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Varieties of visual 'Europe' in images of irregular mobility[1]

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Abstract

The governmental management of mobility is a crucial way in which contemporary Europe is being assembled and delineated. Images are part and parcel of the increasingly elaborate network of organizations, expertise, legal codes and material infrastructures set up to manage the 'desirable' and 'undesirable' mobility across EU-borders. Images of governmental surveillance and security exist and become visible in a wider field of image production and dissemination. State institutions are far from alone in their attempts to see and disclose 'what's going on at the border'. This paper proposes to explore the varieties of visualisation by conceptualising specific methods of rendering 'immigration into Europe' visible. Two such methods are reconstructed in detail and illustrated through empirical examples. While many images are produced in the process of state governance and control over mobility, it is shown that methods for rendering immigration visible are equally deployed by non-state actors and in relation to other kinds of concerns. The analysis serves to demonstrate two ideas. First, varieties of visual 'Europe' can be explored among pictures that nonetheless resemble each other in many respects. Second, both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic attempts to visualise irregular immigration across Europe deploy, at least, two methods of visualisation. The politics of imagination, at stake in struggling over what and where Europe is, can thus be enlarged beyond struggles over representation into questions about the methods that allow Europe to become visible when images of immigration are produced.

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Europe variegated

With an all-too-binocular notion of vision in mind, one might pose the following question: what does Europe looks like in images of irregular migration. One might begin to answer it by collecting what one thinks are images of irregular migration and describe the view they provide of what one thinks is Europe. By doing so, however, one would be precluding precisely what it is that such an endeavour could contribute to our understanding of how Europe is made visible. The crucial point, of course, is that one needn't make such an analysis if one already knows what Europe and the migrations that traverse its borders look like. Only if one already has a picture of the thing does it make sense to wonder how it is (mis)represented in this or that genre of images. Visualisations of Europe only begin to be more than a series of representations once we leave behind the rhetoric of resemblance – What does Europe look like? – and, instead, pose a different kind of question: how is Europe made visible through images of irregular migration? Crucially, this means that we accept that Europe is made visible through the manipulation and combination of materials that look nothing like 'Europe' but render it visible. We ought to start from the idea that Europe's contours emerge in the very production of certain images. The monitoring and visualisation of irregular migration presents one ecology of images through which Europe is made to look a certain way. Of course, focusing on such migration is not accidental. In fact, there is a non-casual relationship between all three of the major terms of the question. Europe, migration and visuality are conceptually implicated in each other.

To begin with Europe: its very idea is visual. Europe designates a way of looking, namely to 'the west', and the capacity of over-looking a great expanse. 'Europos' means 'one who sees very far' (De Rougemont 1961; Wintle 2009). Second, Europe is a thing to recognise: a 'broad face' (Swedberg 1994). Europe is an orientation, a capacity of sight and it is where we encounter a face. Europe joins in its etymology and ideation the recognition of a face *and* the supervision of a landscape. The connection between face and landscape has been explored by Deleuze & Guattari in their text on *faciality* (1987: 172; see also Olwig 2008; Edkins 2013):

[the face] is no longer *relative* because it removes the head from the stratum of the organism, human or animal, and connects it to other strata, such as significance and subjectification. Now the face has a correlate of great importance: the landscape, which is not just a milieu but a deterritorialised world.

The capacity to visualise particular landscapes, and not merely milieus in which the body dwells, is connected to the capacity to recognise faces. The human body is caught up into signification and subjectification insofar as it acquires a face. And it is with the differentiation of faces that this or that landscape also become particularized (see also Olwig 2008): 'you are from here'; 'you are not from here'. The concept of faciality, then, posits faces and landscapes not through certain resemblances – 'this *looks like* a face/landscape' – but by relating faces and landscapes together, by suggesting that when we distinguish faces we are already beginning to particularise landscapes and vice versa. When looking for Europe, we are at once looking for a facial type…White Man. Europe is profoundly visual as it not only involves ways of particularising it geographically, but also recognising it in faces.

Visuality bears no contingent relation to migration either. Migration is unthinkable without visuality. Not because it is hard to perceive people on the move without the faculty of sight, but because migration involves the breaching of a threshold that is, first and foremost, visually produced. Borderlines are drawn, and subsequently surveyed, across landscapes as part of complex interactions between territorial control and cartographic imaging (Biggs 1999; Neilson & Mezzadra 2013). Equally important is the drawing of differences between identifiable bodies through the accumulation of control over identity markers such as passports (Torpey 2000, 2001; Lyon 2009). Visually, border control consists of the twined ability to decide and authorize which kinds of people are eligible to move beyond which kinds of territorial thresholds. Humans move through environments, but a phenomenon such as 'irregular migration' exists through the production of a specific kind of visuality that comes intermingle with such mobility (Schinkel & Van Reekum *forthcoming*). Conversely, monitoring border crossing involves a heterogeneous infrastructure of vision and only along such infrastructures does it become even faintly possible to make distinctions between 'regular' and 'irregular' migration, 'in' and 'outside' of Europe.

Finally, Europe is to an important extent being constituted through the politics and management of migration (Van Houtem 2010). A variety of governmental conglomerates associated with Europe, under the banner of the EU, heavily engaged in deploying and developing common migration policies, agencies and control capacities (Guild & Bigo 2005; Neal 2009; Feldman 2012; Hayes & Vermeulen 2012; Green 2013). Europe is also at stake in public and political struggles over migration, diversity and citizenship (Balibar 2002; 2014; Delanty 2013). Control over mobility is a major aspect of what constitutes political authority and citizenship is profoundly inflected by

territorial demarcations. Therefore it is not surprising that migration forms a crucial axis for the constitution of what, where and who is Europe in the construction of the EU.

To pose the question how Europe is made visible through images of irregular migration is to associate a triplet of notions that already exist through each other: Europe, visuality, migration. Any answer to such a question ought to address this entanglement. One way of doing so, is to worry about the extent to which we always already tend to know *what* migration is, *where* Europe can be seen, and *who* is out of place. As these phenomena imply each other, they tend to form self-sustaining loops (Hacking 1995) that may be 'merely' performative, yet therefore no less well-constructed and effective for being so. While it is certainly possible to contradict this looping effect by critically analysing what is left invisible, what is warped and what is made into a spectacle, it is also worthwhile – I'll argue – to disentangle the loops by variegating the images that are part of them. Such an exercise will not amount to a deconstruction or alter-visualisation of Europe. Rather, it explores the extent to which the existing ecology of images, well-constructed into loops, is already deeply heterogeneous notwithstanding the self-same identity that is all too easily presumed to exist beyond the surface of appearances. This is not an exercise in critique and replacement, but one of rediscovering what is already there in such a way that we recognise the variety in which Europe is already enacted.

