

The Spatial Extensions of the Right to Seek Asylum: The Eastern Mediterranean Refugee Route

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In August 2015, in light of the worst refugee crisis met on European ground since the Second World War, Berlin renounced the Dublin agreement and introduced an open-door policy in Germany.¹ This allowed the displaced population to seek asylum in EU countries, regardless of entry point.² The shift materialised spatially as a formal activation of the East Mediterranean Route (EMR), defined by Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, as a humanitarian corridor to safe ground used by migrants and refugees crossing through Turkey to the European Union via Greece.³ [Fig. 1] During the autumn of 2015, the EMR accommodated a population approximately thirty times greater than the previous year and reached its highest level since the beginning of border crossing data collection in 2007.⁴

This essay examines migration, refugee, and border management through cartography, to cast light and explore alternative ways to access, represent and interpret the spatial dimensions of legal processes, or in this case, their overruling, on a regional scale. I employ mapping in the following ways: first, as a method to investigate the EMR, an emerging system in flux amid the refugee crisis; secondly as a means to unveil the EMR processes, and lastly as a medium to critique the predominant narrative of the EMR formalisation as

a humanitarian infrastructure. The visualisations examine an alternative reading of the EMR as the spatial expression of pro-closure policy, a space of exception in conjunction with Giorgio Agamben's investigations on power, state of emergency, and space, for the control and delay of the population on the move until an externalisation agreement takes place.⁵

The visualisations apply to the period from October 2015 to March 2016. During October, the inflow of migrants and refugees to Europe through the EMR reached its peak with more than two hundred thousand arrivals.⁶ In the subsequent months, adverse weather conditions, increased border controls, and restrictions of entry discouraged and significantly reduced the population on the move. The EU suspended the temporary formalisation of the EMR in March 2016 with the signing of the EU-Turkey statement.⁷ This article looks at the participation of countries directly involved in EMR operations during that time, namely Greece, North Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, and Germany.

The mapping of the EMR corridor depicts both the refugee itinerary and the institutional mechanisms to exercise power.⁸ In this interconnected polarity, I focus on exploring the latter, not least because both

the author's privileged position and the 'power of the cartographic gaze to code subjects and produce identities' are problematic in communicating the refugee experience.⁹ Instead, the visualisations focus on reconstructing the ways institutional responses materialise in space, interpreted through the analytical lens of the philosophical stream of the ethics of admissions.

The cartographic investigations of this article draw from the academic practice of Hackitectura.net, Estudio Teddy Cruz + Fonna Forman and Forensic Architecture. What they all have in common is the engagement to the act of mapping on sites of contested jurisdiction as a medium of political activism in the intersection of visual arts and critical cartography. In all cases, the focus is on the spatial articulation of political realities. In the *Left-to-Die Boat*, Forensic Architecture employs remote sensing and witness reports to map the spatial events leading to the deaths of sixty-three asylum seekers. The resulting report supported the legal case of a European NGO coalition concerning non-assistance at the Mediterranean sea.¹⁰ The conflict process diagrams of the San Diego-Tijuana border by Estudio Teddy Cruz + Fonna Forman employ relational political cartography to identify areas of meaningful interventions for urban-architectural practice that supports marginalised communities.¹¹ Lastly, Hackitectura's cartographic representations of the Strait of Gibraltar employ tactical and embodied methods to expand our understanding of the Spanish-Moroccan border region as a political space.¹² Cartography as a tool for political activism in this essay lies between the objectives of the work mentioned above. That said, it is less about generating evidence for the support of legal sanctioning like Forensic Architecture does, or designing an interface for the reshaping of urban policy as in the work of Estudio Teddy Cruz + Fonna Forman and more about expanding the understanding and interpretations of contemporary humanitarian

infrastructure and generate debate in the public realm.

My visualisations reflect the rise of multiplatform counter-cartographic work that employs both institutional and bottom-up approaches evident in the work of Forensic Architecture.¹³ The essay draws data primarily from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in January 2016 along the EMR corridor. The fieldwork involved environmental observation, photography, personal interviews, and GPS tracking. I travelled parallel to the population on the move within and outside refugee spaces taking into account the viewpoint of the forcefully displaced, agents of border zone governance and the host community. I acknowledge both that my mobility derives from the privilege of citizenship and the value of a multi-sited method of acquiring data especially in circumstances of data scarcity that characterise extraordinary events of a short life.¹⁴ This method was rendered critical due to the inconsistency of non-formal data online, the inertia underlying institutional mechanisms of producing and disseminating relevant information on mobility and migration, and the challenges of the EU periphery to register data effectively.¹⁵ The quarterly aggregation of data related to migration by Frontex and UNHCR fails to describe fast-paced transformations or shifts that occur for a shorter period of time. These transformations require a much finer granulation of data, and in this direction the visualizations examined data per day. Complementary to site-specific evidence-collection and first-hand testimonials, cartographic investigations incorporate data from grassroots and NGO reporting, the systematic observation of the press, GIS, and satellite imaging.

The qualitative inquiry looks at the EMR states' roles, responsibilities, and interdependencies, their strategies for inclusion and exclusion, and policies related to the ethics of refugee protection.



Fig. 1: The Eastern Mediterranean Route. Source: Author.

Systematic observations of the EMR territory highlight correlations and spatial relationships among: 1) geographic information of the EMR territory; 2) programmatic data of border-zone processes from entry to first instance asylum decisions; 3) state sovereignty claims such as border controls and retreats from sovereignty like membership to Schengen; 4) legal data on refugee protection and 5) critical approaches to the ethics of admissions referring to the discourse on whether to include or exclude a migrant and refugee from a political community.

I trace these investigations on three visualisations: first, a matrix of the juro-political framework of displacement. [Fig. 2] The matrix allows me to position the temporary formalisation of the EMR in relation to critical positions on refugee policies and landmark agreements on migration and refugee protection. Secondly, a series of maps of the EMR border passages from Greece to Germany. [Fig. 3] The maps introduce the spaces, programme, process, and agents of border management for migrants and refugees. The maps' iconography aim to separate both from the aestheticisation of geographies of conflict and the technocratic positivism of data analysis. The maps share aesthetic affinities with process maps and conflict diagrams by Teddy Cruz + Fonna Forman. The series examines the spatial relationship of civilian and non-civilian border spaces and compares border management strategies across the EMR. Thirdly, a synthetic diagram of the EMR apparatus. [Fig.4] The diagram makes visible the EMR spatial mechanism in its totality. The itinerary to seek asylum is presented as a sequence of border controls with intermediate confinement stations and a possible exodus through first instance asylum decisions. The visualisation integrates cartographic elements, notations of refugee spaces, and text about their programme. The drawings cast light on the EMR modes of operation and construct a narrative in the

pursuit to connect ethical dispositions on the subject of admissions, to legal categories such as the state of exception and their materialisation in space.

Refugee policy and the ethics of admissions – a theoretical framework

The EMR made visible the EU position on forced displacement. To contextualise the EMR as a political space, it is essential to discuss the suspension of the Dublin regulation and opening of the corridor within the legislative framework of refugee protection, and the ethics of refugee policy.

