Introduction

“What Were We Meant To Do? Let Them Drown?”¹: A Perspective For Common Life in the Age Of Migration

This research project is an attempt to answer a politically and intellectually challenging question: how should a political community respond to immigrants who seek protection in that community, when their migration is perceived as a source of insecurity by many in the ‘host’ community? The answer, developed throughout the thesis, provides a new perspective to the study of the relationship between security and identity with reference to illegal protection-seeking migration. The central aim of the thesis is to explore ideas and practices which can contribute to replacing the exclusionary political structures of insecurity with emancipatory structures, where individuals (both illegal protection-seekers and members of the receiving communities) enjoy security together sharing a common identity. The security dilemma framework enables the pursuit of this objective.

Through this framework, the thesis will problematize security understandings and policies which re-produce insecurity for receiving societies and illegal protection-seekers and re-construct the dichotomist identity between the two groups. Alternative ideas and practices which are embedded, albeit marginalized, in the political structures will be discussed and prioritized in order to explore how new emancipatory political structures can be constructed. It will be argued that through transcending the security dilemma caused by illegal immigration, a common we-feeling between citizens and illegal protection-seekers can be created, and thereby emancipatory political structures in which both groups enjoy human rights and freedoms can be constructed. The conceptual framework will be illustrated with special reference to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seeking migration into the European Union (EU).² The central research question of the thesis is: *how can*

¹ The words of the captain of Francisco y Cataline who saved illegal sub-Saharan immigrants from drowning in the Mediterranean and was sued because of this action, Yasha Maccanico, *EU/Africa: Carnage Continues as EU Border Moves South*, (September, 2006), <www.statewatch.org> [accessed 22 January 2009].

² In this project, the institutional manifestations of the EU are the European Commission, the European Council and the Council of Ministers. Although the European Parliament is included in the decision-making procedure about migration with the Amsterdam Treaty, the body is significant
Europe’s immigration security dilemma in relation to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers be transcended through trust-building?

I. Why Study Illegal Migration from an Explicitly Normative Perspective and Why Illegal Migration from Sub-Saharan to Europe?

When individuals make choices, they do not only consider what exists in the world, but they also take into account what ought to exist. According to Philip Allott, “the dyad of the actual and the ideal has allowed us to make human reality into a moral order in which the actual can pass judgement upon itself by reference to its better potentiality, which is the ideal”. This thesis, which analyzes the available choices of a political community in relation to illegal protection-seekers, will pass judgement on the actual by reference to the ideal in order to explore the potential of the existing political structures to uphold human rights and freedoms as security for individuals. This perspective takes two groups of individuals as the referent of security analysis: immigrants who seek protection beyond their national communities, although criminalized, and members of the receiving communities.

A study of immigrants who seek protection outside their countries of origin and of conditions under which they are entitled to protection “requires a political choice and ethical judgement”. This is because, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, the content of protection is closely related to human rights and their universal applicability. Some immigrants are criminalized (become illegal) in their search for protection. The criminalization of these immigrants, however, does not mean that they do not need protection or that their human rights can be violated because

---


they are illegal. Human beings have the universal right to seek protection beyond their national communities even if they enter the country of asylum illegally. However, as will be illustrated in Chapter Seven, this right can often be undermined by the illegal immigration control policies of the receiving communities. This highlights that the international regime based on the 1951 Convention has not efficiently addressed the contemporary realities of protection-seeking migration, which calls for new ideas and concepts to enhance the conditions of protection for individuals.

The challenging question confronting this thesis is: should the security of the members of the receiving communities always be prioritized over the right to seek protection? Migration itself is a highly politicized issue, especially in the EU, where it is often discussed in conjunction with its security implications. The criminalization of migration adds another dimension to these discussions. The idea that an unknown numbers of immigrants violate the borders and continue their lives without registration, challenging the rule of law, creates a sense of insecurity for the members of the receiving communities. Insecurity also has an economic aspect, although one of the most important reasons for illegal immigration has been a demand for unregistered cheap labour in some receiving states. Illegal immigration feeds the underground economy such as in Italy and Spain. For example, in March 2010, Time magazine published the images of a deserted factory in Rosarno, Italy, where illegal sub-Saharan immigrants live and which serves as a labour market for Italian farmers.