Looking for the border

For some time now, scholars of border and migration studies have argued that 'the border' is never to be found in any one location (Johnson et al. 2011). Not only do borders constantly move about, they are also at different places at once. To think that the border-line is – in the last instance – the uninterrupted, enclosing line that is imagined to extend itself along the vertical cleavages between sovereign territories is to disregard how borders actually work and to unduly prioritise one of its appearances (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013). In order to keep the projection of an enclosing border-line going – postponing its inevitable shortcoming – a vast amount of work is performed, not the least of which happens far away from and not directly connected to the extremities of territories. Bordering happens at many places at once and it is quite impossible to extract out of all those practices and places one and the same border-line of enclosure. In short, in order to enact borders

people will also always need to look for the borders, render them visible, as there is no last-instance-border that gives itself before any effort of visualisation (Walters 2010).

Mezzadra & Neilson have recently argued, in lieu of Balibar, for the concept of border as method. For them, borders are always methods. Part of this program is to do an ethnomethology of bordering: to study borders by studying the methods people deploy to enact borders. Conceptions of borders are thereby taken to be performative – they are compelling us to look for borders in certain places and in certain ways – and it is imperative to analyse bordering in terms of the methods through which borders become enacted. Mezzadra & Neilson quote from Balibar's text *What is a Border?*

"The idea of a simple definition of what constitutes a border is, by definition, absurd: to mark out a border is precisely, to define a territory, to delimit it, and so to register the identity of that territory, or confer one upon it. Conversely, however, to define or identify in general is nothing other than to trace a border, to assign boundaries or borders [...] The theorist who attempts to define what a border is is in danger of going round in circles, as the very representation of the border is the precondition for any definition. (2002, 76)"

It is this line of inquiry that I will try to follow here, namely by focusing on the methodological aspects of how Europe is rendered visible through the depiction of irregular migration. By analysing the methods through which borders are drawn, it becomes possible to variegate pictures of Europe that nonetheless resemble each other. These methods, however, are not given by the actual production of pictures. They do not coincide with the making of a photograph, the printing of a map, the filling of a file, or the writing of a text. Instead, I will reconstruct methods – following the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari – as ways in which landscape and face are enacted and correlated. While the actual production of pictures may involve a myriad of crafts, materials, skills and criteria, I will look for methods as different ways of enacting correlates of landscapes and faces. Insofar as ways of visualising borders enact different correlates of landscapes and face, I will treat them as different methods. The variety I'm looking for is not between pictures themselves but between ways of figuring out what 'migrating into Europe' might actually be to begin with. As will be discussed, certain production techniques may play crucial roles in the enactment of certain methods, but methods are not given or delineated by them. Methods concern the enactment of landscapes and faces in a variety of ways. This paper is thereby also concerned with demonstrating how such methods are not any more or less abstract than different ways of producing pictures. Methods are concerned with rendering matters visible and are thereby composed by what one could call

infrastructures of vision (Bowker & Starr 1999). Methods are formed by networks of practices that together amount to specific ways of looking for borders.

In the remainder of this paper I will focus on some quite particular ways of looking for borders, namely those concerned with the monitoring and visualising of irregular immigration (see also Walters 2010; Feldman 2012). Moreover, I will reconstruct only two methods. My claim is neither that irregular immigration provides a privileged field of inquiry for figuring out how Europe is rendered visible nor that there are only two methods in doing so. Yet, as already argued, irregular immigration forms an intense field of struggle over the contours and whereabouts of Europe as it deals with the demarcation between normal and pathological modes of mobility across its borders. And while only two methods will be discussed, their reconstructions hopefully demonstrate how this ethnomethodological approach to border visuality allows us to variegate images and disentangle resemblances.

Shoring up Europe through patrolling

The first variation of visual Europe that I will deal with can be understood through *patrolling*. It involves putting feet to the ground and slugging through an environment as a way of monitoring a *terrain* (Elden 2010). Patrols constitute techniques of watchfulness and vigilance related to tactical capacity and dominance. As such, patrolling happens most poignantly at the outskirts of tactical space. That is, patrolling is precisely what produces limits and sets up barriers of tactically controlled stretches of terrain. This means that dominance within certain spatial perimeters is produced through the tactical enactment of outskirts themselves. Patrolling makes the very edges of its inland. Within these outskirts tactical dominance peters out horizontally and is by definition instable and contested (Walters 2006). Terrains are given by limes. Without such imbricated limes there would be nothing to control and protect to begin with. In the production of patrolled landscape, borderlands are prior to lands and their borders. Not only are patrols interested in landscapes for their tactical possibilities – how the enemies' actions may unfold and be deflected –, visualisations of terrains are themselves tactically produced as they are made by moving through it. Even if such gathering of data involves so-called unmanned vehicles or "drones", to name but one high-tech example, landscape is produced through tactical means. One of the major techniques of patrolling is, then, the work of cartography as it visualises landscape by moving through it (Bier 2014).

When landscape is enacted we may expect a correlated production of faces. Correlated to patrolled terrain is the production of what, borrowing a term from Marcel Mauss, we could call *body techniques* (Mauss 1973). As we visualise terrains, we also visualise body techniques. Body techniques include much more than the mere corporal abilities of bodies. Mauss' concept aims to direct our attention to the manners in which bodies tend to act when they perform certain activities: not so much *that* one acts, but *how* one acts. In this sense, body techniques reveal much more than mere location and direction of humans. Techniques comprise the tactical capacity to move, attack, avoid, flee, hide and, for that matter, to produce cartographies. They also allow for monitoring through patrolling as body techniques disclose corporeal presence and movement within terrains. For instance, body heat radiating through the environment can be used to disclose the presence of bodies through infrared scanning. Thus, body techniques are at once what betray and disclose movement through terrains and what afford bodies the capacity to avoid detection and control of movement. Body techniques thereby also display certain signatures – a heat profile, a gate, an appearance – that allow patrols to notice and distinguish them (Amoore 2013). They indicate what kind of body is moving about and what such a body is likely to be doing. Dress, style, complexion, appearance, tone, and other extra-corporal aspects of the person are quite deliberately included in what patrols notice and attend to. Border guards, for instance, are trained to 'read' persons as they move through borderzones. Even when we know that we have every right to be moving through a borderzone – such as a border gate at the airport – we stylise our presence and movement to fit what we feel the occasion demands.

Patrolling enacts correlates of terrains and body techniques. Through their visualisations, borders are envisioned as unruly extremities of territories in which sovereignty peters out. These extremities are crossed by bodies moving in distinguishable ways. Importantly, these visualisations are hardly the imposition by a domineering state, legitimating its particular pictures of what, where and how the border is. Many non-state participants, often seeking to counter and usurp official monitoring and pictures of borders, also produce visualisations through patrolling. Their visualisations may be different from the sanctified agencies of border management, but they nonetheless enact correlates of correlates of terrains/body techniques.

What is Europe made to look like in these visualisations? In different ways, Europe is made to be a *shore* and is drawn by *shorelines*. One enters Europe by 'coming ashore', a body technique, and it is the shore – the complex intersection of water- and land surfaces – through which Europe-terrain is produced. Indeed, not all of this Europe-terrain is delineated by waters. Yet, the *shore* is of distinct

significance as it signals the submergence of landscapity as such. In this sense, the Eastern extremities of this Europe-terrain is often conceived in analogy to water: a horizontal petering out of oversight and an undifferentiated repetition of homogeneity – trees – that indicates that somewhere in this sea of trees 'Europe' comes to an end (Mungiu-Pippidi 2002).

