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Mediterranean 'illegally', and rescue politics are not opposite mechanisms of migration government. This means that humanitarian measures hold a specific political tech-nology over 7migrant lives by rescuing, sorting and channelling migrants, one in which people escaping wars can seek asylum only by first becoming shipwrecked persons to rescue.

The politics of counting and the scene of rescue

All of their life-saving missions have come under increasing hostility from European governments, Malta and Italy in particular, or have been ignored. Europe's treatment of refugees in the central Mediterranean has also only worsened, especially since the Covid-19 pandemic began.

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