The basis of refugee protection lies in breakthroughs in the aftermath of WWII.¹⁶ Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that 'Anyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution', meaning that under international law, the forcefully displaced have the right to file an asylum application in the country of preference. That said, Article 14 does not ensure the right to receive asylum. To grant asylum is tied to the state as an option, not to the refugee as a right, demonstrating the prevailing state sovereignty over human rights.

The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) introduces the principle of non-refoulement. It refers to the obligation of states to refrain from repatriating or returning a person to a third country where her life would be in danger. In comparison to asylum, non-refoulement does not assign political rights and allows repatriation when the conflict is over. Sovereign states often denounce the minimum obligations of non-refoulement by preventing access to their territory with fortification or externalisation strategies.

Governmental institutions can temporarily abandon these landmark agreements on the protection of refugees within a state of emergency. The state of emergency is an abstract legal category

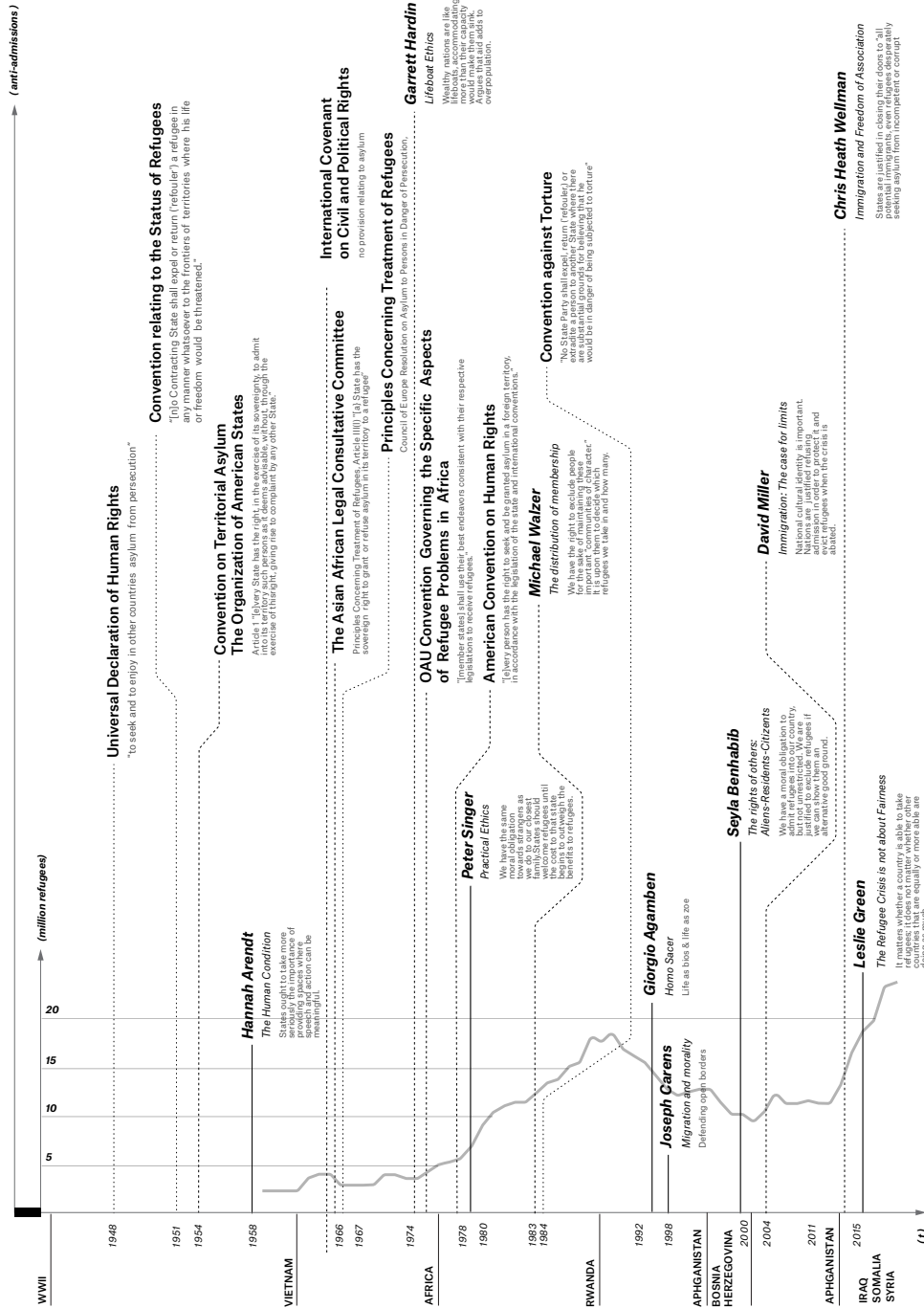


Fig. 2: The legal and ethical framework of admissions. Source: Author.

and according to the work of Agamben, the basis of sovereign power.¹⁷ It refers to the temporary suspension of the legal order in claims of protecting national order.

The Dublin Regulation is the EU legislation related to admissions.¹⁸ The founding principle is that a third-country national seeks asylum in the first European country of arrival, where the local authorities identify her. As a result of the Dublin agreement, EU countries on the European Union's external borders receive the majority of asylum applications. The suspension of the Dublin regulation in conjunction with the Schengen treaty for abolishing internal national borders allows the forcefully displaced to exercise Article 14 and file an asylum application to any EU country. The population fleeing from the Syrian conflict travelled through Turkey to transgress the Eastern border of Europe. The unprecedented flow of the population on the move, Germany's call to arms and the Dublin Regulation suspension resulted in the recognition of the EMR – formerly an illegal smuggling path – as a formal corridor to asylum-seeking processes.¹⁹ The formal acknowledgement of the EMR shifted at least partly the focus of Frontex from the protection of the Schengen system to the receiving and registration of asylum seekers. The shift demonstrates the intention of the EU to undertake the obligations of non-refoulement and to respond to the issue of forced displacement within its grounds. According to Frontex data, it was the first time after WWII that the EU faced statelessness in its territory to this extent.²⁰

The question of reception of the Other is a double-sided predicament. On the one side, it has to do with admissions and on the other with a necessarily political question of sovereign power. The ethics of admissions is a stream of the philosophical discourse related to the moral responsibility to admit refugees expressed in granting asylum and

the ethical basis of closure as a means to protect a given community connected to policies of containment such as refugee camps and externalisation.

Arguments leaning to the defence of admissions discuss the moral responsibility to admit refugees and emphasise the harm caused by statelessness.²¹ Hannah Arendt points to the ontological deprivation in conditions of statelessness based on the lack of political agency.²² Giorgio Agamben describes the refugee camp as a political space of legal arbitrariness where human life is reduced to the physical needs of the body.²³ Seyla Benhabib acknowledges refugees' right to political and civil membership while justifying cases of exclusion if there is an alternative safe ground.²⁴ The EMR formalisation as a humanitarian corridor towards asylum-seeking procedures aligns with pro-admissions arguments.