Through the shoreline we may interrogate the partiality to Earth that Carl Schmitt describes in the opening paragraph of *Land and Sea*:

Man is a terrestrial, a groundling. He lives, moves and walks on the firmly-grounded Earth. It is his standpoint and his base. He derives his points of view from it, which is also to say that his impressions are determined by it and his world outlook is conditioned by it. Earth-born, developing on it, man derives not only his horizon from it, but also his poise, his movements, his figure and his height. That is why je calls Earth the star on which he lives, although, it is well known, the surface of the planet is three fourths water and only one fourth firm land; even the largest continents are but huge *floating* islands. (1997 [1954]: 1, *italics added*)

The *shoreline* forms the basis for differentiating a sovereign, territorial inside and an unruly, 'inter-territorial' outside of the high seas. The shoreline distinguishes space along a civil/wild divide that is patrolling's primary matter of concern. Drawing this distinction has never been a simple matter. As Boak & Turner explain in their review of shoreline indicators and detection methods:

An idealized definition of *shoreline* is that it coincides with the physical interface of land and water (Dolan *et al.*, 1980). Despite its apparent simplicity, this definition is in practice a challenge to apply. In reality, the shoreline position changes continually through time, because of cross-shore and alongshore sediment movement in the littoral zone and especially because of the dynamic nature of water levels at the coastal boundary (*e.g.*, waves, tides, groundwater, storm surge, setup, runup, *etc.*). (2005: 689)

KEY

A Bluff top/cliff top
B Base of bluff/cliff
C Landward edge of shore protection structure
D Seaward stable dune vegetation line
E Seaward dune vegetation line
F Erosion scarp
G Storm/debris line
H An old high tide water level
I Previous high tide high water level
J Mean high water (datum referenced)
K Wet/dry line or runup maxima
L Groundwater exit point
M Instantaneous water line
N Shorebreak maximum intensity
O Mean lower low water line (datum referenced)
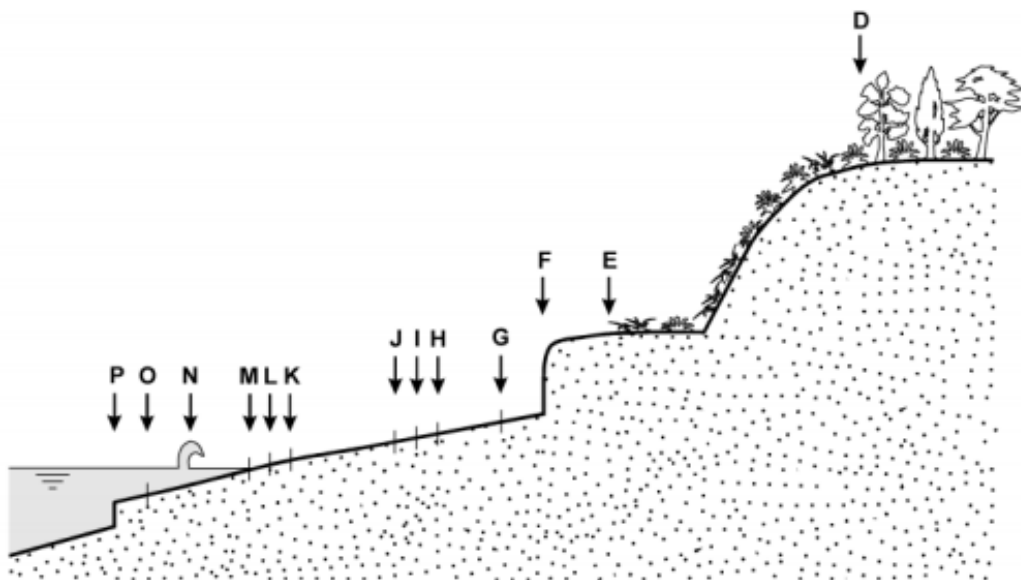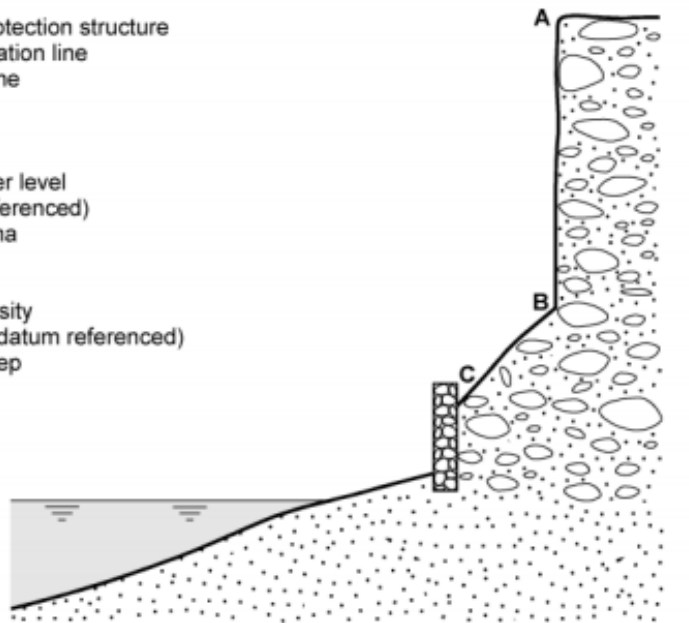P Beach toe/crest of beach step

Figure 1. Illustration taken from Boak & Turner (2005) visualising the various shoreline data that are defined in shoreline monitoring.

At the very least, this means that the shoreline is not given by land and water. Land and water are precisely what *efface* the shoreline, what constantly eradicate it. Rather, it is by inventing and deploying 'interfaces', i.e. ways of visualising the shoreline, that the incessant effacement of water and land is superseded. With regard to state territorial borders, the focus of attention goes to the invention of so-called *baselines*. In the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS I – III) such a baseline is given by 'the low-water line along the coast as marked on large-scale charts officially recognized by the coastal State'.[2] Ergo, it is the cartographic prowess of the coastal state – the capacity to produce and recognise large-scale picture of its coast – that grant legality to its shorelines.[3] While the actual determination of baselines may follow from sovereign decree, it is still the capacity to produce cartographies of shorelines that guarantees recognition – visually and legally – of such pre-legal gestures.

The cartographic production of shoreline charts may follow different methods in order to draw the 'low-water line' and supersede the effacement of water and land. First of all, the low-water line is one among many shorelines – such as the high water line, the wet/dry line, dune line, bluff top or vegetation line – and only exists on specific temporal and spatial scalings. It cannot be seen with the so-called 'naked eye'. Second, it is a matter of navigating the tidal variability of 'low water'. The two most prevalent methods are the calculation of the Lowest Astronomical Tide (LAT) or the Mean Low Lower Water (MLLW). These estimations are replete with margins of error and indeterminacies, but through the very iterative process of monitoring and visualising *a* baseline is nonetheless drawn and re-drawn, ensuring the sensibility of territorial sovereignty. This is why the zone of the *shore* is so important: even if the line needs to be continuously re-drawn, it is to be drawn somewhere along the interface of land and water.

