above in order to further consider the importance of implicit and indirect forms of claims making. Koopmans and his co-authors provide a longer definition of a claim than the one provisionally outlined in the opening of this chapter. They define ‘an instance of claims making (shorthand: a claim) as a unit of strategic action in the public sphere that consists of the *purposive and public articulation of political demands, calls to action, proposals, criticisms, or physical attacks, which actually or potentially affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or other collective actors*’ (2005: 24, original emphasis). It is worth noting that this definition of a claim appears to assume an actor who is calculating and deliberate, a public sphere that is clearly delineated, as well as sovereign subjects with pre-existing interests and clearly defined boundaries between self and other.

This book does not follow the model of politics and subjectivity on which Koopman and his co-authors’ definition is based. Claims making is instead viewed here as a process through which political subjectivities (including multiple publics or ‘respondents’) are (re)constituted and (re)created in terms that are not always purposive or strategic, with self/other boundaries and the interests that these engender being under continuous formation. An alternative conception of claims is thus developed here from the initial definition of these as appeals or demands that ‘potentially affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or other collective actors’ (Koopmans et al., 2005: 24). Going further, claims are re-defined in this book as *performative enactments of political subjectivity that consist of the explicit and implicit expression of demands, which directly and/or indirectly advance appeals for accountability or answerability in terms that (re) create relations of integrity and interest between various ‘claimants’ and ‘respondents’*.

The term ‘demands’, like ‘appeals’, is used interchangeably with ‘claims’ in this book.² This means that the book considers ‘calls to action, proposals, criticisms or physical attacks’ (Koopmans et al., 2005: 24) as different *forms* of claims, which are expressed in a diversity of ways. It is interesting in this

regard that Koopmans et al. (2005) include within their definition of claims the example of a physical attack. They present this with specific reference to the actions of the far right, which are addressed by the authors through an analysis of national media reports. However, the authors suggest that physical attacks only become meaningful as claims if they are reported to a wider audience (Koopmans et al., 2005: 24). This focus on the public articulation of a claim is of course understandable in the terms of the approach developed by the authors. Yet, from the perspective developed in this book, such a focus is overly limiting. Let's consider border crossings as an alternative example more in line with the focus here. Physically enacted claims such as the act of crossing borders or fleeing conscription can be understood as appeals or demands that (re)constitute relations between 'claimants' and 'respondents', even where this is not publicly or verbally articulated (e.g. Stierl, 2019). To penetrate such demands further we thus need a different methodological approach.

It is here that I turn to an alternative conceptualisation of claims making, which draws on Michael Saward's (2010) discussion of the 'representative claim'. While the analysis in this book is not concerned with representation *per se*, it does seek to understand how claims of various types and forms constitute a broader movement that is generative of the politics of precarious migration (see Conclusion). The approach Saward develops is helpful here because it not only facilitates attention to variations in the content or types of demands advanced, but also in their various forms or modes of expression. Reflecting on the ways in which some claims are more verbal, conscious and focused than others, he suggests that claims should be analysed along the continuums of explicit-implicit and direct-indirect forms of expression. For example, demands for the right to enter Europe without authorisation may not be articulated 'publicly' or explicitly in verbal terms, as indicated above. Such claims may even be unconsciously enacted or presented in generalised terms by people with lived experiences of precarious migration. However, this does not mean that such claims should be disregarded. An analysis of different *forms* of claims is thus critical in moving beyond a methodology that only focuses on the verbal, conscious and focused demands. The next section will consider the importance of this further by revisiting the ways in which appreciation of the explicit-implicit and direct-indirect continuums further facilitate understanding of the 'outlying' claims introduced at the end of Chapter 1 (see Figure 1.2).

Diverse Forms of Claims

'They are people, and we are people. They have the right to live in their country, to live in safety, to study, their children have the right to study. We

don't have the right to live this way' (CTM, IST2.16). This statement is from a Syrian woman who the CTM team interviewed in 2016 and whose emphasis on 'international silence' was introduced as an 'outlying' claim in Chapter 1. A mother of eight, with one adult daughter who had travelled to Germany through family reunification policies, the woman was living in Istanbul with her husband and her remaining children. The family had fled conflict and destitution multiple times within Syria, before eventually crossing the open border to Turkey without a passport. As a mother she emphasised that only one of her seven children in Istanbul was in education, while the others were working in 'really strenuous' work for 'cheap wages' (CTM, IST2.16). This led her to describe a situation in which she said she had lost 'hope for the future', since 'our life is gone' due to 'European policies and Arab policies' (CTM, IST2.16).