On the other side, arguments leaning to the defence of closure elaborate on the right to protect the country from threats regarding identity and financial stability. These ideas are tied to the framework of the nation-state and the political dynamics associated with sovereign power over space. Michael Walzer and David Miller prioritise national self-determination and the state's right to decide who aligns with the values and goals of society. For them, unique political communities are essential and require a level of closure in order to be sustained. The operation of Frontex at the external borders of the European Union reflects this approach. Garrett Hardin discusses admissions in the context of resources and their distribution. Since any country has finite resources, receiving more people than its capacity will harm both nationals and refugees.²⁵ A different approach argues for closure due to the lack of responsibility for the causes of forced displacement. For example, Chris Heath Wellman does not defend admissions of refugees 'from incompetent or corrupt political regimes'.²⁶ In these cases, nation-states have the power to deny admissions

and exclude refugees as non-citizens in extraterritorial spaces within or outside their national ground. The discourse on pro-closure is dominated by arguments on the protection of national values, finances, and the absence of responsibility for the impact of conflict.

A brief overview of the legislative and philosophical framework of forced displacement highlights the alignment of the initial EU response to the humanitarian refugee crisis with international law and pro-admission arguments. At the same time, it makes visible that international law on the protection of refugees prioritises state power or contains gaps that allow for the override of those rights. The elastic nature of international law leaves space for the voluntary implementation of refugee protection according to the moral obligation that each nation assigns itself towards refugees.

The EMR operations as a humanitarian corridor

The countries that fall within the EMR responded to the new role of the corridor by shifting the scope, infrastructure, and programme of border passages. These countries' individual decisions materialised in a new spatial arrangement for the forcefully displaced on the European mainland. [Fig. 2, 3] The transformation was fast and not coordinated. Images of migrants and refugees marching along the corridor under police supervision and the obstruction of border passages raised questions about the operations of the EMR as a humanitarian corridor to safe ground and the application of international law to the protection of the forcefully displaced.

As an organisational scheme for asylum-seeking processes, the EMR consists of a sequence of access points towards possible host countries. The majority of EMR countries equipped border passages with infrastructure for the registration of displaced people either for the continuation of the journey towards the next host country or for

the filing of an asylum application within the same country. The determination of both is contingent on a personal interview that includes biometrics and a background check. If the interview is successful, the refugee receives a temporary pass, usually seventy-two hours, granting legal stay within the country, either while traveling to the assigned point of exit to the next EMR country or an asylum application point. The registration centre is run by national bodies of control in collaboration with the ministry of the interior. The registration centre's essence materialises in the ample space between temporary structures for the organisation in queues. [Fig. 5] It is common for people to wait up to a week for an interview. Sometimes the application of border controls leads to even longer waiting periods. Transit camps are tent settlements, usually within walking distance of the registration centre, that provide temporary accommodation for displaced populations during that period. Occasionally found along the route, transit camps are employed by EMR countries to regulate the flow and facilitate the population's bottlenecks resulting from the different border management policies of the proceeding countries. [Fig. 6] The administration of the transit camp is made up of a combination of international humanitarian organisations, local NGOs and governmental agencies. After the refugee reaches her destination she will file an asylum application. It is common that host governments accommodate asylum seekers in conditions of confinement. The mapping of these data indicate that all EMR countries but Serbia accommodated, at least partly, involuntary immigrants in detention centres. [Fig. 4] Germany and Greece have accommodated some asylum seekers in prisons.²⁷ After receiving a positive first instance asylum decision, the refugee can finally exit the EMR system. The second and final decision of granting asylum will determine the legal stay of migrants and refugees to the country. In total, the EMR is a linear, branched and non-fixed transit system that connects passages, regulates

