

III. PRZEGLĄD PIŚMIENNICTWA

Jacqueline Bhabha, *Can We Solve the Migration Crisis?* (Global Futures), Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018, pp. 140.

Jacqueline Bhabha (JB) is a Professor of the Practice of Health and Human Rights at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health and the Jeremiah Smith Jr. lecturer in Law at Harvard Law School. She is also the Director of Research at the Harvard FXB Center for Health and Human Rights. She has authored and edited numerous publications devoted to refugee protection, transnational child migration, citizenship and human rights as well as children's rights in the era of migration.¹ In her academic essay *Can We Solve the Migration Crisis?* (CWSMC), the author addresses issues related to migration processes as well as political and social reactions to migration. She not only looks at these phenomena from academic and research perspectives, but analyses them from multiple angles, as a person with experience of refugeeism and migration who has lived and functioned in various countries and on various continents. These experiences, her academic research, as well as her didactic work connected with human rights give her – as I believe – a broader perspective on the political migration crisis and the media panic accompanying it, which has radically changed the image of refugees and migrants in European and American discourse.

JB's new book is written in the form of an academic essay and provides a capsular history of migration. Based on the historical context and selected philosophical theories, the author analyses migration processes, outlines their background and currently implemented solutions, and proposes viable positive solutions to these local and global processes that we could (and should) implement 'here and now'. JB wrote this important book to stress that developed countries have a moral obligation to address the problem of migration caused, for example by the Civil War in Syria, as well as other cases of 'refugee flight' and 'migration' resulting from political instability and domestic crises in all regions of the world where people were forced to leave their homes.

JB begins Chapter 1 ('A Crisis Like No Other?') with the definition of 'crisis' and an analysis of crisis discourses that make up the narration about migration crisis. She places her analyses within a historical, linguistic and archaeological context and the context of archaeological DNA research, pointing to the trajectories of migration, key factors conditioning the less and more distant mobility of people in various eras of human history on the Earth. Discussing the so-called *longue durée* migration, JB identifies various mechanisms that trigger it and are inscribed in power asymmetries, such as self-interest and the desire for a better quality of life, as well as the political, military and economic causes of migration as generators of old (colonial) and new connections (interdependencies). Finally, focusing on various contexts, she turns to modern migration history, distinguishing three key aspects of the massive human migration: nationalism, racism and border control. In the final part of Chapter 1, the author discusses the migratory consequences of ethnic separation for the societies in Asia, North America and the Middle East, stressing that the 'massive displacement during the second half of twentieth century was not just the product of non-European events' (p. 27).

Chapter 2 ('A Duty of Care') opens with a reference to the photograph of the 3-year-old Syrian boy who drowned near the coastal town of Bodrum, Turkey. The author argues that our moral obligations towards migrants as 'others' encompass 'hospitality and solidarity' based on a universal propensity to include rather than exclude, going beyond bonds of nationality and citizenship. Additionally, she calls on the historical context of colonialism and its consequences to point to the obligation of restitution. Creating space for reflection on the responsibilities human beings have towards each other within a humanistic paradigm, JB asks: 'What, if any, are our moral obliga-

¹ Bhabha, Finch (2006); Bhabha, Crock (2007); Bhabha (2011); (2014a); (2014b).

tions to distressed migrants fleeing for their lives? [...]. Do we have an obligation to share our privileges?' (p. 32). Having posed these questions, she refers to different approaches to solving the migration crisis. The first approach envisages the construction of walls, fencing off and closing society to migrants. The second approach is connected with moral legitimacy and advocacy for human rights. Today we have to deal with the polarization of approaches: pro- and anti-migration policies. JB provides examples of this type of phenomena in political and media discourses and social phenomena, referring to the political scene in the USA and the EU (old and new EU countries). She continues her reflections by referring to 'religious attitudes to our duties to strangers' (p. 41) and then discussing 'philosophical and social approaches to the ethics of hospitality' (for example Ubuntu, Ujamaa, Kant, Shue, Walzer) in common humanity.

