## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What Were We Meant to Do? Let Them Drown?”:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Perspective for Common Life in the Age of Migration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Why Study Illegal Migration from an Explicitly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative Perspective and Why</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal Migration from sub-Saharan to Europe?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Approaches and Methods</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Limitations</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Prospective Contribution</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Overview</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART I

**Chapter One**

“Real People in Real Places”: Experiences from Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seeking Migration  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Challenges in sub-Saharan Africa: War and Poverty</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Challenges in the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Challenges in North Africa</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Conclusion</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# PART II

## Chapter Two

**Conceptualizing ‘Protection-Seeker’ and Its Criminalization as a Source of Insecurity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Why a New Concept?</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>The Three Stages of Global Protection Regime</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>The Establishment of an International Protection Regime</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>The Euro-centric Institutionalization of the Protection Regime</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td><em>The Globalization of the Protection Regime</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td><em>The Concept of ‘Protection-Seeker’</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Illegal Protection-Seekers as a Source of Insecurity</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>Criminalization of Protection-Seeking</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>Illegal Immigration as a Source of Insecurity</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter Three

**Rethinking the Security Dilemma: A New Way of Studying the Relationship between Security and Identity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Two Types of Uncertainty in World Politics</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Three Logics of the Security Dilemma</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>Fatalist Logic: ‘Assume the Worst’</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>Mitigator Logic: A Possibility of Security with Building Order?</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td><em>Transcender Logic: Security through Trust-Building</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>The Security Dilemma: A New Way of Studying the Security-Identity Relationship</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Four
Cosmopolitan Consciousness for Trust-Building to Transcend Security Dilemmas

I. Trust-Building through the Communitarian Way of Thinking? 96
II. Trust-Building through the Post-Modernist Way of Thinking? 98
III. Trust-Building through the Cosmopolitan Way of Thinking? 103
   a. Emancipatory Security Theory and Cosmopolitan Consciousness
   b. Cosmopolitan Consciousness for Trust-Building to Transcend Security Dilemmas
IV. Conclusion 115

Chapter Five
Conceptualizing Europe’s Immigration Security Dilemma in relation to Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seekers

I. Uncertainty in Europe’s Immigration Security Dilemma 118
II. Fatalism-Driven Choice: Keep Out Protection-Seekers 120
III. Transcender-Driven Choice: Cosmopolitan Trust as Kantian Hospitality 123
   a. Cosmopolitan Trust
   b. Kantian Hospitality and The Properties of Trust
   c. How to Operationalize Cosmopolitan Trust
IV. Mitigator Logic in Practice: the Euro-Mediterranean Security Regime and the EMP Order 138
V. Conclusion 139

PART III

Chapter Six
Ameliorating Insecurity in the Mediterranean through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Order

I. Challenges facing the EU in the Mediterranean Region 144
   a. ‘Hard’ Security Challenges: Military Confrontations and WMDs

III
b. Economic Instability in North Africa  
c. Religious Fundamentalism and Terrorism  
d. Migration from Africa to Europe

II. Ameliorating Insecurity through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Order  
a. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Three Baskets for a Stable Mediterranean  
b. The EMP Order and the Protection of the Status Quo: Three Cases  
c. The Euro-Mediterranean Security Regime for the EMP Order

III. The EMP and Europe’s Immigration Security Dilemma in relation to Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seekers

IV. Conclusion

Chapter Seven

Fatalist Logic in Practice: Keep Out Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seekers

I. The Fatalist Interpretation of Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seekers: From Tampere to the Hague

II. Fatalism-driven Responses to Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seekers: The Externalization of Illegal Immigration Control  
a. Externalization of Asylum Procedures  
b. The Establishment of Camps in North Africa and the Libyan Case  
c. The Militarization of the Mediterranean Sea: the Case of Frontex

III. Conclusion

Chapter Eight

Transcender Logic in Practice: Offering Kantian Hospitality to Illegal sub-Saharan Protection-Seekers

I. The Global Level: the UNHCR

II. The Inter-Governmental Level in the EMP Order

III. The EU Level of Hospitality  
a. The Revival of the Tampere Spirit  
b. A European Regularization Mechanism
IV. The Societal Level: Three Principles of Embedding

Cosmopolitan Trust

a. City of Sanctuary: Spreading the Culture of Hospitality
b. Time Together Program: Hospitality as ‘Just Being There’
c. Mentoring and Befriending Foundation: Hospitality as a Long-Term Process
d. City of Sanctuary, Time Together, Mentoring and Befriending: Kantian Hospitality as Trust in Europe’s Immigration Security Dilemma

V. Conclusion

Conclusion

“What Exists is Possible”: A Hopeful Thinking for A Common Life in the Age of Migration

I. Towards a New Thinking about the Problem of Illegal Protection-Seeking: Cosmopolitan Consciousness

II. Cosmopolitan Consciousness in Security Thinking and Practice: Emancipatory Security Theory

III. Studying Security through Logics: The Security Dilemma

IV. Towards More Emancipatory Security

Bibliography

V
List of Abbreviations

AFSJ – Area of Freedom Security and Justice
AI – Amnesty International
APHDA – La Asociacion Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucia
CBMs – Confidence Building Measures
CEN-SAD – Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CIMADE – La Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprès Des Evacués
CSCE – Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo
EC – European Community
ECHR – European Court of Human Rights
EMHRN – Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network
EMP – Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP – European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI – European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument
EPAU – Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit of UNHCR
EU – European Union
FDI – Foreign Direct Investment
FRONTEX – European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union
HRW – Human Rights Watch
IASFM – International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
ICMPD – International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IDPs – Internally Displaced Peoples
ILO – International Labour Organization
JHA – Justice and Home Affairs
MBF – Mentoring and Befriending Foundation
MEDA – Mediterranean Economic and Development Area
MsF – Medecins sans Frontiers
NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC – Organization of Oil Producer Companies
OSCE – Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe
PBM – Partnership Building Measures
PICUM – Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Immigrants
RGAs – Regional Protection Areas
SIVE – Spanish Internal Service of External Vigilance
TPS – Temporary Protected Status
TREVI – Terrorisme, Radicalisme, Extrémisme et Violence Internationale
UK – the United Kingdom
UN – United Nations
UNHCR – United Nations High Commission of Refugees
UNODC – United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WMDs – Weapons of Mass Destruction