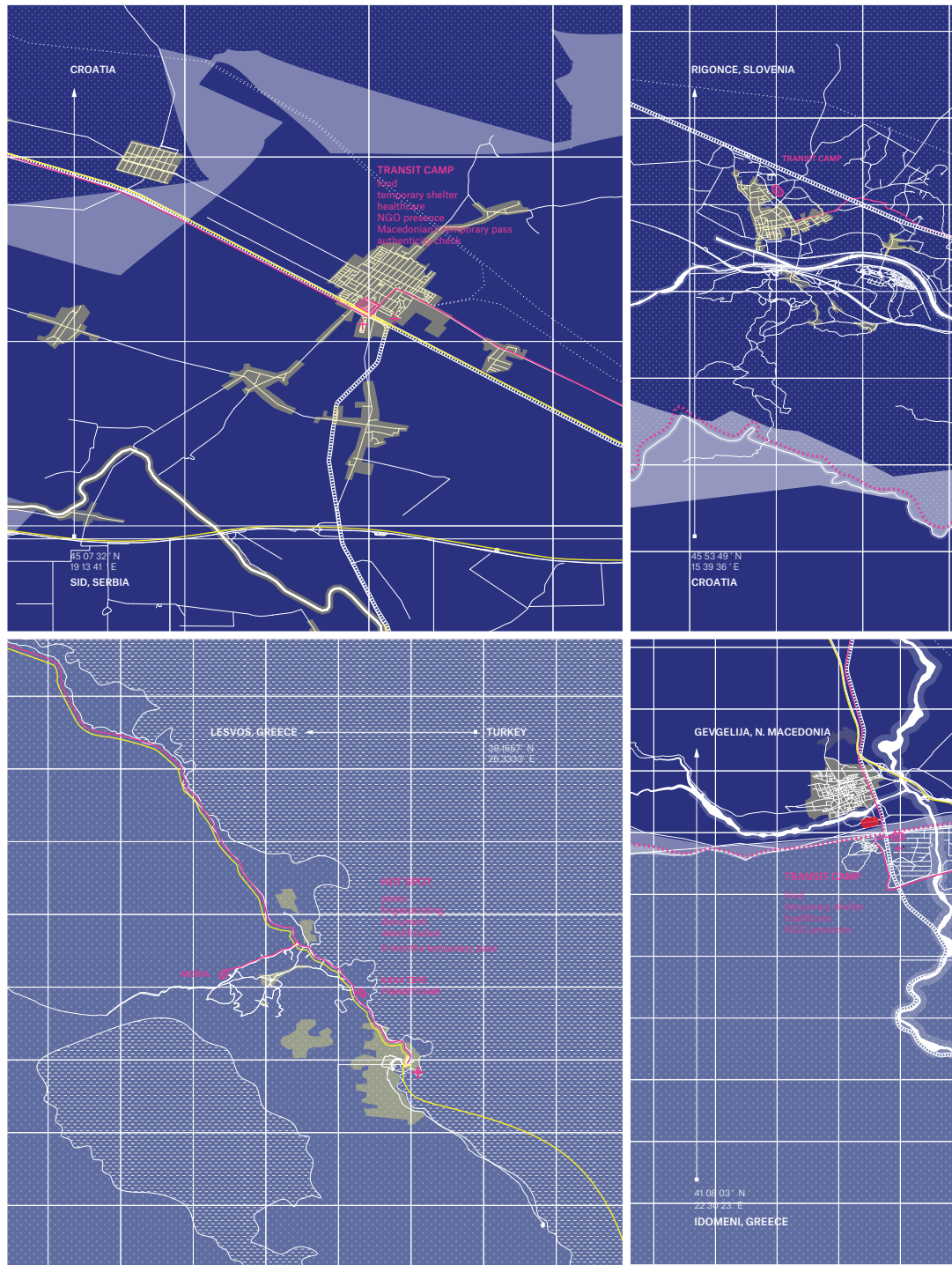
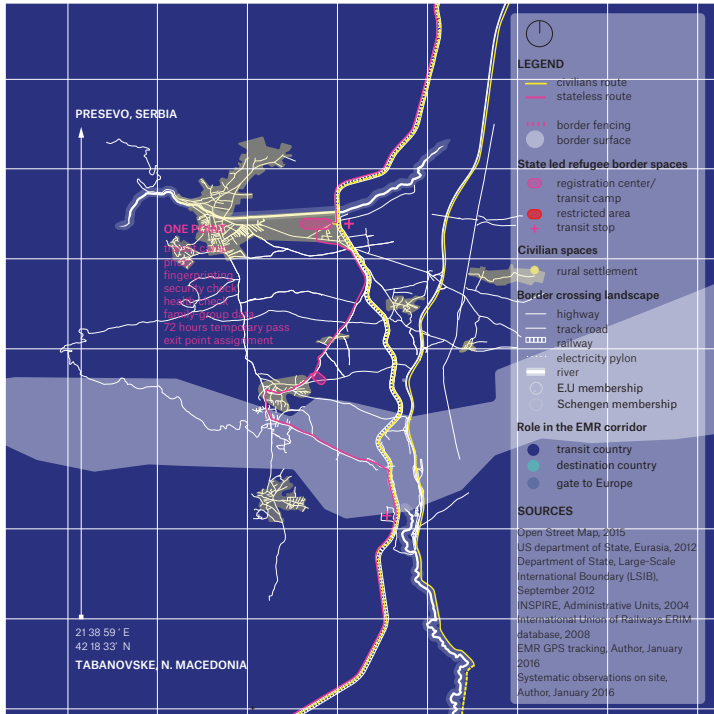
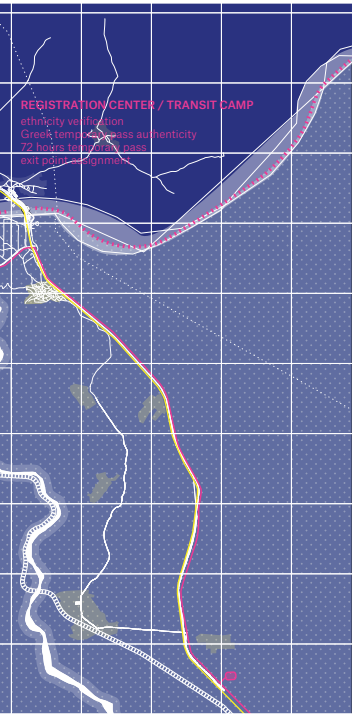
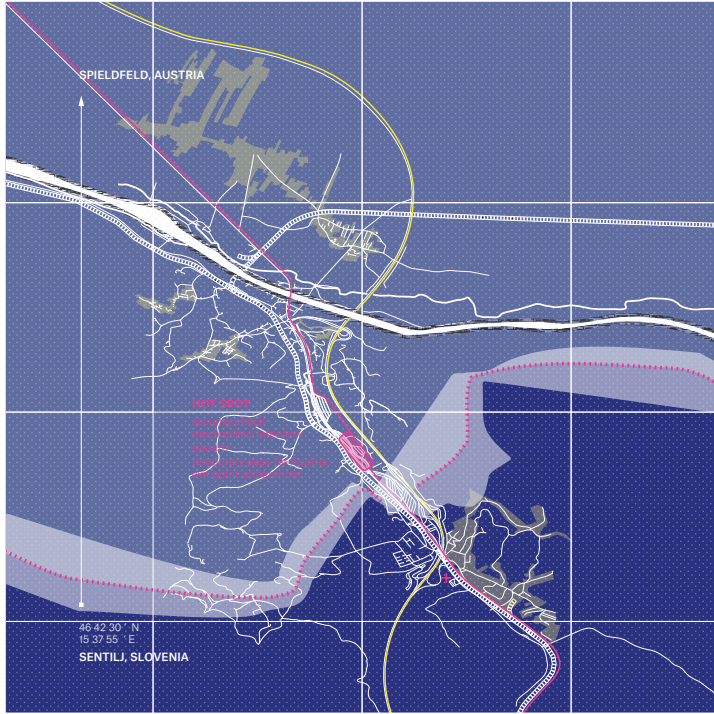
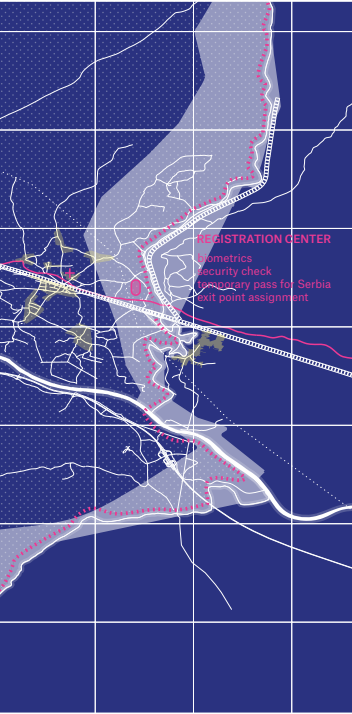


Fig. 3: EMR, border passages (from left to right: a. Serbia-Croatia; b. Croatia-Slovenia; c. Slovenia-Austria; d. Turkey-Greece; e. Greece-North Macedonia; f. North Macedonia-Serbia). Source: Author.



LEGEND

- civilians route
- stateless route
- border fencing
- border surface

State led refugee border spaces

- registration center/ transit camp
- restricted area
- transit stop

Civilian spaces

- rural settlement

Border crossing landscape

- highway
- track road
- railway
- electricity pylon
- river
- E.U membership
- Schengen membership

Role in the EMR corridor

- transit country
- destination country
- gate to Europe

SOURCES

Open Street Map, 2015
 US department of State, Eurasia, 2012
 Department of State, Large-Scale International Boundary (LSIB), September 2012
 INSPIRE, Administrative Units, 2004
 International Union of Railways-ERM database, 2008
 EMR GPS tracking, Author, January 2016
 Systematic observations on site, Author, January 2016

flows of people, and temporarily accommodates the population on the move.

The following segments make visible the mostly undocumented transformation of the territory of the EMR from Greece to Germany from October 2015 to March 2016, and bring forth its properties as a new political space by tracing the tensions between space, sovereignty and law. My characterisation of the EMR draws from systematic observations of the mapping of individual border passages and the synthetic visualisation of the perilous journey to seek asylum. [Fig. 2, 3]

The segregation of refugees from the local population

An overview of the EMR geography reveals that refugee infrastructure is mostly adjacent to the periphery's border settlements. The precise routes and stops of the passages make visible the consistent separation of EMR spaces from the local communities. When migrants and refugees travel by rail, it is on exclusively assigned trains, often late at night, as in the case of Austria.²⁸ When it is by bus, the driver follows tertiary streets and unpaved roads to access the remote border passage assigned to migrants and refugees. A characteristic example is that of the Greek-North Macedonian border. While the civilian border crossing is along the highway and accompanied by commercial activities, the border passage for the displaced is in the middle of a field a few kilometres away. [Fig. 6b]

The anachronisms of refugee infrastructure

The EMR geography and infrastructure determine the first experience of Europe that migrants and refugees have. Asylum seekers travel through rural villages and the post-industrial landscape of the Balkan periphery in outmoded means of transportation, like the decrepit northbound train from Macedonia to Serbia. [Fig. 7c] They stay in the deserted train station of Gevgelija, a remote national park in Styria, and numerous tent villages

with no sewage or electricity networks. [Fig. 6] The anachronisms of refugee infrastructure are symptomatic of the significant geographic, cultural, and socioeconomic distance between the Europe of the EMR and the urban centres where decision-making occurs.