Decision-makers are, therefore, expected to address the insecurity caused by illegal immigration. This thesis does not question the right of the EU to deal with illegal immigration as a source of insecurity. However, it problematizes how the issue is generally dealt with in relation to the illegal sub-Saharan migration phenomenon which involves many protection-seekers. Some policies of the EU preventing illegal sub-Saharan immigration have hindered protection-seeking

---

8 This thesis is not about the security implications of migration in general. Rather it specifically focuses on the criminalization of migration as a source of insecurity. This is because protection-seeking migration has considerably suffered from illegal immigration control policies of states.
migration. How the illegal protection-seeking can be addressed is the central puzzle of this thesis. The perspective, which will be developed through the analysis, has a potential to solve this puzzle.

Behind the central question, the main objective of the thesis is to develop an explicitly normative response and to operationalize it through an illustration. The latter is illegal sub-Saharan protection-seeking migration to Europe via North Africa, which is increasingly populated by ‘irregular’ immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Around 200,000 of them head for Europe annually. Although asylum applicants from sub-Saharan Africa do not constitute the majority, they represent an important proportion in the EU-27. Especially in the UK, asylum-seekers from sub-Saharan Africa are the most populous group who are granted refugee status, subsidiary protection, and protection for humanitarian reasons. This implies that there is a certain level of migration for protection reasons from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe. However, not all immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa who are in search of protection meet the Refugee Convention criteria to be entitled to the status of ‘refugee’. By studying sub-Saharan migration in Europe, this research aims to look at immigrants who remain outside the scope of the 1951 Convention, but need protection nevertheless.

As the legal channels of seeking protection in the EU have significantly decreased and become more expensive, more sub-Saharan immigrants have found illegal immigration as the only way to achieve protection. The EU has adopted policies to stop this type of migration. By studying these policies, it is possible to analyze what types of ideas and policies the EU has tried to use in order to generate security for EU citizens, and how these policies create insecurity for illegal

---

10 ‘Irregular migration’ is the phrase that the UNHCR uses to define what the EU calls ‘illegal migration’, see the UNHCR Website, <http://www.unhcr.org/4a1e48f66.html> [accessed 17 November 2009]. Both illegal migration and irregular migration refer to the same phenomenon. So does ‘undocumented migration’. ‘Illegal migration’ will be used throughout the analysis because the objective of the study is to problematize ‘illegal migration’, rather than accepting it uncritically.


13 Ibid.

protection-seekers. The study of EU policies is useful to illustrate how the immigration policies of a political community can lead to the situation in which the human rights of immigrants are severely violated. Although the common political practices of the EU are frequently exclusionary and prioritize extensively the security of EU citizens over that of illegal sub-Saharan immigrants, there are also alternative ideas and practices embedded in the margins of the political and social structures. By examining the illegal sub-Saharan protection-seeking migration heading to Europe and possible responses to it, alternative approaches to protection and more broadly to security will be explored.

II. Approaches and Methods

The analysis in this thesis will study the issue of migration in relation to the security-identity nexus. In academic circles in Europe, this subject has increasingly been studied within the theoretical framework of ‘securitization’. The securitization approach is an attempt to enable analysts to understand how an issue is presented as a threat and how it is addressed based on the particular understanding of decision-makers about what security is and how it can be achieved. However, the securitization approach will be shown to be unhelpful with regard to the objectives of this thesis.

The securitization approach analyzes speeches and practices of policy-makers and practitioners by taking their security understanding for granted in studying migration. Although many scholars belonging to this ‘Copenhagen’ school of security criticize the securitization of migration, they largely fail to question the

rationalities of the decision-makers and practitioners which cause the presentation of migration as an ‘existential threat’. This leads to extensive focus on the existing policies of particular actors, mainly state-level decision-makers, without problematizing their particular understanding of security. In other words, the approach does not sufficiently explore neither the different choices available to decision-makers and citizens, nor alternative agents of security. As put by Ole Waever, securitization is often performed by policy-makers because “the language game of security” is necessarily restricted to the “elites”. However this results in an excessive analytical focus on decision-makers at the expense of alternative agents and their ideas and practices of security.