When migrating to Europe becomes the negotiation of shorelines, we see a dramatization of the shore as ways to render Europe visible. Evocative examples are found in the cinematic work of Nicolas Provost and a photo from Ad van Denderen's GoNoGO project. Both render Europe visible by dramatizing the shore.

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[2] http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/part2.htm (accessed June 20, 2014)

[3] Indeed, as Paul Carter argues, shorelines are themselves variants of the even more rudimentary geography of coastlines: 'Coasts are elevations in the earth's surface whose other sides have yet to be mapped. But coastlines are different. Far from dissolving into rounded and graduated three-dimensional objects, they grow in importance and definition with the advance of the survey. A coastline is a generalization of geographical particulars. As a means of filling in the gaps between the isolated observations of capes, cliffs, and promontories, it represents the traveling cartographer's desire [i.e. the imperial desire, RvR] to establish "general principles".' (2009: 50)

Figure 2. A still from the opening scene of Nicolas Provost's THE INVADER (2011) in which a pristinely white nudist woman encounters two black bodies coming ashore, barely alive.

Figure 3. One of photos from the GoNoGo-series. See: http://www.go-no-go.nl/ (accessed June 20, 2014). The photo was taken in 2001 at Punta Paloma, Spain. Van Denderen participated in the perilous journey of migrants to make his photos.

As 'coming ashore' is a body technique it is not merely *that* one comes ashore that matters, but also *how* one comes ashore. In this respect, we are dealing with what De Genova has called the border spectacle in view of which the border and the migrant appear thing-like, natural and necessary:

In place of the social and political relation of migrants to the state, therefore, the spectacle of border enforcement yields up the thing-like fetish of migrant 'illegality' as a self-evident 'fact', generated by its own supposed act of violation. (2013: 3)

The mobility in border spectacle is first and foremost naturalised into movement across terrain, into a crossing of shorelines that is self-evidently unlawful through the very act of movement.

While De Genova interjects the notion of *border spectacle* to critically engage the production of 'illegality', 'foreignness' and 'exclusion', we might broaden the notion to include not merely the picturing of 'unlawful entry' but also the heralding and celebration of 'coming ashore'. Strikingly, these images also depict correlates of shorelines and body techniques. Take for example, Titian's rendition of the mythic emergence of Europe.

Figure 4. Titian's *Rape of Europe* (1559).

Present-day monitoring systems, such as Frontex' EUROSUR, are set-up precisely to produce visualisations of terrains and the bodies that are moving through the tactical limes of Europe. EUROSUR seeks to foresee those bodies that might be coming ashore. As such, EUROSUR is set up to allow EU member states to monitor and act upon so-called 'incidents' in borderzones through one and the same visual interface. Ambiguities and conflicts over where different terrains are – territorial waters, search-and-rescue-areas, special economic zones – and what is happening within them are thereby mitigated via an interstate system (Jeandesboz 2008). Patrolling agencies of different states are beginning to use one and the same infrastructure of vision to gain so-called 'situational awareness'.
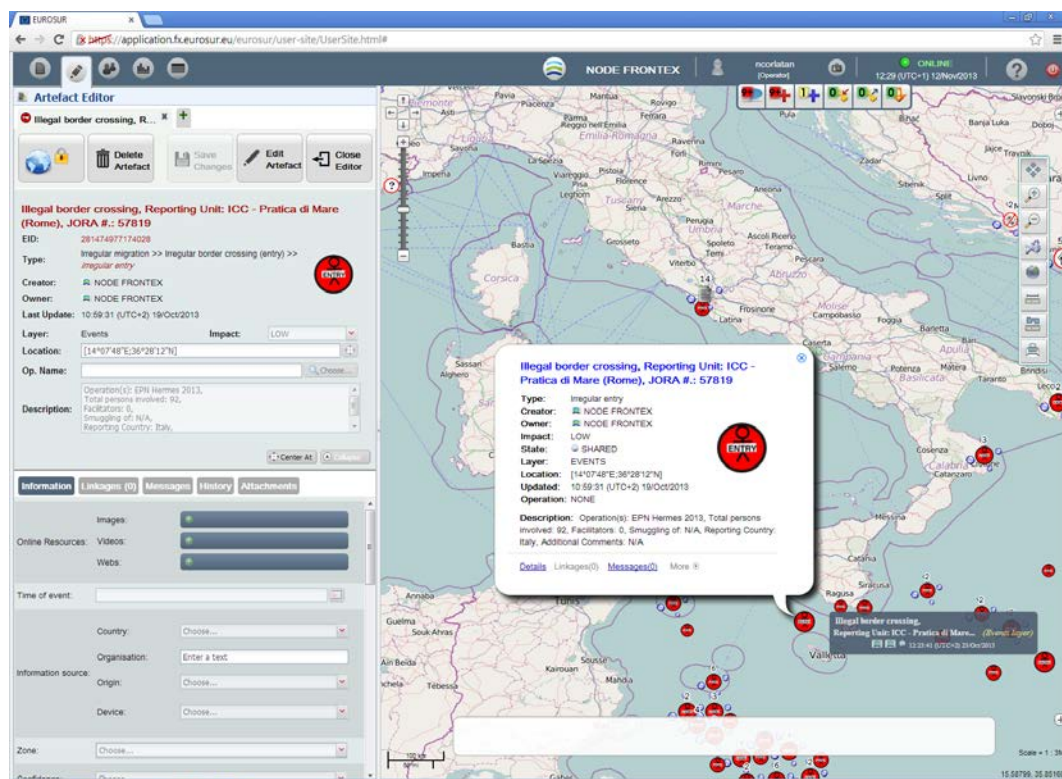
Figure 5. A screen shot from a beta testing of the EUROSUR-interface as it is being implemented in control rooms across EU member states. The interface allows users not only to see, in close to real-time, what is being detected in tactical space, but also to input and amend information procedurally. The red circles indicate so-called 'incidents', while the purple lines draw out the limits of the territorial waters, projected outwards from baselines at the shore in accordance with international law of the sea.

In summary, the visual infrastructure of patrolling involves terrains, body techniques and shorelines which together can be used to compose and re-compose visualisations of Europe.

Figure 6. An illustration by Burkhard Mohr that accompanied a journalistic reportage on EUROSUR in the German magazine Cicero. The text reads: "They probably want to sell us insurance!".

Documenting movements and Europe's legality on display

A second variation of Europe can be discerned in practices of *recording*. Here, the infrastructure of vision is not given by tactical dominance, but rather through identitarian objectivity. It is not a matter of surveying terrain, but rather of inspecting identity documentation and personal status. One could, of course, construct recording as yet another pendant of tactical dominance, but that would not only reduce the practices of recording to one aspect of them, namely their role in practices of patrolling, but also misconstrue *objectivity* to merely be the nominalist power of officials to impose an identity onto bodies and pre-decide the legality of their presence. Indeed, this power exists and is constantly asserted, not in the last instance by agents occupied with patrolling (see for instance Broeders 2009). Yet, we would thereby forego the question how it is that officials, equipped with state prerogatives of identification, come to envision personal identities in this particular way.