The obstruction of access to safe ground

The described organisational scheme of the EMR is often disrupted and mutated by the participating countries' individual border management decisions. The politics of sovereignty have a distinctively material nature. Despite the formalisation of the route as a corridor to safe ground, some EU members of the EMR have reconstituted their borders. [Fig. 8] Hungary was the first country to completely fence off its borders to migrants and refugees as early as September 2015, diverting the route to Slovenia. Croatia, Macedonia, and Austria followed soon after with the fencing off of their borders. Finally, Macedonia completely closed its border, signalling the closure of the EMR in March of 2016.²⁹

Beyond fencing, EMR governments applied a variety of border controls. Temporary measures include the disruption of entries. After the unprecedented inflow of refugees in Germany, the country closed its border three times within the short life of the corridor.³⁰ [Fig. 4] Austria applied numerical quotas. In February 2016, the Interior Minister announced the restriction of asylum applications to eighty per day.³¹ Other border control measures were anchored around the asylum seeker's nationality. At the end of November 2015, Slovenia tried to return more than a hundred Moroccans to Croatia, prompting the beginning of restrictions of entry to anyone not of Syrian, Afghan or Iraqi nationality. Days later, Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia applied similar nationality-based restrictions. Both the UN and Amnesty International condemned nationality-based border controls as discrimination against individuals and a violation of the human right to seek asylum.³² Within the corridor's eight-month

existence, there were twelve incidents of border controls. [Fig. 4] An overview of the variations and number of border control incidents reveals the continuous hampering of the process of reaching safe ground.

An extraterritorial space of exception

The EMR territory does not follow the legal order of the rest of the European mainland. It appears as an extraterritorial space of legal arbitrariness that favours sovereign decisions over regional and international agreements on migration and refugeehood. The case of North Macedonia perfectly exemplifies this, as it declared a state of emergency to reinforce its borders and reaffirm its sovereignty. By using a state of emergency, the country suspended its obligations to abide by constitutional and international law – including both the right to seek asylum and freedom of movement – with the support of the army at the end of August 2015.³³ Border controls bar displaced populations from access to admission processes and, as such, violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights related to the right to seek asylum. Additionally, border controls render the suspension of the Dublin agreement announced by the German government ineffective, since the intermission intended to allow the displaced to seek asylum in the EU, regardless of the point of entry in the Union. Lastly, the temporary reconstituting of borders by Germany, Slovenia, Austria, and Croatia violate the Schengen agreement.³⁴

Gate, transit and destination countries

The reaction of North Macedonia is contextualised through its role in the route. A focus on the relationship among Schengen membership and border infrastructure highlights the discontinuation of the Schengen area in the European mainland as a determining factor in Balkan countries' responsibilities. Greece, as the first gate-to-Schengen territory, plays a significant role in controlling the migratory flow from the Middle East to Europe. North Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia primarily

serve the transportation of displaced populations to the EU. Their role as transit countries is evident in low asylum applications and even lower first-instance decisions during the autumn of 2015 that aggregate to less than fifty in total.³⁵ This becomes even more apparent with a closer examination of Croatia's border infrastructure: the country did not maintain migrant and refugee facilities on either of its borders with Serbia or Slovenia, flagging its role as exclusively a corridor to the neighbouring country. [Fig. 3a, 3b] Slovenia is the first Schengen country of the Balkans. Accordingly, one would assume it holds the infrastructural role of the second gate to the European Union. A closer look at the Slovenian-Austrian border reveals otherwise. [Fig. 3c] The presence of a hotspot at the Austrian border, part of the EU's immediate action to assist frontline member states, helps us to understand the country's geopolitical role in regulating the flow of migrants and refugees. It makes visible that the EU transfers the responsibility of a Balkan gate to Europe from Slovenia to Austria. Lastly, the high number of asylum applications and positive first-instance asylum decisions in Germany shows its character as a destination country for refugees. Specifically, Germany received the highest number of asylum applications in the EMR and granted the highest percentage of positive first-instance asylum decisions in the EU (approximately 50 per cent).³⁶

The contingency of border politics

The push-pull effects of border politics have had a disproportional impact on North Macedonia. A closer look at the relationship between the identified EMR typologies and the dates of border control incidents makes visible the chain reaction of a national territory border management approach on other countries. [Fig. 4] Indeed, the border decisions of Slovenia and Austria have an immediate impact on North Macedonia. That is because backlogs at the Balkan border with Western Europe result in attempts by involuntary immigrants to return at the previously available Schengen state,

