



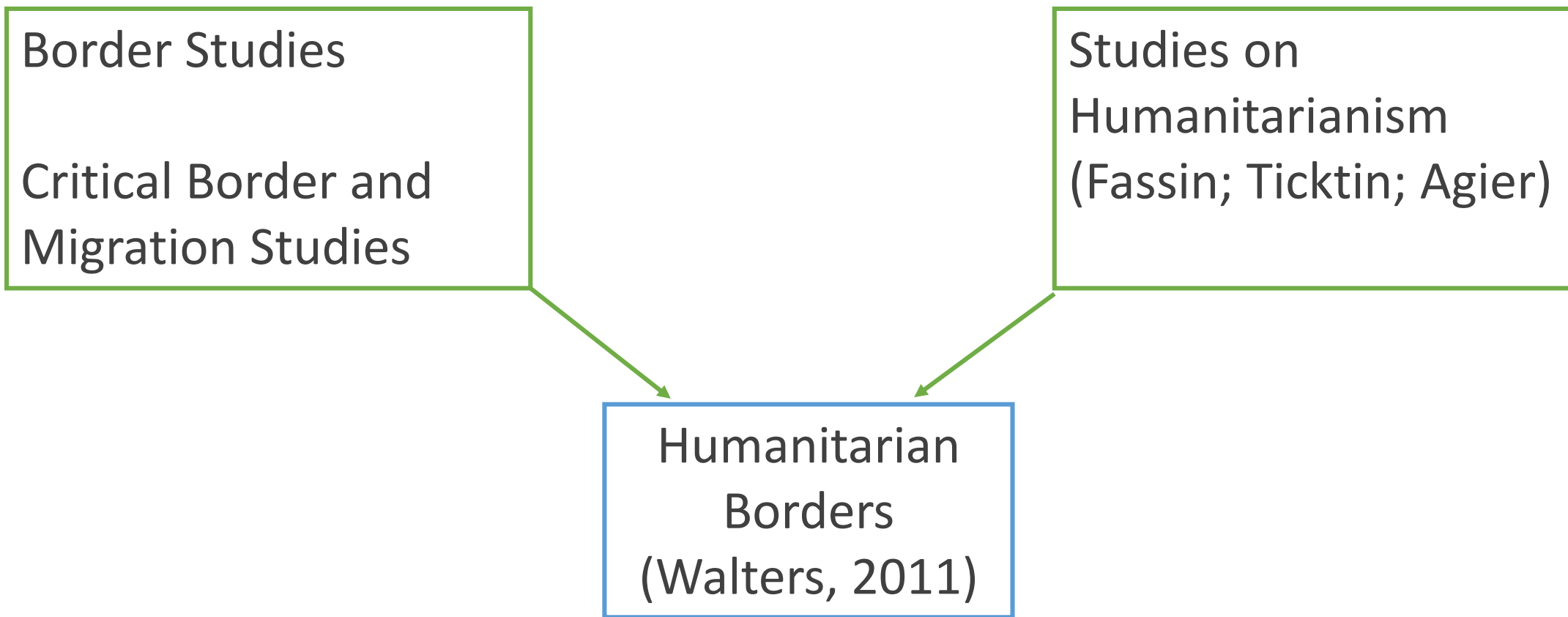
# Humanitarianism as Border: The Governance of Migration and the Reinforcement of Exclusion in Ceuta, Spain

# Research Puzzle and Research Questions



What explains humanitarianism in the borderlands?  
What impact does it have on the undocumented migrants it targets?