Moreover, we ought to wonder how officials come to deploy certain techniques of identification – rather than others – as the correct means of establishing identities. Officials can only become powerful imposers of state dictated identities – 'you are what I say you are' – through the emergence of a documentary ecology in which the very identification of a person by way of a document-related-to-a-body becomes a possibility. As the historical studies of identity papers have shown (Groebner 2007; Torpey 2000, 2001), such history can be told as a history of increasing state domination over the legitimate means of movement (Torpey 1998; Broeders 2009). Yet, such dominance is only ever achieved insofar as state agencies gain the upper-hand in the objectification of documentary identities. They do so, mainly, by relaying as much of the documentary infrastructure as possible via state controlled organisations to the point that documentation that is not, somehow, connected to these relays is deemed untrustworthy or – even more straightforward – fake, illicit or illegal. The crucial point is to recognise that states, as they become involved in territorial sovereignty, actually incorporate documentary objectivity as one of its means to govern and, thereby, as one its constant worries (Schinkel & Van Reekum *forthcoming*).

How does identitarian objectivity happen? First of all, it ought to be clear that objectivity does not depend on representation (Groebner 2007). That is, objectivity is not achieved by creating documents that realistically re-present the person. Rather, objectivity happens when documents are composed out of and are used across a widening extent of practices (Daston & Galison 2007). Objectivity is measured by reach not resemblance. In fact, it seems that identity documents have become more objective precisely by resembling a person less. What produces objectivity is the capacity to inspect a document in at least two different instances and come to a corresponding conclusion concerning identity. Objectivity happens with the widening of such correspondences across more and more visual tests. A passport becomes more objective insofar as more practices are involved in making it and more people are capable of using it. Within the ecology of identity markers – portraits, emblems, signs, shields, complexion, tattoos, visa, passports, letters of introduction, licences, etc. – there are certain markers that increasingly objectify identification because a widening set of practices come to rely on them and recursively confirm them.

Two interrelated processes are of crucial importance: (1) the control over the means of deception; (2) the establishment and dispersal of tabular records. Only by controlling the means of deception can agents hope to perform successful identifications. Precisely by diminishing agents' dependence on recognition of resemblance and replacing visual recognition for visual identification

can objectification begin to take shape. Ergo, all means of identification are – by definition – means of deception. Authorities achieve objectivity not by eradicating deception, but by controlling the means by which persons are to identify-cum-deceive. It is precisely by disregarding local flows of familiar recognition and expanding trans-local flows of anonymous identification that something like a personal identity *per se* can become authorised by state agents and, eventually, imposed through state sanction. This involves the establishment of identity records and their dispersal across a variety of locales. In this way, identity documents can be inspected and corresponded to similar records at different places by authorised officials. Thus, identitarian objectivity is attained. Moreover, it becomes possible to chart human mobility is a way that captures what is usually referred to as *migration*. That is, it becomes possible to quantify, aggregate, subtract, interrelate and cartographically depict where people are, have come from or have gone as their presence at a variety of locales is established. The historical emergence of identitarian objectivity, as part of efforts to control deception and mobility, create vast amounts of statistical data that may, in turn, be used to compose visualizations of migratory movement.

Such visualizations go beyond the creation of identitarian objectivity as such. Rather, what emerge are thematic cartographies that display statistical regularities over episodic stretches of time. Migration is typically visualized by underlying cartographies of enclosed areas – counties, regions, municipalities, provinces, nation-states, continents, etc. – and overflowing arrow-lines, indicating mutual or net exchanges of persons. The very idea of *migration flows* is based on the invention of such thematic cartographies at the end of the 19th century. Most notably, Ernst Ravenstein's map in his seminal article *The Laws of Migration* (1885) entitled "Currents of Migration" displays the net flows between conjoining counties. For Ravenstein, this particular visualisation actually revealed that migration, as documented in municipal registrations of births and residence, had regularities of its own (Alderson 2009). When calculated in the right way and charted by arrow-lines across county borders, the statistician became witness to a general flow *pattern* indicating that migration was not just a collection of biographical particularities but accorded with certain statistical laws of flow that could be theorised and, importantly, governed.

Figure 7. Frame taken from Ernst Ravenstein seminal publication in *The Journal of the Statistical Society of London* in 1885. This flow map follows after Ravenstein has presented the reader with a number of other maps that visualise demographic distributions and summarises his main findings.

This cartographic visuality of 'where people come from' and 'where people are going' has since become iconic in the study and analysis of migratory processes (see Grigg 1977; Tobler 1995). One could even say that migration studies' proper object of research, namely the historical regularities of cross-border movement, were invented through these very visualisations (Alderson 2009). Throughout the modern history of migration studies and the governmental deployment of its knowledges, the notion of *migration systems* is underwritten by the visualisation of flow maps (see Fawcett 1989; De Haas 2010). Seen in this particular way, migration is imagined to be the crossing, if not to say the violation, of a border-line by a movement-line.

Human Migration: Historical Overview   [9

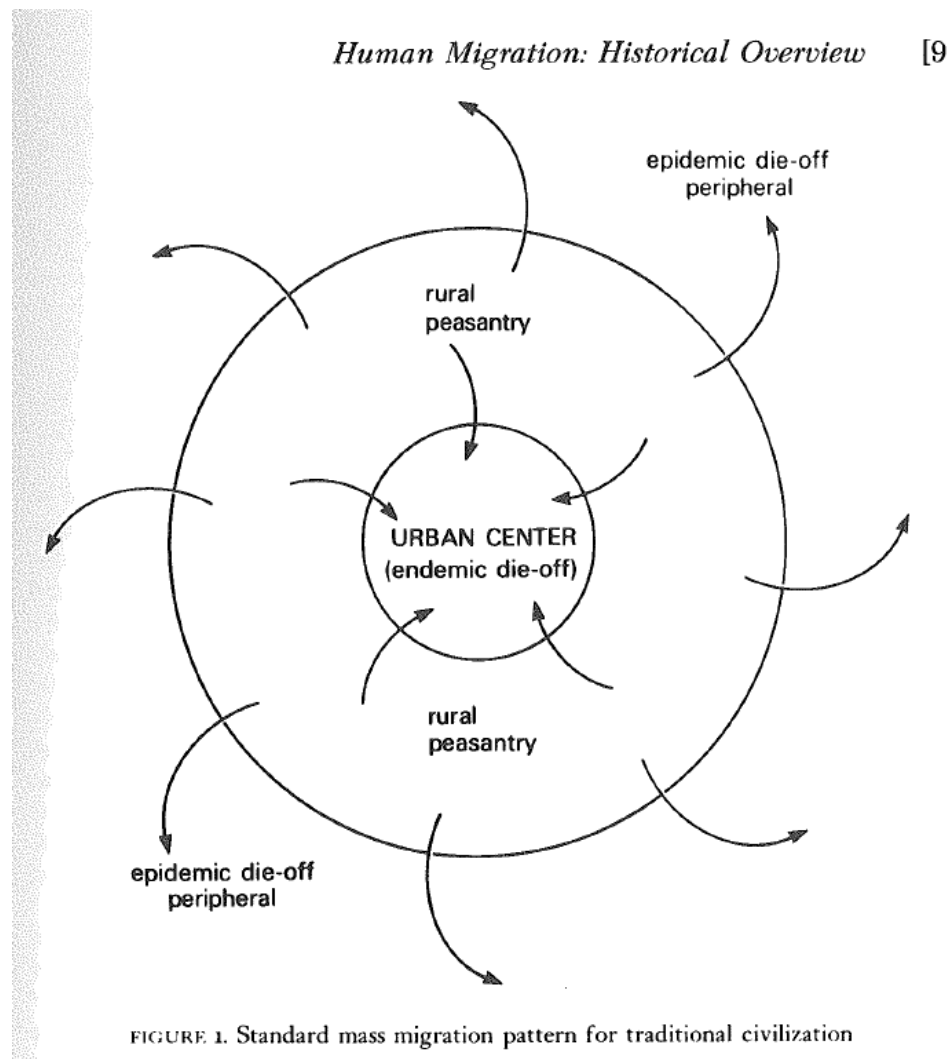FIGURE 1. Standard mass migration pattern for traditional civilization