In the next chapter (Chapter 3: 'The System at Breaking Point'), regarding the system of global migration, the categories of mobility and immobility, JB takes issue with the term *migration crisis*, adducing arguments for the fact that what we are dealing with today is a humanitarian crisis. She illustrates this with the situation of Palestinians, Somalis or Rohingya, whose third generations live in the 'temporary places of protection' that refugee camps were initially designed to be. Moreover, the refugee system excludes the majority of those in need of asylum. JB points to a range of failures in the operating system of aid and protection for refugees – such as the prolonged duration of stay in refugee camps, unequal distribution of refugees, with 86% of them being hosted by developing countries in conditions preventing any chance for self-sufficiency, as well as lack of possibilities for legal migration, forcing millions to choose between a life without prospects in camps, or risking an insecure and dangerous illegal migration.

In Chapter 4 ('Finding Workable and Humane Solutions'), JB attempts to answer the question about what to do in order 'to generate sustainable and just solutions' (p. 90). She indicates that it is necessary to examine the drivers of contemporary distress migration. These are: conflict and its consequences, humanitarian disasters and climate change, as well as global inequality, poverty and demography.

Migration has been a permanent feature of human existence. The history of human life on Earth is filled with migration crises triggered by various factors, causes and situations. The refugee and migration transborder mobility in Europe from the years 2015–2016, so dramatic in its consequences, has not continued to increase. However, its implications, which are connected, for example, with the irregular and unsafe mobility of tens of thousands of adults and children 'on the move' in difficult life situations, remain a political and social challenge and a key challenge in the area of the protection of human rights. In the destination countries of the Global North, immigrants are hardly ever received with open arms. While a highly-qualified immigrant is welcome everywhere, a low-skilled migrant or a refugee is usually perceived as a problem.² The present social and political polarization in the area of refugee policy, focused on receiving refugees, is based on diverse emotions and varied cognitive patterns, and consequently varied moral values.

JB's book is a very important and unique interdisciplinary study devoted to the search for an answer to the questions of 'whether' and 'how' we can solve the migration crisis in the contemporary world. Searching for answers, the author provokes her readers to reflect on the moral and ethical obligation to help, resulting from the concept of human rights and referring to migration processes. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every person is entitled to certain rights whose application results from inherent human dignity. CWSM reveals the need for a better understanding of a moral obligation and a political and social responsibility to help those who, for various reasons, have become refugees and migrants in the twenty-first century. JB argues that migration and refugeeism are constructs that are closely interrelated, that shape the presence and future of the societies of the Global South and the Global North, regardless of whether they are directly or indirectly entangled in them. In the global literature we can find multiple academic publications devoted to both socio-legal, economic and historical problems of migration,³ as well as publications addressing the migration crises⁴ taking place in micro and macro scale in the contemporary, globalized world. However, in the academic sphere, there are few analyses and publications that tackle the problem of migration in relation to responsibility

² Markowska-Manista, Pasamonik (2017): 7–14.

³ Kahanec, Zimmermann (2016); Back, Sinha (2018); Hillmann, Van Naerssen, Spaan (2018).

⁴ Crawley, Duvell, (2017); Menjívar, Ruiz, Ness (2019); Suárez-Orozco (2019); Vickers (2019).

and morality, seen as answers to the long-term democratic obligation to ensure humanitarian protection and non-discrimination, indicating the symbiosis and historical inseparability of these two processes.

In the era of fluid postmodernity, anyone of us could become a refugee or a migrant. In the face of growing populist xenophobia, increasing global inequalities and the escalation of conflicts driving millions of people to embark on a journey (escape) towards the Global North, it is worth reflecting on potential, rational solutions that respect the rights of every person. The dynamic and increasingly accelerating development of globalization processes leads to deep and sometimes undesirable changes in the life of individuals, societies and nations, based to a large extent on migration and refugeeism. In JB's view, an analysis of these changes leads to conclusions revealing a need for rethinking many traditional problems and searching for better ways of solving them, more adequate in the changing reality. One such problem is the question of human responsibility for the global consequences of human activity and a sense of this responsibility in the social context, in both global and local dimensions.