# Theoretical Context



# Theoretical Contribution and Argument

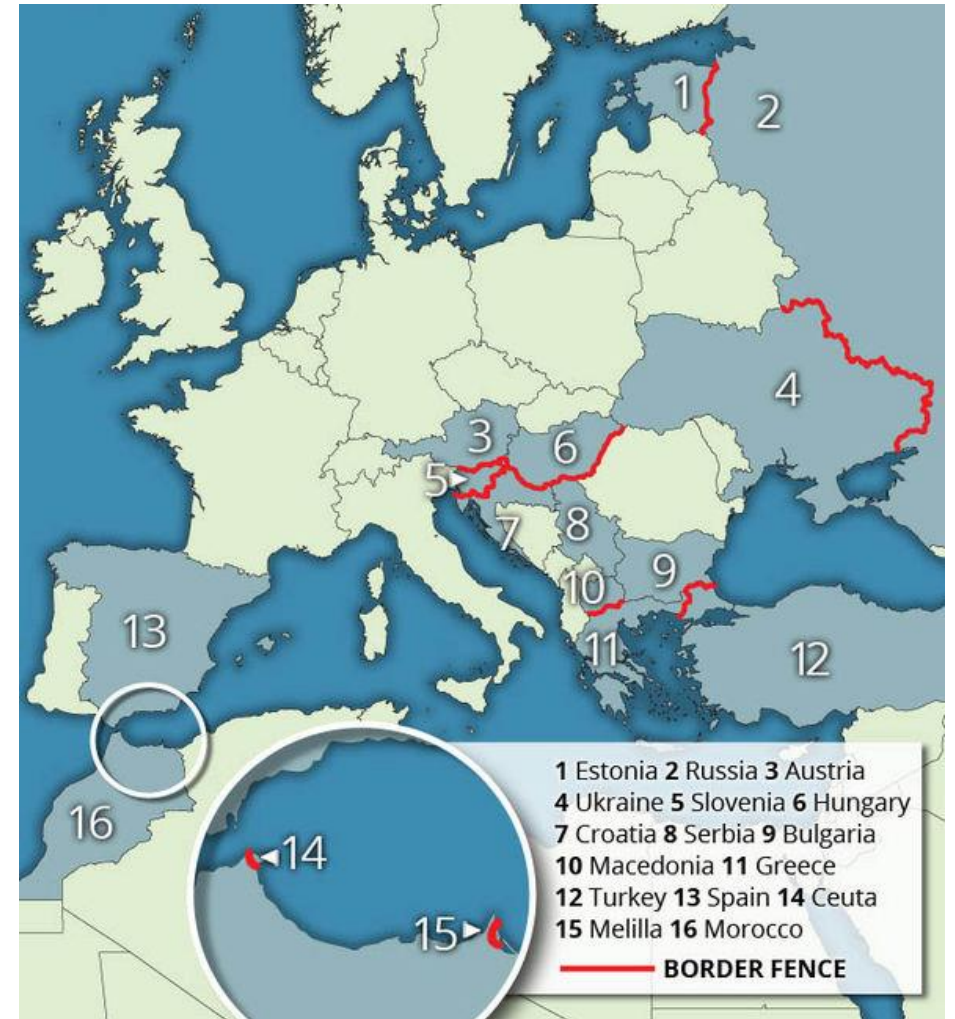
- *Humanitarian border complex*: State and non-state actors
  - Humanitarianism serves as an extension of border functions
- Migration governance through humanitarianism and the borderlands as a migrant sorting center
  - Location in the state's "order of things"
- Politics of humanitarianism

# Migration and Humanitarianism Today

2015

Why are these analyses important to raise today?

- Migration, crisis, and the securitization of borders
- Rise of humanitarianism and the concept of a **universal humanity**