In this thesis, Ken Booth and Nick Wheeler’s security dilemma framework, which differs significantly from mainstream security dilemma theorizing, enables an analysis which focuses on ideational and practical choices available to decision-makers and citizens of a political community to pursue security. Booth and Wheeler conceptualized the security dilemma through a set of logics. Three logics (fatalism, mitigator, transcender) represent alternative sets of assumptions about what security is, how security can be pursued, and how insecurity can be managed. The security dilemma framework, unlike the securitization approach, enables an analysis of different ‘logics’ of security which produce practices underlined by these understandings. Again, as opposed to the securitization approach, the security dilemma framework widens the analytical scope to alternative ideas and practices of different agents in a political structure.

As the security dilemma provides the framework of analysis in this thesis, the logics will be analyzed through the theoretical perspective provided by emancipatory security theory which has three core principles: individuals should be the ultimate referents of security (a concept related to the idea of emancipation; the security of one group cannot be achieved at the expense of that of others; the perspective on security should be global.

Within this theoretical framework, in Part I, the main method is to bring the experiences of illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers into the analysis. Through this method, the insecurities of this group of immigrants will be integrated into the discussion by using their own reflections on the challenges of the protection-seeking process in Chapter One. The illustrations are derived from the information gathered by many pro-immigrant civil society actors. In Part II (Chapters Two-Five), a literature review of different academic research areas will be performed in order to conceptualize ideas for analyzing the immigration security dilemma in the thesis. The main areas are refugee and forced migration studies, security dilemma theorizing, the main normative approaches in IR, and literature about trust in politics. In Chapter Five, both Kant’s own writings and the works of contemporary Kantian scholars will be used.

In Part III (Chapters Six-Eight), in order to discuss the ideas from which policies are derived, an analysis of political documents of the EU will be conducted. The Commission and the Council are the two key bodies in the EU in the area of migration. The Commission’s communications and the Council’s Presidency Conclusions and Directives are the main instruments of analysis, especially in Chapters Six and Seven. The Commission’s reports will also be analyzed in order to understand the ideas of the Commission about different issues. In order to examine the practices of the EU, a policy analysis will be performed. The method in Part I will be re-introduced in Chapter Eight by analyzing the societal level of Kantian hospitality through the examples from the UK. As mentioned earlier, the UK has the highest number of sub-Saharan asylum applicants who were granted refugee status in 2008 in the EU-27. The movements and programmes in the UK are useful to illustrate how the transcender logic works at societal level.

It is crucial here to emphasize that this thesis is neither primarily about the EU nor about sub-Saharan migration. It does not aim to explore the complex decision-shaping and decision-making character of the EU when dealing with illegal immigration, nor does it answer the question of why sub-Saharan immigrants leave their countries. If these had been the aims, the methods would certainly include interviews with EU officials and fieldwork conducted in North Africa to gather empirical insight by interviewing sub-Saharan immigrants. The methods
discussed above serve the main objective of this project: to construct a new framework of thinking about how to deal with illegal protection-seeking migration.

III. Limitations

Although the analysis aspires to be comprehensive and consistent, this research also has limitations. The first relates to the subject group of this study: illegal protection-seekers. Migration is a complex phenomenon which integrates political, economic and social factors. The analysis is not about a unitary actor that has stable institutions and decision-making structures that can be studied like a state. Instead, immigration is a social phenomenon which is subject to constant change. Generalizations about immigration inevitably involve some level of black-boxing, a fact acknowledged by this study. In order to minimize the effect of this limitation, the generalizations will not be based solely on scholarship of refugee and forced migration studies. Individual protection-seekers’ experiences will also be introduced. In relation to the experiences of protection-seekers, the second limitation is the absence of interviews with protection-seekers by the author of this thesis. The main reason, as mentioned earlier, is that sub-Saharan migration is an illustration of a theoretical perspective, not a case *per se*.

Another limitation is the use of the EU as an illustration. The EU is an example of multi-level governance in which sub-state, state, and supra-state level actors interact in decision-shaping and policy-making processes.19 As a result, it becomes a challenge for analysts to describe a policy as ‘an EU policy’. This challenge is also important for this thesis. In order to make a coherent analysis, in this project, the term ‘EU’ refers to the Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Council which are the main decision-making bodies in the area of migration. This does not mean that Member State politics are marginal. For example, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven, Member States led the formation of all policies before the issue of migration was moved to the First Pillar with the

---

Amsterdam Treaty. The policies at the EU level were inter-governmental in character and many of them were not legally binding. With Amsterdam, the Council’s decisions have become legally binding and the Commission has achieved a greater role in the area of migration. As a result, it becomes possible to talk about EU ideas and practices. Recent changes were made in this area as a result of the Lisbon Treaty; however, the thesis covers the period until December 1, 2009 – the date when the Lisbon Treaty was put into effect.