Figure 8. Frame taken from William McNeill's chapter in *Human Migration: patterns and policies* (1978: 9) modelling an abstracted migration pattern for traditional civilization.

Although documented movement involves a very particular infrastructure of vision, flow mappings of migration once again picture migration in ways that accord with images of tactical dominance. Yet, instead of a dramatically negotiable shore, we become witness to a stable, unmoving set of territorial areas that are subject to mobile, invading migrants. Indeed, certain cartographies of documented movement are generated in the process of patrolling borderzones, namely during the detection of irregular border-crossing by coast and border guards.

Figure 13. In 2013, most detections of illegal border-crossing were reported on the Central Mediterranean and Eastern Mediterranean routes

Detections of illegal border-crossing in 2013 with percentage change on 2012 by route and top nationality detected

Source: FRAN data as of 10 February 2014
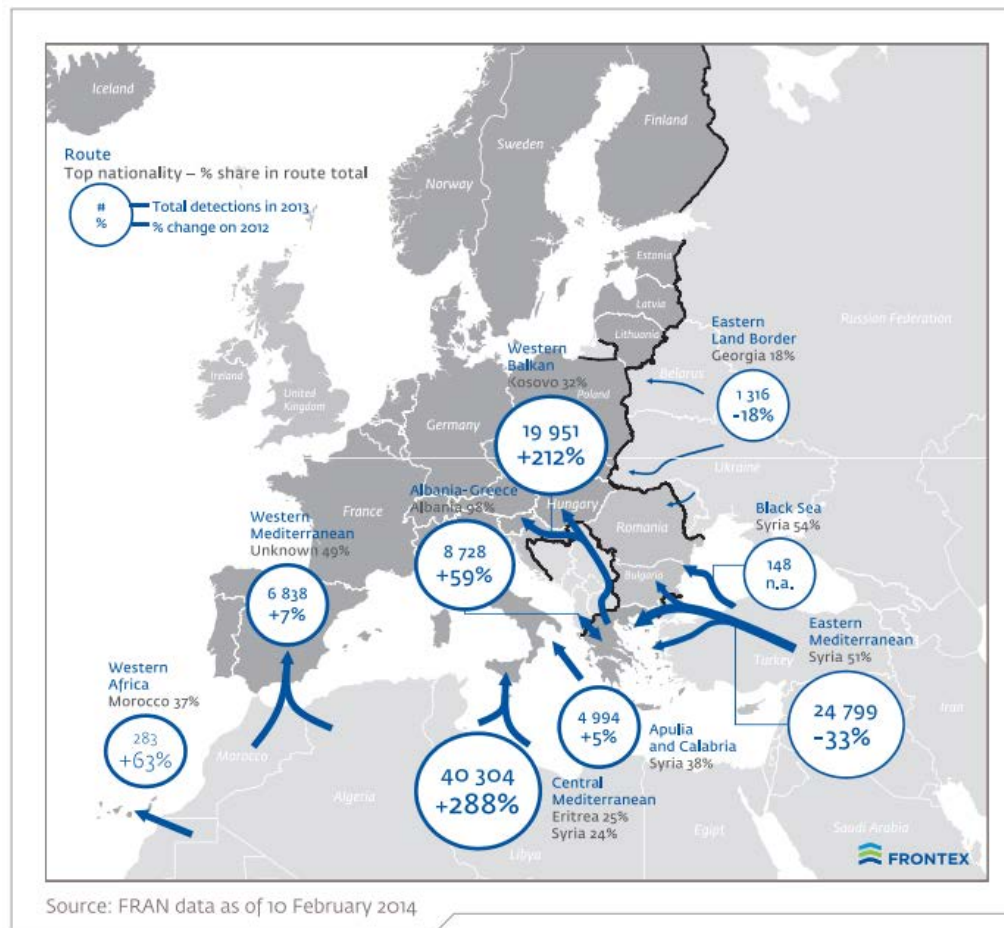
Figure 9. Frame taken from the most recent Annual Risk Analysis report produced by Frontex' Risk Analysis Unit (2014: 33).

Yet, even if the vast majority of documented movement does not concern entry into sovereign territory through the negotiation of shores and territorial extremities, flow mappings still picture migration to be the crossing of such territorial extremities. While certain of these mappings might purposefully display the geographic routes taken by persons, others might display the net exchanges

between residing populations. However, all such pictures envision migration to be the more or less regular overflowing of boundaries and invite the idea that borders are therefore under-controlled, porous, crossable, invaded.