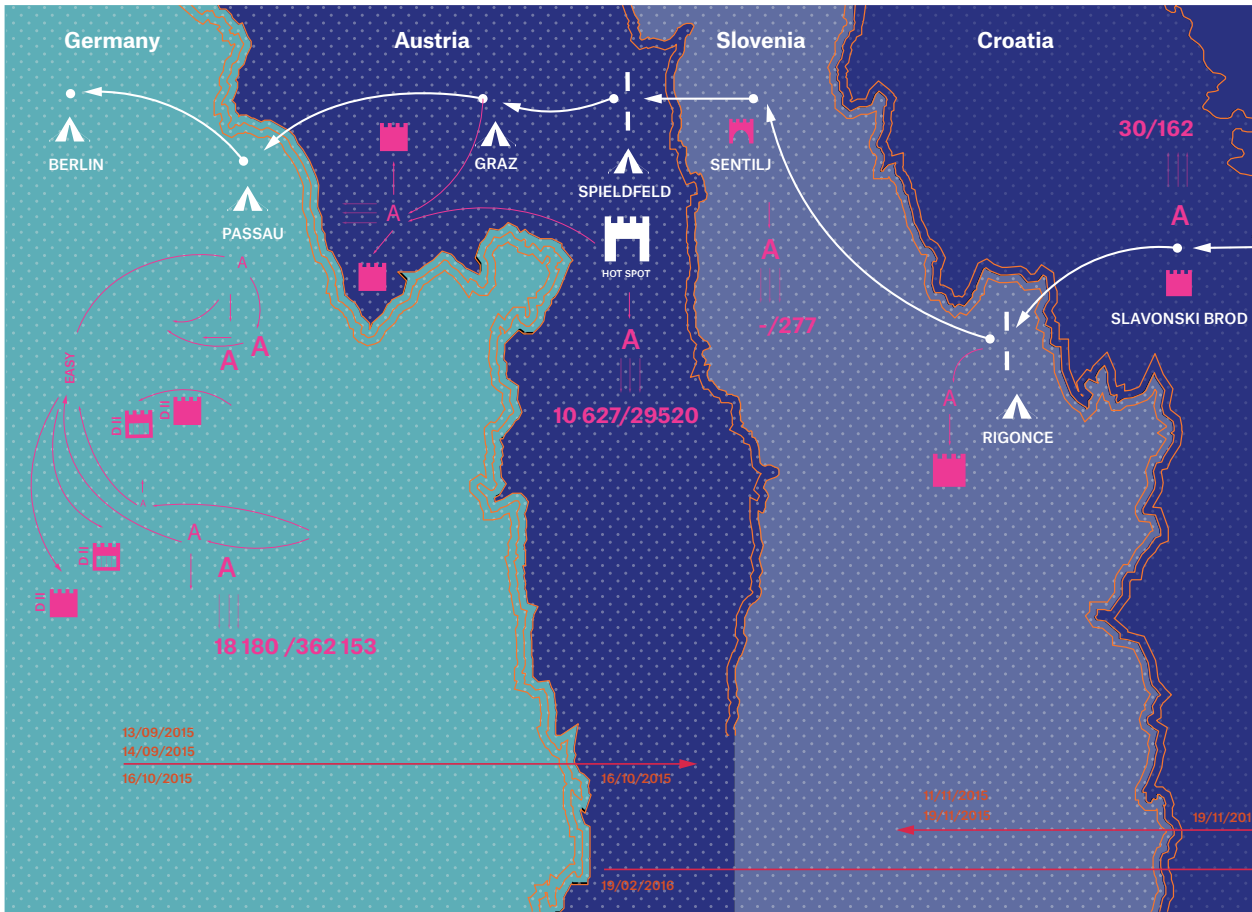
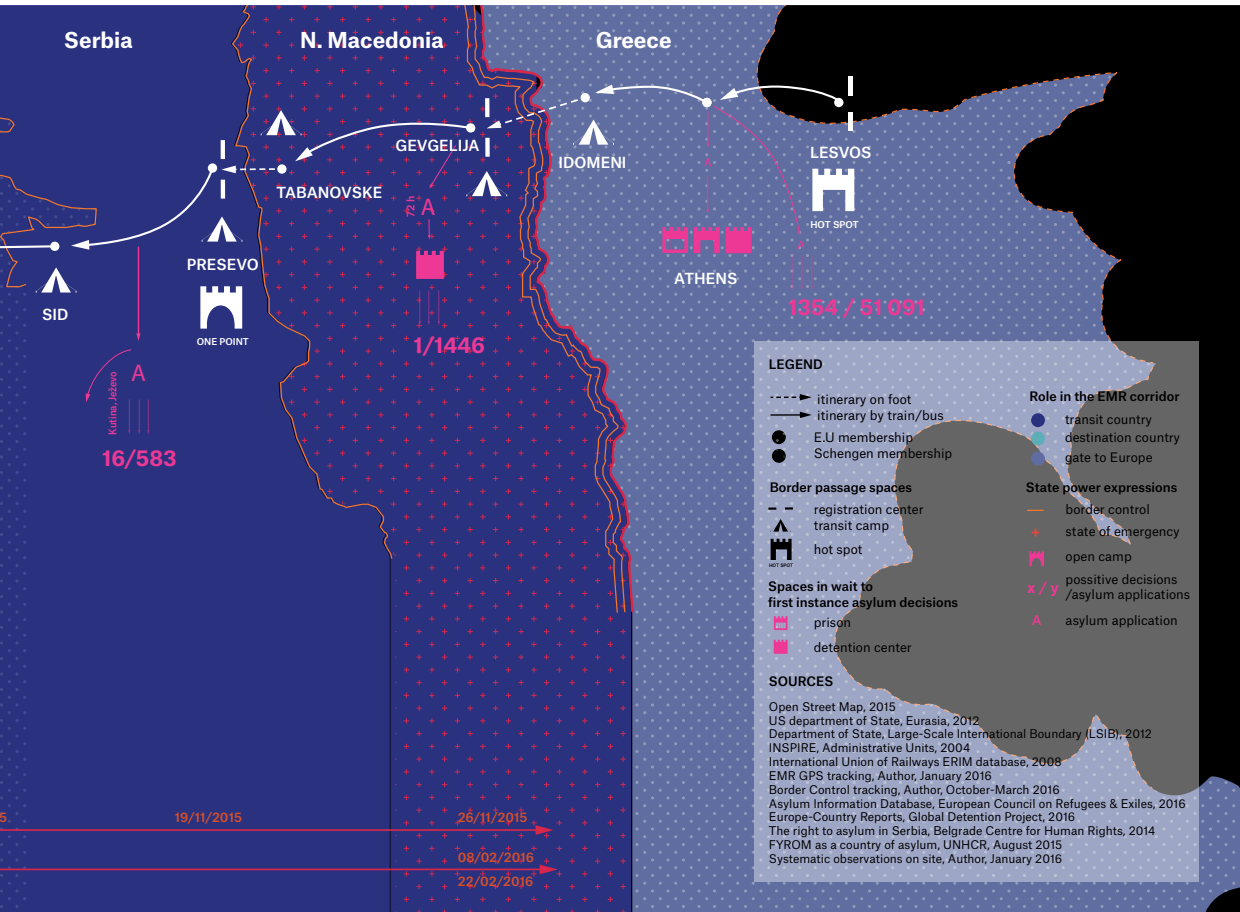


Fig. 4: EMR, spatial trajectories to seek asylum. Source: Author.



Greece. The contingency of the border politics of North Macedonia to Slovenia and Croatia manifests evidently in the presence of the military police of the second at its border passage to Greece.³⁷ Such knock-on effects among EMR countries related to border controls are common and characterise the operation of the corridor. Another pair is that of Germany and Austria. When Germany announced the temporary closing of its border in mid-October, Austria undertook similar measures on the same day.

The reactionary governance of an improvisational infrastructure

The contingency of the border politics of the EMR shows the reactive operation of the corridor. Although all states together take part in the provision of a humanitarian corridor to safe ground, they have antagonistic rather than cooperative relations. One can interpret sovereign decisions in the corridor as an interplay of displacing responsibilities for refugee protection through variations of controlled exclusion. In the absence of clear leadership, the governance of the route is improvised and distributed among affected countries.³⁸ Without a broad EMR coordination mechanism and within a state of exception that foregrounded different forms of extra-legality, individual countries initiated disruptions to the corridor, neglecting spillover effects on involuntary immigrants and neighbouring countries. Looking at the EMR through the lens of sovereign decisions casts light on its improvisational character, and aids in questioning its objective. The route appears as an improvisational infrastructure under the distributed governance of the EMR countries for the control of migratory flows.

The operational principles of the EMR are far from the initial scenario of a humanitarian corridor to safe ground. Governments of the constituent countries raised fences, subjected populations on the move to border controls, accommodated vulnerable communities in spaces of confinement and assigned the

supervision of the process to bodies of control. The EMR is the improvisational infrastructure emerging in the push-pull border politics of the reactionary governance among the EMR countries. It is an anachronistic extraterritorial space that segregates the population on the move from local communities and hampers access to seeking asylum through multiple controlled exclusion strategies.