# Research Design: The Case Study Method

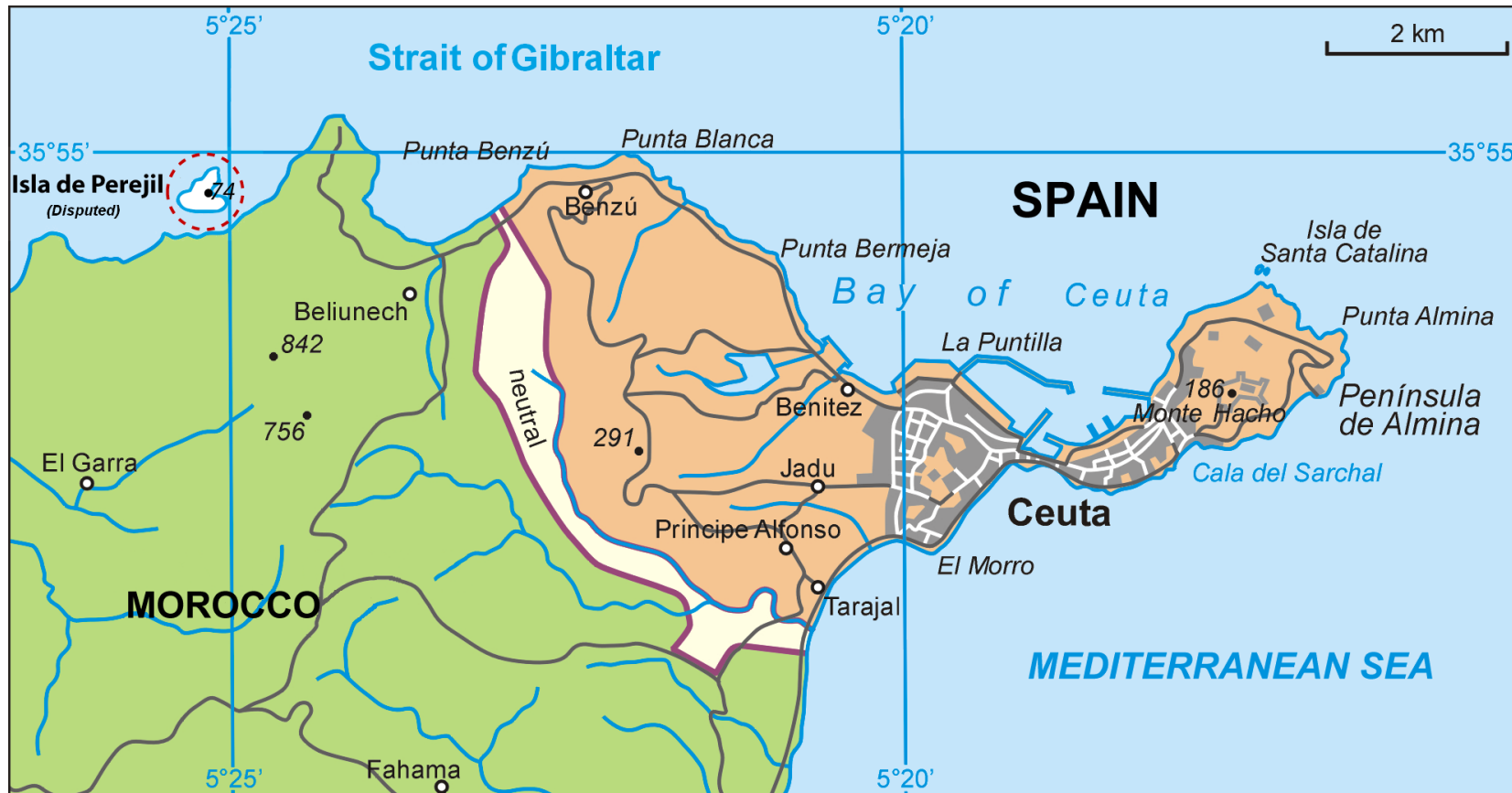
## The Case of Ceuta

*Case of intrinsic importance and resembles current policy concerns*

1. One of only two land borders between Europe and the African Continent
2. Two sets of borders: fence with Morocco and sea with mainland Spain
3. Relation to the Europe Union's border regime - Hungary
4. A nexus of migration, borders, and humanitarianism



# Migration and Demographics in Ceuta



**2408**

Migrant arrivals  
in 2016

**20,000-30,000**

Daily crossings of the border

**85,000**

Population of  
Ceuta

# Ceuta's Border



- 1415** – Ceuta conquered by the Portuguese
- 1975** – Western Sahara → Morocco
- 1986** – Spain joins the European Union
- 1991** – Spain signs Schengen Agreement
- 1993** – Construction on Ceuta's border begins
- 1999** – Completion of Ceuta's border
- 2005** – Border strengthened, 1000 personnel stationed on Spanish side of border.
- 2014** – Legalization of Summary Returns (*devoluciones en caliente*)

**December 2016** – Biggest border jump since 2005



# Research Design: Methods

- Mixed-method and micro-level approach
  - Fieldwork in Summer 2016 and January 2017
    - Participant observation in activity center in Ceuta
    - 14 interviews with government officials, members of NGOs, journalists, and activists
  - Policy and Legal Analysis (Spain and EU)
- Time frame: 1985 – January 2017

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Micro-level analysis of the **mechanisms, causes, and impacts** of

- (1) state humanitarianism
- (2) non-state humanitarianism

# Findings: Mechanisms of State Humanitarianism

## *Humanitarian Governance of Migration*

<b>(1) Legibility</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Documentation and Laws<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Asylum and <i>Laissez-passer</i></li></ul></li><li>- Temporal Component</li><li>- Categorizations of migrants</li></ul>
<b>(2) Access to provisions</b>	Reception Center (CETI) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- medical attention, Spanish classes, food, accommodation</li></ul>



Tarjeta Roja for Asylum Seekers (photo with permission)



Center for the Temporary Stay of Immigrants (CETI)

“And what happens when you don’t have papers? What happens?... Life is not a game. Three years of a life of a person are not a game. **Here in Ceuta they are playing with our lives.** We don’t have the right to work; we don’t have the right to a normal life. They think everything is alright, we have the CETI after all, we have food, a place to sleep. We receive clothes. And we receive the magical *tarjeta roja*. But, now what?”

- Hicham\*, World Refugee Day (21 June 2016), Ceuta

# Findings: Reasons for and Impacts of State Humanitarianism

1. Extension of the border into the borderlands
  - Controlling Mobility
  - Differential Inclusion
2. Ceuta as a migrant sorting center
  - Lives put on hold and legal liminality
3. Politics of humanitarianism



# Findings: Non-State Humanitarianism of Red Cross

- Mechanisms: Rescues at border through emergency medical response
  - “Emergency imaginary”
- Reasons: Neutrality and the universal human; Relieving suffering.
- Impacts: Relationship with Spanish state actors and contribution to the humanitarianization of borders; the *de-politicization* of migration,



# Findings: Humanitarianism of Activity Centers

- Mechanisms: Spanish classes and integration; Awareness campaigns; Provision of sanctuary.
- Reasons: religion, societal bridge, migrant inclusion, interlocking tensions
- Impacts: de-politicization of migration, new articulations of humanitarian borders

# Conclusions

## Humanitarian Border Complex

1. The borderlands as a space of confinement and a migrant sorting center
2. Marginality and exclusion are defined and rearticulated through mechanisms of humanitarianism
3. The inextricability of borders and humanitarianism



# Implications and Future Research

*What does this mean with regard to scholarship and in practice?*

- Theoretical implications: multiple actors, contextualized
- Practical Implications: humanitarianism as policy reform, Lampedusa, Hungary
- Future Research: politics of inclusion, Spain, EU, and Morocco relation