The fourth limitation is about how to spread the societal level of hospitality activities to the wider receiving community. It is true that at the societal level, the cases are selective. The individuals selected are those who chose to transcend their fears in relation to protection-seekers. These experiences are selected from the UK, meaning that this fourth limitation has two dimensions. The first one is how to ensure wider societal participation, and, the second is how to make European-wide generalizations based on the cases from the UK. This project discusses alternative choices at societal level in order to reveal the principles of these choices. How to spread these activities to create structural change should be the subject of further research. It is assumed that the principles discussed in Chapter Eight can be generalized in different European societies. Each receiving society can develop its own movements and programs based on these principles. If these individual processes can be generalized in Europe, an emancipatory political structure can be constructed.

One can argue that when even legal migration is highly politicized, it may be considered too utopian or naive to talk about a possibility of trust towards a group of illegal immigrants in a cosmopolitan spirit. In 1939, in the days preceding the outbreak of World War II, E.H. Carr urged his readers “to explore the ruins of our international order and discover on what fresh foundations we may hope to rebuild it”. For Carr, reality without a utopia was as problematic as a utopia without an account of reality. Carr, unlike his followers mistakenly claim, was not against utopias, but against utopias which have “no roots in the present”.  

---

21 Ibid., p. 287.
22 Ibid.
Twenty Years’ Crisis is one of the most important classical realist writings which did not hesitate to make realist and explicitly normative analysis when Europe was on the edge of total war. In a political atmosphere where migration is highly politicized, an explicitly normative analysis is necessary more than ever as long as ideals in the analysis can find their roots in the present. The argumentation for a world politics which is reorganized through cosmopolitan principles can still seem too idealistic for some. The answer to this criticism can be found in Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society. At the end of a book which is largely about an international society between states, Bull stated that “world order, or order within the great society of all mankind, is not only wider than international order or order among states, but also more fundamental and primordial than it, and morally prior to it”.23

Inspired by Carr, Bull, and many other major figures contributing to IR theory, this thesis does not chase utopias, but looks for ideas which can contribute to constructing a different world politics that can work for the majority of individuals. In addition, it associates these ideas with practices which already exist in political structures. The thesis does not foresee any type of teleological progress towards more emancipatory political structures, but argues that change does not necessarily require utopias. It can be possible through building upon existing ideas and practices, in other words, today’s realities.

IV. Prospective Contribution

The discipline of IR is significantly affected by external events in the world. Some events such as 9/11, which happen abruptly and unexpectedly for many, change the way the discipline generally understands and explains world politics, sometimes at the expense of alternative voices. Other events, according to Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, “take the form of steady processes unfolding over time that change the knowledge, understanding and consciousness that support existing practices”.24 Migration, including its criminalization and politicization, is such an

event that it can affect the organization of modern political communities, the relationships between citizens and non-citizens, and, in essence, the place of the individual and his/her rights in world politics. The politicization of migration deserves intellectual attention in relation to its security implications for both immigrants and the members of the receiving communities. Such an important process urges students of IR to re-think the existing concepts and ways of understanding in the discipline.

This thesis provides a new way of thinking about the migration-security relationship by combining different literatures including normative theory, forced migration, critical security studies, security dilemma and trust. The result will be an argumentation for a consciousness based on cosmopolitan principles and a type of relationship based on trust in world politics.  

The analysis is an endeavour to provoke scholars towards building a new agenda in the discipline with reference to trust-building, hospitality, emancipation, protection-seeking, and cosmopolitan consciousness.

Following from the aims just outlines, the thesis seeks to make a contribution to IR literature in four areas: to present a new perspective on the issue of illegal protection-seeking and its security implications, to operationalize emancipatory security theory, to operationalize the logics of the security dilemma as a new framework of analysis in the area of migration, and to present an alternative security perspective which goes beyond the (de)securitization discussions. These are the four main threads along with the central argument will be built.