Having described the eightfold increase in the cost of crossing into Europe since the borders had closed, the woman went on to say that: 'we are paying the price for these policies' (CTM, IST2.16). Gesturing towards the situation of a family member, she continued to say: 'This refugee used to work, used to study, used to make a living, used to live. What is the reason behind his being a refugee? Who made him seek refuge? Flee? The responsibility is with the person who caused this' (CTM, IST2.16). In response to this statement the interviewer asked who was responsible for their situation, and the woman replied:

It's the politics of powerful countries. Greed and politics are making us ignorant. They are capable of stopping the bloodshed . . . We are dying in the sea. We are dying under the bombs. We are dying at the border, they are killing us at the border. The powerful countries are watching us. They are silent. International silence.

(CTM, IST2.16)

It is in this context that she went on to say: 'I propose they think a little bit about our future. They are people, and we are people' (CTM, IST2.16).

This powerful testimony invokes a range of claims that are explicitly expressed in terms of rights, including the right to education and to basic security and freedoms. While citizenship is not overtly referenced, it is nevertheless implicated in the demand for the right to be able to live in 'their country' and in the sense of national belonging that this implies (CTM, IST2.16). However, such demands are not directed towards the Syrian state, but rather towards the 'powerful countries' that have closed their borders and perpetuated conflict in Syria (CTM, IST2.16). In this sense, deaths at sea, conflict-related deaths and deaths at border crossings are all directly attributed to 'European policies and

Arab policies', while 'powerful countries' are also identified as culpable for the inability of Syrians to return home and for the differentiation of rights between Syrians and those in positions of privilege (CTM, IST2.16).

Although the claims above are largely explicit and directed towards specified respondents (e.g. 'powerful European and Arab countries'), others are more implicit and indirect. For example, the claim that 'greed and politics are making us ignorant' implies that the lack of education for young Syrians is attributable to those who benefit from warfare and the closure of borders (CTM, IST2.16). Penetrating the content of implicit and indirect claims in this regard further advances our understanding the politics of precarious migration from a migrant-orientated perspective. Notable, for example, is that this testimony relates in ambivalent ways to different dimensions and sites of citizenship practice. While appealing to forms of rights and belonging associated with state-based citizenship (e.g. education), it also appeals to forms of accountability that evoke a wider sense of international community (e.g. the reference to the policies of different states). This international community is not invoked in positive terms, however, but is rather identified in terms of mobility injustices and differentiated rights.

Far from expressing global citizenship as a political horizon to aim towards, the testimony examined in this section suggests that the contemporary 'international' is challenged explicitly and implicitly, as well as directly and indirectly. This occurs through a refusal of contemporary governing practices and of the various forms of violence that these involve. Such violences are implied to be epistemic (e.g. in the reference to the production of ignorance), as well as material (e.g. in the reference to deaths at the border). The analysis of diverse *forms* of claims, in this regard, opens up appreciation of diverse *types* of claims. Indeed, this book suggests that it is precisely those claims that cannot easily be expressed in explicit or direct terms that have the potential to shed important light on the politics of precarious migration. As we will see in the next section, an attunement to the implicit and the indirect enables us to make further sense of the claims to anti-militarism and anti-coloniality that were introduced at the end of Chapter 1.

Diverse Types of Claims

'If you – there is a war raging on in your country and you get the chance to reach a safe country, won't you take that chance?' (CTM, BER2.22). The twenty-one-year-old Muslim man from Syria who made this statement was also quoted in Chapter 1 as refusing militarism based on religious conscience: 'I didn't want to carry the blood in my name' (CTM, BER2.22). A religious

appeal is clearly evident in his description of the experience of migrating by boat: 'I wasn't hoping for anybody to come to our rescue, except the mercy of God. We were heading for the unknown. That's for me at least' (CTM, BER2.22). The young man had lived in Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey since fleeing Syria in 2013, and had travelled onwards to Germany after arriving in Greece in October 2015. Although he wanted to return to Syria, he explained how, if he were to do so, at the 'first checkpoint in the border I would be taken away to serve the army and carry the weapons to kill innocent people' (CTM, BER2.22). The decision to migrate to Europe was described by this man as being 'to escape war, not to serve in the army, not to spend the rest of my life in such a situation' (CTM, BER2.22). Implicit in 'taking the chance' of migration is therefore a refusal of conscription.