A new political space for the control of the displaced population

As a physical space, the EMR was the materialisation of a series of legal exceptions: the re-introduction of borders that violate the Schengen agreement, border controls contravening international agreements on the protection of refugees, and the state of emergency that legitimises the override of the legal order. In conjunction with Agamben's investigations into space, law, and sovereignty, the EMR appears as a new type of camp, the spatial institution of the state of exception where the suspension of the legal order becomes a new normal:

The camp inaugurates a new juridico-political paradigm in which the norm becomes indistinguishable from the exception ... It is this structure of the camp that we must learn to recognise in all its metamorphoses into the zones d'attentes of our airports and certain outskirts of our cities.³⁹

Similarly to the camp structure, the EMR is an exceptional expanded territory on the European continent where the law as we know it does not apply. It is an extraterritorial space where the condition of exception materialises in space. Unlike the camp's spatiality of enclosure, the EMR emerges as a new metamorphosis of the camp structure, an adaptation to the European paradigm of sovereignty during the humanitarian refugee crisis of 2016.

Gilles Deleuze's investigation of power and organisational schemes offers a useful analytical framework to understand the political and spatial



Fig. 5a



Fig. 5b



Fig. 5c



Fig. 5d



Fig. 5e



Fig. 5f



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b



Fig. 6c



Fig. 6d



Fig. 6e



Fig. 6f

Fig. 5: EMR, Registration centers (a. Moria hot spot entryway, Lesvos island, Greece; b. Restricted perimeter around the registration center, Gevgelija, North Macedonia; c. View from the border, Rigonce, Slovenia; d. Queue barriers for crowd control, Rigonce, Slovenia; e. Hot spot under construction, Spielfeld, Austria; f. Containers for registration interviews, Spielfeld, Austria). Source: Author.

Fig. 6: EMR, Transit camps (from left to right: a. Kara Tepe, Lesvos island; Greece; b. Gas station employed as a transit camp on the way to Idomeni, Greece; c. Train Station, Gevgelija, North Macedonia; d. Preševo, Serbia; e. Parc outside the city, Graz, Austria). Source: Author.

dimensions of the transition from the camp-as-enclosure to the camp as enclavic network.⁴⁰ Deleuze suggests that the arrangement of the terrain in enclosures is a characteristic of disciplinary societies and does not apply to the western world any more. Instead, he argues that enclosures are supplemented by controls that are continuous, fluid, and modulated. Previously, we observed the variations of border controls that continuously mutated the corridor's operations. As an improvisational infrastructure led by the distributed governance of states with antagonistic interests the EMR emerges as a fluid system of legal arbitrariness. Sovereign decisions of individual countries could, at any given moment, take away any form of rule or right. The resulting topology emulates the organisational scheme of the society of control: 'a self-deforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to another, or like a sieve whose mesh will transmute from point to point'.⁴¹

The regulative instrument of the EMR as the new camp is not the boundary of a confined space but control over the points of access and flows of the European Union. Temporary disruptions of entry, numerical quotas, and nationality-based restrictions are a few of the ways the access to host countries is regulated. The control of flows is regulated with the temporary accommodation of people in transit camps within the route. Lastly, the control of exit from the territory follows the new judicial mode of postponement that supplements the 'apparent acquittal of the disciplinary societies'.⁴² Migrants and refugees pass through a sequence of registrations and security checks. At any given moment, an involuntary immigrant is aware of the next step on the route but never the complete pathway to seeking asylum, symptomatic of the operation of registration centres and the dynamic transformation of the route. Upon arrival in the destination country and after the filing of an asylum application, the asylum seeker still stays in refugee infrastructure. About 12 per cent of asylum seekers received

a favourable first-instance decision that allows to exit the corridor system.⁴³ Of that percentage, even fewer were granted asylum. The rest either return to the first country of entry and re-apply for asylum or are sent to a third country. Through the lens of the society of control, the EMR appears as a postponement mechanism. It succeeded in delaying the legal responsibilities of the EU towards the forcefully displaced until a formal externalisation agreement took place. Indeed, in March 2016, the EU-Turkey agreement displaced the responsibilities and spill-over effects of migration flow to Turkey.⁴⁴ The EMR is a hybrid camp; a parallel world carefully woven in the periphery of the European mainland, offering the illusion of the possibility for inclusion.

Conclusions

The cartographic investigations in this article identify the EMR as a new transnational territory of exception with its own set of rules. This space is not a humanitarian corridor towards seeking asylum as the EU's initial gestures implied. Instead, it emerges as a new transformation of the camp structure tied to the sovereignty paradigm of the society of control.

Berlin's initial call to suspend the Dublin agreement and acknowledge the EMR would allow the forcefully displaced to seek asylum on European ground regardless of the point of entry. The decision was in agreement with both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The formalisation of the route demonstrated an intention to prioritise asylum over the predominant refugee policies of encampment and externalisation, revealing an affinity to pro-admission positions. The mapping of the legal and ethical framework of refugee policy made visible that in the context of forced displacement, state sovereignty is prioritised over the moral obligation to refugees, meaning that individual states could potentially hamper the journey to safe ground. [Fig. 2]



Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b



Fig. 7c



Fig. 7d



Fig. 7e



Fig. 7f



Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b



Fig. 8c

Fig. 7: EMR, Means of transportation (from left to right: a. Bus at Lesvos, Greece; b. Bus queue at Miratovac, Serbia; c. Discrebit train at Preševo, Serbia; d. Bus arrival at the Šid, Serbia; e. Train departure at Šid, Serbia; f. Bus queue at Rigonce, Slovenia). Source: Author.

Fig. 8: EMR, Borders (a. North Macedonia-Greece; b. Hungary-Serbia, c. Slovenia-Croatia). Source: Author.

Cartographic observations made explicit the multiplicity of strategies that constituent countries employ for the controlled exclusion of refugees. Border fortification, disruption of entry and temporary confinement are some of the measures that violated international and European agreements. EMR countries contributed to the corridor's distributed governance according to the moral obligation that each assigned itself. During its existence as a humanitarian corridor, the EMR was under continuous transformation over the push-pull effects of individual border strategies. The EMR materialised spatially as an improvisational infrastructure that emerged through the elastic nature of international law: the absence of institutional mechanisms to enforce agreements and the prioritisation of state power over ethical responsibility.

As a catalyst for the suspension of the legal order and in conjunction with Agamben's definition, the EMR appears as a new camp type. In this case, the camp's organisational structure moves from the paradigm of enclosures representative of the society of discipline to a metamorphosis symptomatic of the logic of the society of control: from the camp-as-enclosure to the camp as fluid enclavic network. The spatial arrangement of the EMR as the fluid enclavic network of a transnational entity becomes explicit in the synthetic diagram of the route. [Fig. 4] The EMR territory is visualised as a corridor that branches broadly towards asylum-seeking processes towards the European mainland but with a very selective exit process and multiple barriers along the way that ensure the postponement of asylum and are contingent on the fluidity of reactionary politics. The diagram reveals the regulative instrument of the EMR: the control over the points of access and flow of refugees. Complementary to the diagram, the series of border passage maps shows at a glance that this entity was exclusively dedicated to non-citizens and though woven along the European periphery, it remained separate. [Fig. 3] As such it defines the enclave character of the network: a

parallel world that operated simultaneously and in geographic proximity to, but socially and economically segregated from Europe. The EMR appears as the new political space of exception, encampment, and control. It is neither a humanitarian corridor to safe ground nor a camp as we know it. In conjunction with Agamben's investigations of the relationship between sovereignty, state of emergency, and space, and Deleuze's contributions on the transformation of power and organisation in space, the significance of the EMR as a metamorphosis of the camp following the modulations of the society of control becomes apparent. Accordingly, the EMR offers a rare glimpse of a new variation of the camp's political space, the fluid enclavic network.