Figure 10. Frame taken from IMPCD's i-Map service. This map was prepared by i-Map as part of the MTM Dialogues, multilateral policy dialogues between EU-member states and third countries. i-Map's visualisations are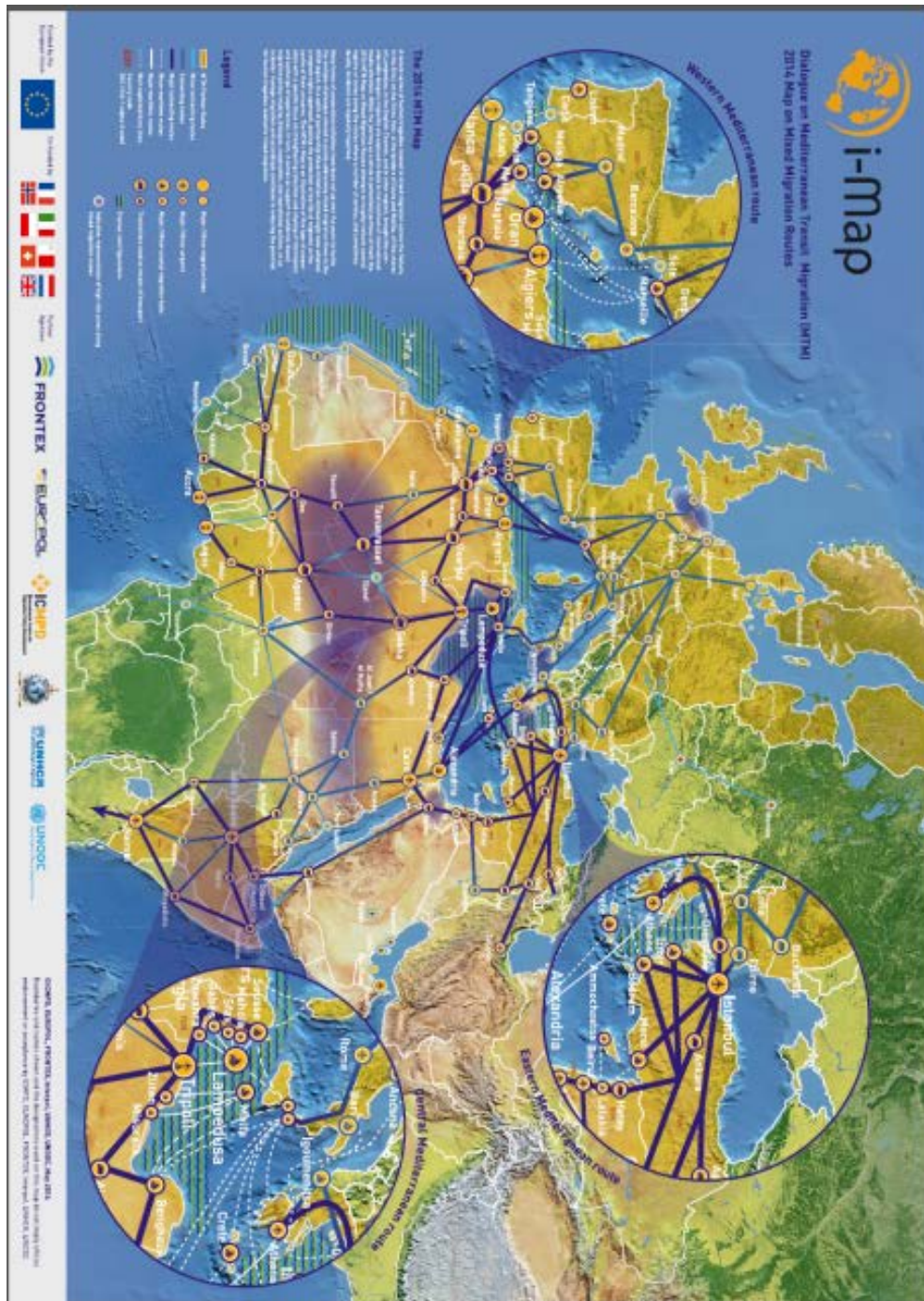 meant to harmonise and guide policy discussions, providing interlocutors with common visual aids, see also Feldman 2012.

Conversely, flow mappings are also used to contradict narratives of invasion, precisely by demonstrating that certain flows are much smaller than certain interlocutors claim or that when the broader migration patterns are taken into view flows turn out not to be invasive, solely directed towards Europe, so much as part of larger dynamics. Take for instance, the visualisations figuring in Hein de Haas' study *The Myth of Invasion* (2007) that sets out specifically to contradict the idea that people from Africa are "invading Europe".
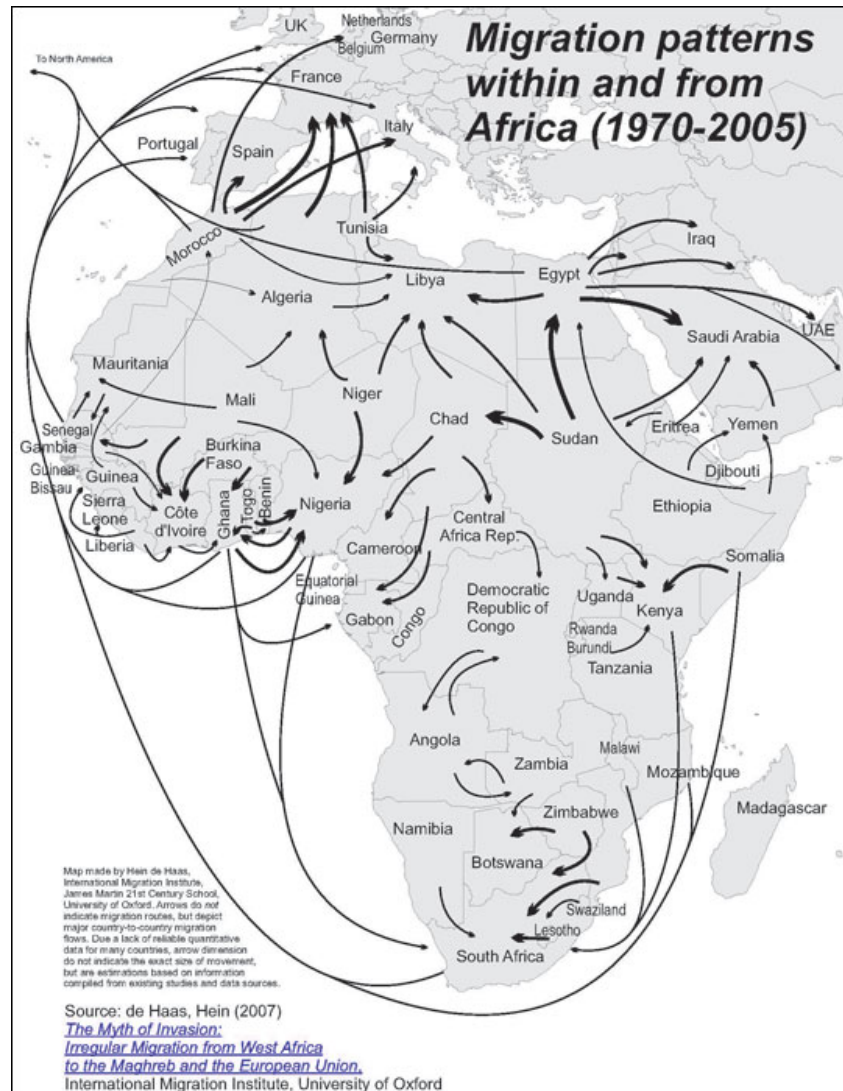

Figure 11. Frame taken from *The Age of Migration* (Castles et al. 2013) presenting the flow patterns found in Hein de Haas' study of migratory movements across the African continent. Flows into Europe are deliberately shown as part of the wider migration system.

Even if many of the flow maps produced through documented movement and objectified identification resemble the visualisations of shorelines and patrolled borderzones, they nonetheless display Europe in a distinctive fashion. The pictorial ensembles do not concern an interplay of terrains and body techniques, but a double-layered world of territories-at-rest and persons-in-flux. Pictures are composed out of a variety of legal differentiations and visualisations display landscapes and faces in relation to the legality of movement. Crossing of border-lines constitute the exiting and entering of legal domains. In this way, the borderlines of flow maps depict the sovereign insistence *not to move*. They display not so much the tactical capacity to dominate space as the sovereign assertion to occupy and freeze it. Flow lines do not so much draw the techniques of bodies moving through terrain as the civic distinctions between belonging and not belonging in an area. What is seen in these images is precisely not what is seen in the tactical visualisations of borderzone monitoring. They do not render visible what is happening in borderzones and building up so-called 'situational awareness'. Rather, through documented movement it becomes possible to produce displays of Europe in which viewers *become witness* to the legality of Europe. Precisely by holding one set of lines, namely the border-lines of legal space, at rest does it become possible to draw another set of lines, namely flow lines of documented movement, across them. We thereby become witness to the constant testing and potential corruption of Europe's legality.