Normative theory in IR primarily and basically discusses the question of how we, as the members of different communities, from local/cultural ones to the potential cosmopolitan community of humankind, should live together. In the age of migration where millions of people have been uprooted for political, economic and social reasons, questions about the conditions of common life have gained a greater importance for students of IR. When migration is performed to achieve

---

25 For the purposes of the thesis consciousness refers to “mental awareness” which “involves experiencing the world (through the senses), absorbing/transmitting meanings through culture and making judgements (through reason/emotion)”, see Ken Booth, ‘Changing Global Realities: Critical Theory for Critical Times’, *Spectrum*, 1:2 (Summer, 2009), p. 45.
protection at the risk of being criminalized, and thereby becoming a source of insecurity for the receiving communities, these questions become more challenging. This project rethinks the contours of contemporary protection-seeking migration in order to discuss why this type of migration is criminalized and how it becomes a source of insecurity. With the perspective of producing ideas to address this insecurity, it innovatively combines cosmopolitan principles with the concept of trust. The result will be the introduction of ‘cosmopolitan trust’ as an important tool in the construction of a common life between illegal protection-seekers and the members of the receiving communities marked by a common identity.\(^{26}\) In relation to this, the thesis is also a contribution to the developing literature in IR on trust.

In addition to the contribution to normative theory, this project aims to make three contributions to security studies. One of the objectives is to operationalize the security dilemma framework developed by Booth and Wheeler. The logics of the security dilemma present a novel way of looking at the relationship between security and identity. The operationalization of the logics will be the first of its kind. The second contribution will be to operationalize emancipatory security theory. There is a significant gap in security studies about how the idea of security as emancipation works in practice. In this project, the theory will be operationalized in the area of migration for the first time. These two analytical practices can offer an alternative perspective to the theoretical dominance of the securitization approach in the area of security implications of migration. In this way, the study of the migration-security relationship will move beyond the (de)securitization discussions and towards a security understanding which promotes human rights and freedoms as security.

V. Overview

This thesis is a contribution to normative theory in IR concerning the general question of migration in relation to security. It aims to provide a perspective about

\(^{26}\) Common identity here refers not to an overarching, dominating, and exclusive identity. It implies a wider identity which can be shared by all members of the potential global community of humankind, in addition to multiple local identities.
how security should be thought of and pursued in world politics. The analysis will specifically focus on illegal migration of individuals who seek protection outside their national communities. This is because the issue is useful to analyze how one group’s search for security can become a reason for insecurity for the other in the area of migration. The central argument is that Europe’s immigration security dilemma in relation to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers can be transcended through building cosmopolitan trust which manifests itself as Kantian hospitality.

The argument will be elaborated in three parts. The first short part will discuss the type of insecurity which motivates this study to develop a new perspective. In the second part, the theoretical framework of the project will be conceptualized. Europe’s immigration security dilemma in relation to illegal sub-Saharan immigrants will be illustrated in the third empirical part.

Chapter One aims to give an account of reality to the analysis based on the experiences of illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers. The experiences in this chapter are of contemporary forced migration which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The ideas and concepts developed throughout the analysis aim to offer a new perspective which can address the grave insecurity that illegal immigrants face in their journey towards protection. In other words, the normative analysis which will be conducted in the subsequent chapters will be built upon the experiences of “real people in real places”.27

Chapter Two provides the background on which Europe’s immigration security dilemma will be conceptualized in the subsequent chapters. Two objectives will be pursued. First, the dynamics of contemporary forced migration will be discussed. The concept of ‘protection-seeker’ will be developed in order to define the subject group of this research; that is, sub-Saharan immigrants who seek protection in Europe. The concept of ‘protection-seeker’ refers to an individual who has left the country in which s/he lives due to the weak political, social and economic structures which are supposed to provide the protection in which individuals and groups can enjoy human rights. Secondly, it will be discussed

---

why protection-seekers are criminalized and how they become a source of insecurity for the receiving societies. Decision-makers face alternative choices to address this insecurity; they are in a security dilemma.