JB's book is worth recommending not only to academics and students, but also to practitioners, educators and non-governmental organization activists demanding the observance of human rights in the shadow of the consequences of the migration crisis. I recommend it to everyone who recognizes the importance of building a non-violent human rights discourse in the era of migration. Fighting the refugee and migration crisis has become a prerogative of global politics. In the times of growing radicalization and xenophobia, and the rise of political nationalism, forced migration requires a redefinition in both educational practices and social discourse. Today, in developed democracies, the social contract and the letter of the law are not sufficient to find resolutions that would allow people to coexist peacefully in societies marked by migration, whose roots lie in serious violations of human rights. Understanding based on the awareness of the causes and effects of migration processes are key elements of global cooperation. Only understanding and accepting Kant's arguments for common universal destiny of man, acting upon the obligation to provide aid and support to another human being, which the author reminds us are the moral fundamentals and norms of three Abrahamic religions (pp. 42–3), the philosophy of Ubuntu – indigenous humanism and Ujamaa – the philosophy of 'extended familyhood' (pp. 48–9), can contribute to changing the approach to refugees and migrants in the practice of national policies. However, the most important of all solutions would be – as the author argues – to solve problems in the countries from which people flee en masse: to provide adequate and morally responsible aid implemented on the ground. A unique value of the reflections found in the book lies in the fact that the author is not only a representative of the world of the academy, and thus is adept at academic debates, but is also a practitioner for whom the conceptual categories and themes addressed are also (and perhaps primarily) elements of her own experience.

Urszula Markowska-Manista

u.markowska-ma@uw.edu.pl

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0667-4164>

- Back, L., Sinha, S. (2018). *Migrant City*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, J. (ed.) (2011). *Children Without a State: A Global Human Rights Challenge*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Bhabha, J. (2014a). *Child Migration and Human Rights in a Global Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bhabha, J. (ed.) (2014b). *Coming of Age: Reframing the Approach to Adolescent Rights*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bhabha, J., Crock M. (2007). *Seeking Asylum Alone: Unaccompanied and Separated Children and Refugee Protection: A Comparative Study of Laws, Policy and Practice in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America*. Sydney: Themis Press.
- Bhabha, J., Finch N. (2006). *Seeking Asylum Alone: Unaccompanied and Separated Children and Refugee Protection in the United Kingdom*. Cambridge, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College.

- Crawley, H., Duvell, F. (2017). *Unravelling Europe's 'Migration Crisis': Journeys over Land and Sea*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Hillmann, F., Van Naerssen, T., Spaan, E. (eds.) (2018). *Trajectories and Imaginaries in Migration: The Migrant Actor in Transnational Space*. London: Routledge.
- Kahanec, M., Zimmermann, K.F. (eds.) (2016). *Labor Migration, EU Enlargement, and the Great Recession*. Berlin: Springer.
- Lazaridis, G. (2016). *Security, Insecurity and Migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Markowska-Manista, U., Pasamonik, B. (2017). Wprowadzenie [Introduction], [in:] U. Markowska-Manista, B. Pasamonik (eds.), *Kryzys migracyjny: perspektywa pedagogiczno-psychologiczna [Migration Crisis: The Pedagogical and Psychological Perspective]*. Volume 2. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej: 7–14.
- Menjívar, C., Ruiz, M., Ness, I. (eds.) (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, M.M. (ed.) (2019). *Humanitarianism and Mass Migration: Confronting the World Crisis*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Vickers, T. (2019). *Borders, Migration and Class in an Age of Crisis: Producing Immigrants and Workers*. Bristol: Policy Press.