This is also how we might include certain documentary and cartographic exercises by critical researchers and activists into this realm of visual Europe. Take for instance, Migreurop's *Atlas de Migrant en Europe*. These cartographic displays interdict the flow mappings of migration by illuminating the legal 'dark side' of Europe's migration control. Strikingly, these displays also work through the recordings of documented movement but the crossing of border and flow lines disappear. Instead we become witness to unjustifiable violence that is exerted in the protection of Europe's legality. These images thereby portray the gap between justice and legality. The same is true of effort by UNITED and others groups to compile detailed records of the deaths that have occurred among irregular migrants.

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Quellen: United (www.unitedagainstracism.org). Noborder (www.noborder.org/dead.php). Migreurop (www.migreurop.org).
Association des familles de victimes de l'immigration clandestine (Afvic). Karte von Olivier Clochard (Migrations Internationales, Poitiers) und Le Monde diplomatique.

Figure 12. Frame taken from the German-language version of Migreurop's atlas. The circles indicate the amounts of deaths recorded, while the colours indicate the various causes of death. The red line encloses the Schengen-area, while nation-states are variously coloured depending on their EU-membership. Migreurop works closely with news outlets, such as the Guardian and Le Monde Diplomatique, providing graphics to complement reporting on migration politics and governance.

In summary, documented movement leads to displays of legality. While many of the visualisations resemble those of patrolling as they seem to focus on the movement through borderzones, it is important to see how and where they are different. Recording enacts unmoving territories, receding to a pre-legal background, and overflowing lines of movement. Irregular migrants are not coming ashore. Rather, the viewer is made witness to the objective identities of migrants, most notably by designating where they are coming from, and thus demonstrating the capacity to decide who can stay and who cannot. In flow maps, an inspection of the migrant is extended into a movement-line between legal entities. Counter-recording may or may not entail the disappearance of invasive movement-lines, yet they nonetheless come to display and question the legality of Europe.

Conclusion and discussion

The main aim of this paper was to variegate 'Europe' in images of irregular migration by reconstructing the methods of their visualisation. Two such methods were dealt with: patrolling and recording. While the first enacts correlates of terrains and body techniques, the second enact correlates of unmoving territories and overflowing persons. Both methods of looking for borders work to project Europe in different ways. Through patrolling, immigration into Europe becomes a matter of coming ashore, the bodily negotiation of shore-lines. Through recording, immigration into Europe becomes the testing of territorial legality, the identitarian negotiation of border-lines. Indeed, both methods are, in many cases, implicated in each other. Patrols record and bureaucrats patrol. However, my argument has been that they nonetheless constitute different methods of bordering, of looking for borders. If patrolling concerns the problem 'where is who?', recording concerns the problem 'who is where?'. Not surprisingly, these methods will constantly employ each other's visualisations as means to resolve their problems. Yet, it would seem that they do not need each other in principle. They are still loosely coupled. Patrolling is concerned precisely with the interaction of bodies and surroundings, while recording bifurcates landscapes and faces into unmoved enclosures and moving persons. The first is tactical, the second is demographic.

Even more importantly, the struggle over the adequacy of images takes place differently. In the case of patrolling, counter-visualisations are a matter of developing alternate pictures of borderzones that demonstrate countervailing evidence of position, speed, direction and other tactical circumstances.[4] Also, there are efforts by traffickers and migrants to develop cartographies that enable them to circumvent the border surveillance and control in Europe's borderzones. In the case of the spectacle of border crossing, we see photographers and cinematographers seeking to dramatize the shoreline in ways that undercut or problematize the naturalisation of illegality that De Genova associates with the border spectacle. Provost's cinematography inflates the spectacle into a racist fantasy of white leisure interrupted by black distress. Van Denderen, in contrast, presents the hard work of coming ashore precisely by participating in that work.

In the case of recording, the struggle over visualisation is rather different. Here, we see attempt to dispel myths of invasion by locating migration flows into Europe as part of broader patterns of migration. Instead of presenting the border control capacities of European states as the main

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[4] Take for instance, the forensic oceanography performed in the *Let-to-Die Report* by a group of researchers and NGO's: http://www.forensic-architecture.org/case/left-die-boat/#toggle-id-2 (accessed 19-06-2014)

determinants of mobility, such visualisations focus our attention on other regularities of flow that might become objects of more prudent governance. Counter-recoding is also performed by thematic cartographies that make visible precisely those aspects of irregular immigration that are omitted in prevailing flow mappings. These pictures leave out the invasive arrow-lines altogether and replace them with circles of impact. Whereas flow mappings amount to displays of Europe's legality, these pictures seek to display the gap between legality and justice.

Thus, the analysis of methods allows us to interrelate the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic imaging of irregular migration across Europe. They often employ the same methods and struggle over their correct application. The politics of imagination can be studied not just in terms of a politics of representation but also in terms of the methods that people employ to visualise. This means that we needn't get stuck in a dichotomy between resemblance and dissemblance, between a repetition of the same and critical presentation of alternative re-presentations. By taking methods into account, we are able to discern variety within series of resemblances themselves. Europe might appear, again and again, in very similar ways – as a region of the earth, cartographically bounded, always already where we expected it. Yet, we are nonetheless capable of exploring variety here as a variety of methods come to bear on how Europe is rendered visible. In this paper, we encountered only two methods, concerned with tactical dominance and identitarian objectivity, but other such methods can be reconstructed.

I want to end by suggesting one more method as a way of opening up the analysis to other directions, namely the method of *publicising*. I'm thinking here, for instance, of the ways in which groups of undocumented migrants have chosen to make themselves publicly visible by building and occupying urban spaces – squats and encampments – across European polities and producing images of their lives for online publication through facebook and other platforms. In Amsterdam, for instance, a group of migrants have banded together under the name *Wij zijn hier*[5] ('We are here'). Their public encampments and squats interfere with the visuality of domestic citizenship, of what citizens look like and how they reside in a landscape.[6] These encampments are attempts to escape from the precariousness of hiding from immigration police while simultaneously claiming citizenship by publicly demonstrating self-organisation, critical reason and human dignity. Migrants purposefully choose to make themselves visible in public. Landscape and face become, here, something different

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[5] See: http://wijzijnhier.org/ (accessed June 20, 2014)
[6] See this essay by researcher Markha Valenta on the group: http://www.opendemocracy.net/markha-valenta/moral-sadism-of-dutch-state (accessed June 20, 2014)

altogether. The encampments and squatted living spaces seem to prefigure a settlement-to-come, a belonging in the future, visualised by migrants themselves on their own behest. In the visual encounter with the people who live out their lives in these camps and squats – directly in city locales or through screen media – we are faced by the humanity of domestic life, of making food together and making one's bed.

Figure 13. Photo lifted from the facebook-page of 'We are here' showing a recently occupied squat in the centre of Amsterdam where a segment of the group now live. Migrants purposefully upload such pictures to publicise their lives and ways of subsisting in today's European landscape.

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