Notes

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1. Angela Merkel announced 'The fundamental right to asylum for the politically persecuted knows no upper limit; that also goes for refugees who come to us from the hell of a civil war'. 'Four EU States Refuse Migrant Quotas Amid "Biggest Challenge" in Union's History', Deutsche Welle, 11 September 2015, <https://p.dw.com>.
2. The Dublin Regulation III is the EU legislation related to admissions. 'Regulation (EU) No 604/2013', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L180/31 (2013).
3. The EU founded Frontex at the end of the Schengen treaty transitional phase in 2014. Its primary role is to assist the member states in managing their external borders from air, sea, and land.
4. Frontex Risk Analysis Unit, *Frontex Risk Analysis Quarterly*, Q4–2015 (Warsaw: OPOCE, 2016), 8.
5. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
6. The record level of irregular migration from Turkey to the Aegean Islands during the summer months of

- 2015 was followed another 45 per cent increase of entries during October. Frontex Risk Analysis Unit, *Frontex Risk Analysis Quarterly, Q1–2016*, (Warsaw: OPOCE, 2016), 7.
7. UNHCR, *UNHCR Greece Factsheet (1 January – 31 May 2016)*, 2016, <https://data2.unhcr.org>.
 8. Giorgio Agamben, 'What is an Apparatus?' in *What is an Apparatus? And Other Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 14.
 9. Chris Perkins, 'Cartography – Cultures of Mapping: Power in Practice', *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (2004): 381–91.
 10. *The Left-to-Die Boat*, Forensic Architecture, accessed 8 July 2020, <https://forensic-architecture.org>.
 11. 'Mapping Conflict with Teddy Cruz and Fonna Forman', *Master of International Cooperation Sustainable Emergency Architecture* (blog), 20 December 2016, <http://masteremergencyarchitecture.com>.
 12. 'Hackitectura: Critical Cartography of Gibraltar', *AntiAtlas of Borders* (blog), 14 August 2013, <https://antiatlas.net>.
 13. Eyal Weizman and Laura Kurgan, *The New Cartography*, conversation at Apexart, New York, 18 September 2014, <https://apexart.org>.
 14. George E. Marcus, 'Ethnography In/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117, <http://jstor.org>.
 15. For example, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), Frontex, Europol, Eurojust, and the Greek authorities established their collaboration on the registration of migrants and refugees only in October 2015. That was three months after the unprecedented acceleration of irregular migration from Turkey to the Aegean Islands. Frontex Risk Analysis Unit, *Frontex Risk Analysis Quarterly, Q4–2015*, 7.
 16. I refer here primarily to the basis of refugee protection according to Roman Boed, 'The State of the Right of Asylum in International Law', *Duke Journal of Comparative International Law* 5 (1994): 1–34.
 17. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998).
 18. 'Regulation (EU)No 604/2013', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L180/31 (2013).
 19. 'If Europe fails on the question of refugees, it will not be the Europe we wished for'. Angela Merkel quoted in İlke Toygür and Bianca Benvenuti, *The European Response to the Refugee Crisis: Angela Merkel on the Move* (Istanbul Policy Center-Sabancı University-Stiftung Mercator Initiative, 2016), 1.
 20. Frontex, 'Eastern Mediterranean Route', accessed 5 July 2020, <https://frontex.europa.eu>.
 21. Serena Parekh, *Refugees and the Ethics of Forced Displacement* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 51–82.
 22. *Ibid.*, 86.
 23. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*.
 24. Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
 25. Wilford, John Noble. 1987. 'A Tough-Minded Ecologist Comes to Defense of Malthus'. *The New York Times*, 30 June 1987, <https://nytimes.com>.
 26. Christopher Heath Wellman, 'Immigration and Freedom of Association', *Ethics* 119, no. 1 (2008): 109–41, doi:10.1086/592311.
 27. Information related to immigration detentions draws from observations on site, first-hand testimonials and the annual reports of the Global Detention Project, both accessed 5 July 2020: 'Germany Immigration Detention Profile', <https://globaldetentionproject.org>; 'Greece Immigration Detention Profile', <https://globaldetentionproject.org>.
 28. Train of Hope Volunteer, Ashley Wingler, conversation with the author, January 2016.
 29. 'Migrant Crisis: Macedonia Shuts Balkans Route', *BBC News*, 9 March 2016, <https://bbc.com>.
 30. Information on border controls draws from the systematic observation of the daily press from October 2015–March 2016.
 31. 'Tageskontingent: Bei 80 Asylanträgen an Südgrenze ist Schluss', *Der Standard*, 17 February 2016, <https://derstandard.at>.
 32. 'Refugee Crisis: Balkans Border Blocks Leave Thousands Stranded', 20 November 2015, <https://amnesty.org>.

33. Aleksandar Dimishkovski, 'Macedonian Police Clash With Migrants on Border With Greece', *The New York Times*, 21 August 2015, <https://nytimes.com>.
34. Croatia is an EU member but not part of the Schengen area. That said, the country had expressed Schengen ambitions.
35. According to country reports by the Asylum Information Database and UNHCR regarding 2015, North Macedonia granted positive first-instance decisions for one person, Serbia for sixteen people, and Croatia for thirty people. Asylum Information Database, *AIDA Reports*, accessed 29 January 2020, <https://asylumineurope.org>; UNHCR, 'The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as a Country of Asylum', August 2015, <https://refworld.org>.
36. Michael Kalkmann, ed., *European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE), Country Report: Germany* (AIDA, 2015).
37. Personal observation on site, 12 January 2016.
38. Dietmar Offenhuber and Katja Schechtner, 'Improstructure – an Improvisational Perspective on Smart Infrastructure Governance', *Cities* 72 (February 2018): 329–38, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.09.017>.
39. Giorgio Agamben, *The Omnibus Homo Sacer* (Meridian: Crossing Aesthetics, 2017), 140–144.
40. Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on the Societies of Control', *October* 59 (1992): 3–7, doi: 10.2307/778828.
41. *Ibid.*, 4.
42. *Ibid.*, 5.
43. The number refers to the sum of positive first-instance asylum decisions of all EMR countries in 2015 over the total of their asylum applications based on the Asylum Information Database Reports noted in Figure 3. Asylum Information Database, *AIDA Reports*, accessed 7 July 2020, <https://asylumineurope.org>
44. European Council, 'EU-Turkey Statement', 18 March 2016, <https://consilium.europa.eu>.

Biography

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