The act of migration as it is described by this Syrian man might be interpreted as an appeal to life. Frustrated by the delays in assessing his asylum claim, at changes in asylum procedures and at the ways in which officials 'lie' about the process, he went on to describe how 'the name or the term refugee' is a 'curse': 'I didn't say . . . I want to come to Europe to be rich or build anything, I want to run a decent life, that's all' (CTM, BER2.22). The demands invoked here are thus explicitly minimalist, with the claim to a right of asylum indirectly advanced through the expression of frustrations surrounding the delayed process. At the same time, an explicit refusal of conscription is advanced in terms that indirectly identify military groups and border officials as culpable for the experiences of precarity that the man has endured. A combination of explicit and implicit, direct and indirect claims thus remain critical here in the ways this man intervenes in the politics of precarious migration. While invoking an anti-militarist way of living in the world, this testimony can be thus interpreted as coming together with others in rejecting the contemporary 'international' through both direct and indirect refusals of violent governing practices.

'I never saw a real action taken by the EU that can make real change in Africa. So, if these all are problems from Africa, if the Europeans want to solve it, I know they can solve it' (CTM, MAL1.22). The man from Côte d'Ivoire who made this statement was interviewed in Malta after leaving his home country in 2003. He is quoted in Chapter 1 as describing how '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). Leaving his home country due to civil war, as well as due to the death of his father and his own unemployment, the testimony documents the long and gruelling journey he had taken to Libya; the imprisonment and torture of Black Africans in Libya; his journey across the Mediterranean Sea by boat (where they were lost for five days before being picked up by the army); and his subsequent detention in Malta. Despite having arrived ten years

prior to our interviewing him, having been granted humanitarian protection status, having worked for around four years, and having been involved in Maltese migrant rights activism, this man still had to report to the police every three months.

The man from Côte d'Ivoire described himself as coming 'from a poor family' and as not having opportunities to migrate through regular channels, explaining how his expectations of a 'much better' life in Europe 'was not really what I found' (CTM, MAL1.22). When the interviewer asked what he would want to say to policy makers, he said that he would ask them to 'sensitise the population' because 'some communities are one hundred per cent opposed against the migrant integration' (CTM, MAL1.22). In addition, the man highlighted the need for 'real change in Africa' and suggested that 'in politics they always talk about the problems [arising within Africa]' but 'I never saw a real action taken by the EU . . . by politics what they said is not really what they do' (CTM, MAL1.22). He went on to appeal to the government of his home country to refuse intrusive or false 'help' from European states:

what they said that they are doing or the project is for, and what you will find them doing is really totally different. You know? Let's say there is an NGO [non-governmental organisation] who come to help children, and you found people from that NGO, or from that project doing something wrong or illegal in your country which is bad for your country. So do not then accept that these people come to your country and help you.

(CTM, MAL1.22)

This testimony resonates with others from the CTM project based on a shared rejection of the international *statist quo*.

Unpacking the different types and forms of claims advanced within the testimony above indicates that implicit and indirect appeals play an important role alongside explicit and direct demands. For example, the act of migrating to Europe can be interpreted as an implicit refusal of the conflict and destitution in Côte d'Ivoire and of Europe's implication in such dynamics. It can also be understood as an implicit refusal of torture and servitude in Libya, with which Europe is again implicated. The testimony also highlights the problems of detention and containment in Malta, unpacking in some detail the different information the man was given at various times in the asylum process and emphasising the barriers he faced in his original desire to move to Italy. The language of rights is not directly evident in the claims advanced by this man, but the appeal to integration is suggestive of a form of citizenship associated with national belonging. However, a sense of membership and participation that cuts across multiple sites and scales is also implicit within the testimony.

Without migration, he emphasised ‘not only Europe but in the whole world, we will just go backwards not forward’ (CTM, MAL1.22). This sense of worldliness or of worldly politics comes through in many of the testimonies generated through the CTM project.

Worldly Politics

The analysis in the previous sections point to the importance of developing a methodological approach that is orientated towards the implicit and indirect expression of claims generated through lived experiences of precarious migration – as well as to more explicit and direct claims. This chapter has shown how implicit and explicit claims are often intertwined, as are claims that are expressed in indirect and direct terms. This therefore necessitates a nuanced methodological approach, which can analyse demands along the continuums of explicit–implicit and direct–indirect forms of expression. Indeed, this also demands that the analytical framework by which to interpret such claims maintains nuance in the interpretation of diverse *types* of claims. The last section pointed to the ways in which claims in situations of precarity can appeal both to state-based citizenship and to forms of rights, belonging and accountability that cut across multiple sites and scales. That the content of claims can be both diverse and ambivalent in this regard adds an additional layer of complexity to the analysis of the politics of precarious migration that is developed in this book.