Chapter Three discusses what the security dilemma is and how it should be studied in order to be able to transcend it. It will be argued that the security dilemma is not a mechanistic action-reaction exchange with pre-determined consequences between actors whose identities and interests are fixed. These issues raise the concept of trust. The analysis will especially focus on the normative dimension of trust which is the belief that others will do the right thing by not betraying trust. Then a question arises: on what kind of normative assumptions can actors believe others will do the right thing? Chapter Four will discuss the main normative ways of thinking in IR to explore their potential to develop this type of trust.

In Chapter Four, three ways of normative thinking (communitarianism, post-modernism, and cosmopolitanism) in IR theory will be discussed. It will be argued that the cosmopolitan way of thinking, which will be called ‘cosmopolitan consciousness’, defies both communitarian and post-modernist approaches and provides a stronger ground for trust-building in world politics to transcend security dilemmas. In security studies, emancipatory security theory will operationalize the cosmopolitan way of thinking by problematizing ethnocentric security thinking and promoting ideas and practices which can generate security for individuals regardless of their national or cultural background. Emancipatory security theory will provide a security perspective to study two choices in Europe’s immigration security dilemma.

Chapter Five will conceptualize Europe’s immigration security dilemma in relation to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers. The security dilemma is characterized by two alternative choices. Under the condition of uncertainty, the fatalist logic regards illegal protection-seekers as a ‘risk’ for the security of EU citizens. Faced with such a risk, ethnocentric security thinking has prioritized the security of EU citizens over that of illegal protection-seekers. The problems of the fatalist logic can be solved by building ‘cosmopolitan trust’ which refers to the
belief that individuals will protect and promote each others’ rights and freedoms. Kantian hospitality as the manifestation of cosmopolitan trust aims to construct a common identity, a ‘we-feeling’, between the EU citizens and sub-Saharan protection-seekers whose security concerns cannot be thought of independently from each other.

In the third (empirical) part of the thesis the three logics of the security dilemma and Europe’s immigration security dilemma will be illustrated with specific reference to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers into the EU. As a practice of context-setting, in Chapter Six it will be argued that in accordance with the principles of mitigator logic, the EU has chosen to ameliorate insecurity in the Mediterranean region through building an order which is called the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). The EMP order has been built through the increasing level of cooperation between the EU and North African states in the Euro-Mediterranean security regime. However, the EMP order has resulted in the re-construction of the existing political structures in North Africa which cannot sufficiently provide protection to many individuals to enjoy human rights and freedoms. The EMP order is a political structure for the operationalization of the EU’s illegal immigration control policies.

Chapter Seven will analyze and problematize the fatalist interpretation of and responses to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers by EU decision-makers within the Euro-Mediterranean political structure. In order to understand how decision-makers in the Commission and the Council interpret illegal immigration, two documents, the 1999 Tampere Presidency Conclusions and the 2004 Hague Action Plan will be analyzed. As a response to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seeking, the externalization of the illegal immigration control process will be discussed with reference to three policies: the externalization of asylum in North Africa, the camps in North Africa, and the militarization of the Mediterranean Sea and western parts of the Atlantic Ocean. The second choice in the security dilemma is the subject of the last chapter.

Chapter Eight will illustrate ideas and practices which can transform the existing exclusionary political structures into emancipatory ones in which both EU citizens
and illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers can enjoy security together at four levels of hospitality. The first focus of the chapter will be on the global dimension of hospitality at the level of the UNHCR. In the second section of the chapter, the focus will be on the inter-governmental level of hospitality. It will be argued that the inter-governmental Euro-Mediterranean relationships should be re-structured based on the values defined in the Barcelona Document. The third level of hospitality is the EU itself. The types of ideational transformation will be discussed together with the political decisions EU decision-makers can take in order to offer hospitality to illegal sub-Saharan protection-seekers. At the fourth societal level, the examples of hospitality towards protection-seekers will be examined and presented. In this chapter, societal hospitality activities will be examined with reference to the City of Sanctuary Movement, the Time Together Programme and the Monitor and Befriending System.

In the Conclusion, it will be argued that through embedding cosmopolitan trust, the insecurity caused by illegal migration for both illegal protection-seekers and the receiving societies can be addressed giving rise to a common identity between the two groups. Although the practical implications of hospitality need further research, the ideas and practices discussed in this thesis indicate that there are always choices for those who want to construct a better world.