In terms of global citizenship, it is important again to emphasise that the concept is not explicitly referenced by any of the people we interviewed. Nor is it implicitly referenced in any direct sense. That said, elements of what we might understand as citizenship – appeals to status, rights, membership and participation – are clearly evident in a range of explicit and implicit ways. Sometimes these are expressed in terms that fit within a state-based framework, such as through appeals to education (CTM, IST2.16) and integration (CTM, MAL1.22). At other times, a state-based framework of citizenship is rejected, such as through the appeal to non-conscription (CTM, BER2.22; CTM, IST2.16) or to the problems of asylum, detention and border closures (CTM, BER2.22; CTM, MAL1.22). In all cases, an appeal to worldly politics is evident. These are often expressed in negative terms, such as through the critique of the impact of border controls and of international complicity (CTM, IST2.16), of militarism (CTM, BER2.22) and of ongoing relations of colonality (CTM, MAL1.22). Yet these worldly appeals also involve more positive dimensions that cut across and through territorial state borders and national forms of belonging: ‘I want to run a decent life’ (CTM, BER2.22), ‘make real change in Africa’ (CTM, MAL1.22). Implicit here are concerns about living in a world that moves ‘forward’, not ‘backwards’ (CTM, MAL1.22).

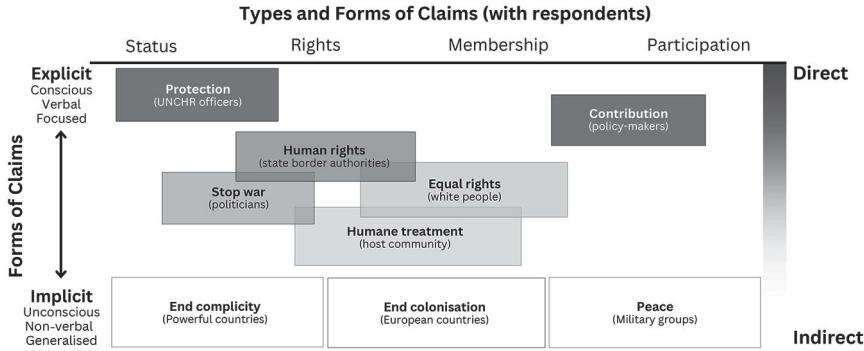


Figure 2.1 Types and forms of claims (with respondents) – including multiple claims.

Building on the visualisations of the claims of people with lived experiences of precarious migration developed in Chapter 1, Figure 2.1 further illustrates the significance of examining different *forms* as well as diverse types of claims. It is important to note that the content of claims in Figure 2.1 has not been changed here, despite the discussion above indicating that the analysis of these is open to interpretation and implicates a much broader range and depth of claims than those represented here (see also Conclusion). Instead, what is brought into focus here is the placement of claims on the vertical axis along with the tonal coding, which refers to the *expression* of claims. The visualisation now includes scope for interpreting claims along a single vertical continuum of explicit–implicit claims, which includes the related continuums of focused–generalised, verbal–non-verbal and conscious–unconscious claims. As indicated in the Introduction to this book and in the discussion above, the continuum of explicit–implicit claims refers to the degree of precision or overtness in the expression of the content of claims, while the continuum of direct–indirect claims refers to the degree of precision or overtness in the identification of respondents to which claims are directed. The latter are visualised using tonal coding, with the darker tones representing more direct claims and the lighter tones representing those that lie closer towards the indirect end of the continuum.

Figure 2.1 represents demands along the continuums of explicit–implicit and direct–indirect claims, dependent on their content as well as on the directness of their identification of respondents (which are again included in brackets). It is worth emphasising that the placement and tone of each claim here is imprecise and open to question, hence this visual interpretation is better approached as suggestive rather than conclusive. While those claims that sit towards the explicit and direct ends of the two continuums might be understood in terms

of more open requests or forms of demand, those at the implicit or indirect end of the two continuums can be understood as involving the expression of claims in ways that may be less obvious. Consideration of the latter is crucial, as the focus of recent scholarship within the field of critical border and migration studies on everyday, mundane and quotidian forms of resistance indicates (e.g. El-Bialy and Mulay 2020; Kallio, Meier and Häkli, 2021; Palma-Gutiérrez, 2024). These works precisely expand the scope of analysis, to include those demands that are not explicitly and directly expressed within the public domain as verbally articulated processes of claims making. It is with a view to expanding appreciation of such claims that this book engages the methodological framework developed in this chapter.

It is worth noting that the claims which were previously separated from the analytical framework of global citizenship in their refusal of international silence, colonisation and militarism are represented in Figure 2.1 in similar terms as they were in Figure 1.2 (see Chapter 1). However, in this chapter they are now integrated as peripheral to, rather than set apart from, global citizenship (i.e. the claims are now part of the visualisation and there is no separating line between them and the other claims, as there was in the last chapter). This reflects the ambivalence of the demands in relation to global citizenship, which emerges from the more detailed analysis advanced in this chapter. As Anne McNevin (2012) indicates, the claims advanced by ‘irregular migrants’ are often ambivalent in terms of their potential to transform existing hierarchies of power. Similarly, we might say that claims which refuse mobility injustices and the differentiated experience of rights, belonging and accountability lie in an ambivalent relationship to the concept of global citizenship. Going further, this book suggests that the claims above can be interpreted as both making and unmaking ‘the global’ and ‘citizenship’, simultaneously pointing towards far-reaching transformations of the contemporary international in terms that extend beyond the limits of global citizenship.

We will return to the analysis of these outlying claims in the Conclusion of this book. However, regardless of the relationship of the claims to global citizenship examined here, the analysis in this chapter again reaffirms the value of engaging global citizenship *in the making* as an analytical framework for the analysis of demands that are diverse in their content and expression. While the testimonies analysed above appeal to status, rights, membership and participation in ways that pull between state-orientated and worldly forms of claims making, a critical analysis of such claims is nevertheless facilitated through engaging global citizenship *in the making* as an expansive framework of analysis. Even if global citizenship is limited as a framework for theorising the politics of precarious migration, global citizenship *in the making* thus holds value for the

advancement of a non-speculative analysis of such a politics. What we have learnt about the politics of precarious migration in this chapter is that such a politics is diverse and ambivalent, incorporating claims associated with anti-colonialism alongside appeals to integration, asylum and rights such as education. The extent to which this analytical complementarity of global citizenship and a critique of coloniality holds true in other contexts remains to be seen.

Before concluding this chapter, it is perhaps worth reiterating the importance of a dialogical methodological approach to the analysis of claims in situations of precarity. This is particularly important in order to further penetrate the ambivalences of claims – as well as the potential and the limits of global citizenship as an interpretive frame for the politics of migration. Dialogical interviews that promote two-way reflexivity between the researcher and researched are particularly generative (Way et al., 2015). Such a methodology can provide opportunities for co-producing the analysis of claims together *with* people who have lived experiences of precarious migration. This approach is not only valuable in terms of the practical ethics of challenging inequalities within the research process. So also is it important in grounding the analysis empirically and avoiding speculative theorisations that can perpetuate the relations of epistemological violence within which we can all become implicated. While undertaking empirical research of this type is costly and challenging, a dialogical ethos can potentially be cultivated throughout the research process – even within projects that have limited funding. Some of the ways in which this might be developed will be touched upon in later chapters within this book, based on the methodological approach to claims making introduced here.

Conclusion

This chapter has revisited a series of claims that were introduced in the previous chapter as exceeding the framework of global citizenship. It has further explored their content and expression through a more detailed analysis of the testimonies surrounding the experiences of precarious migration within which they are located. In so doing, the chapter has advanced two main arguments. First, the analysis has highlighted the importance of implicit and indirect forms of claims to analyses of the demands advanced by people in situations of precarity. On this basis, the chapter has distinguished its approach from conventional analyses of political claims making and has proposed an alternative framework through which to analyse a diverse range of claims that are expressed in multiple ways. Second, the analysis has shown how testimonies from the CTM research speak in ambivalent terms to global citizenship, appealing to status, rights, membership and participation in ways that pull between state-orientated

and worldly types and forms of claims making. On this basis, the chapter has argued that global citizenship *in the making* has critical purchase as an expansive framework for the analysis of claims, even if global citizenship is limited as a framework for theorising the politics of precarious migration.

The chapter has also stressed the importance of engaging a dialogical approach to the shared interpretation of implicit and indirect claims *with* people who have lived experiences of precarity. The need for this is evident in the hesitancy of some people in situations of precarity to speak out openly in refusal of the violence of governing practices: 'I don't know if it's allowed for me to enter into [i.e. discuss] this topic or not, but I just know that we are paying the price of these policies' (CTM, IST2.16); 'I didn't say . . . I want to come to Europe to be rich or build anything' (CTM, BER2.22, CTM). Working closely with 'research participants' to reflect on the political significance of claims expressed in implicit and indirect terms is critical here. Yet to engage in dialogical work in the context of precarious migration is far from easy and can demand significant time and resources. It is thus important to maintain a flexible approach to the analysis of claims in situations of precarity, at the same time as continuously cultivating a dialogical ethos of the type introduced in this chapter. Part II will begin to reflect on the difficulties of this challenge with reference to research conducted across the US–Mexico border region and in camp-like settings in sub-Saharan Africa.