

Crossing Bio-political Borders through Aesthetic Works¹

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Introduction

This study intends to examine the implications of aesthetic works on migrants' issues that contradict the erected walls against them. Despite the acceleration of economic globalization, we are presently facing the emergence of ubiquitous bio-political borders and the enforcement of stricter border controls. Following the so-called "war on terror" and the emerging new racism, the securitization of migration with preventive racial profiling has aggravated the exclusionary politics of citizenship in the advanced capitalist countries. However, thousands of people are ever ready to risk their own lives to cross borders from the Global South to the Global North. In this context, the mass media plays a crucial role in constructing the image of the "other." Some media attempt to reinforce their stereotypes by depicting illegal migrants as dangerous and criminal while some movements try to resist such securitization by protecting refugees' or migrants' human rights and accusing the exclusionary regime of discrimination. Among these movements, some aesthetic works (films and web art) on migrant issues have contributed to transforming "the distribution of the sensible" (Rancière) against territorial orders based upon the Westphalian system. This analysis probes the possibilities of the emancipatory politics of these aesthetic works by "those who have no part" in the global governance on migration.

This study's argument is developed over four sections. The first section reviews the recent arguments on the ubiquitous borders in neoliberal global governance. The second section critically examines implications of ubiquitous borders and confirms the fact that certain segments of the population are rendered nonexistent, non-citizens

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in the name of the “life” and “freedom” of the sovereign citizens through the *dispositif* (apparatus) or deployment of security. The third section examines the relationship between the securitization of migrations and more insecure situations for migrants crossing borders. The last section demonstrates the emancipatory potentialities of aesthetic works against border controls by the *dispositif* of security. This study illustrates that some critical aesthetic works could transform the “distribution of the sensible” by the excluded or unaccounted-for elements in a political society.

1. The Prevalence of Borders and the New Racism (Racial Profiling)

According to Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state and (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. As Article 13 indicates, freedom of movement is restricted within the territorial borders of each state and there is no guarantee to freedom of movement across borders in the Westphalian world order. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not state that everyone has the right to freedom of movement across borders. In other words, each sovereign state still holds the right to decide who can enter the country by crossing its borders. It is natural that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights permits the sovereign state to restrict people’s movement across borders because it was adopted at the UN, the *inter-national* organization based upon the principle of state sovereignty. Although some predict that states may be “losing control” of their borders, “the monopolization by states of the legitimate means of movement has hardly disintegrated” (Torpey 1998: 257).

It is often pointed out that state boundaries have come to be redrawn and to be strengthened rather than become indistinct and blurred with the rapid progress of globalization (Andreas 2000; Bigo 2007; Vaughan-William 2009). This proposition is contrary to the predictions by individuals who advocated the vision of the “borderless world.” For example, Kenichi Omae’s book entitled “Borderless World” was published in 1990 and this title became a buzzword following the fall of the Berlin Wall and at the end of the Cold War (Omae 1990). However, some intellectuals held opposing views. From his communitarian viewpoint, Michael Waltzer has noted that “to tear down

the walls of the state is not ... to create a world without walls, but rather to create a thousand petty fortresses" (Waltzer 1983: 39). Etienne Balibar also described the new situation as a ubiquity of borders from his own cosmopolitan standpoint, as follows:

— some borders are no longer situated at the borders at all, in the geographico-politico-administrative sense of the term. — For quite some time now, it has been giving way, before our very eyes, to a new ubiquity of borders. (Balibar 2002: 84)

It is certain that the prevalence of border control increased alongside the securitization of migrants after 9/11. With the introduction of new surveillance technologies and biometric technologies such as DNA fingerprinting and identification, electronic tagging, and biometric ID cards, the so-called biometric borders began to play a major role (Amoore 2006; Lyon 2007; Vaughan-William 2009: 118–36).

Furthermore, border control activities had begun to be strengthened because of policy attention devoted to security rather than freedom after September 11, 2001 (Torpey 2005). By emphasizing the importance of preventive security policy and by establishing checkpoints outside of the homeland, the Northern countries have extended their border control beyond geographical borders and promoted the prevalence of borders to hinder the inflow of "dangerous" foreigners from the South. Responding to the globalization of risks and the securitization of migration, unilateral border control by individual states is now being transformed into more multilateral activities (Andreas 2009: 171–72; Huysmans 2006: 67–77). We note a typical case in the practices of the European external borders agency FRONTEX (Neal 2009). For example, during 2008, FRONTEX coordinated joint operations entitled HERA 2008 in the Canary Islands to tackle illegal migration flows coming from West African countries as well as NAUTILIS 2008 around Malta and the Italian islands of Lampedusa and Sicily to reinforce border control activities in the Central Mediterranean Sea and to intercept illegal migration flows coming from North African countries (Guild and Bigo 2010). This type of transnationalization and externalization of border control also promotes the prevalence of borders.

With the prevalence of borders, we also note the ubiquity of the biometric "smart"

ID system (Lyon 2005). A paper-based identification system is not reliable for border control because documents are easily faked, while it is difficult to fake biometric ID information. Hence, a biometric ID system is presently replacing or complementing the traditional documents-based ID system. The police and immigration offices are sharing and utilizing the personal biometric and document-based data stored in a networked searchable database to target at-risk populations. As David Lyon pointed out, “Today’s modes of citizenship, as represented by ID card regimes, are aimed at the exclusion of certain proscribed groups. These are the ‘usual suspects’ of illegal immigrants, welfare cheats, criminals, and would-be terrorists” (Lyon 2009: 17). The new ID system plays a crucial role in deciding who these “other” individuals are and how to limit their movements. In addition, with the adoption of new technologies, “surveillant assemblage” operates by abstracting human bodies from territorial settings and separating them into a series of discrete flows re-assembled in different locations as virtual “data doubles” (Haggerty and Ericson 2000).

Although the subject of border security has been high on public policy agendas, each government also has to maintain considerable cross-border flows of people and goods due to increased free trade. As the metaphor of Zygmunt Bauman indicates, the current liquid modernity requires us to invent a liquid security *dispositif* (Bigo 2011) to filter continual flows of people. Instead of stopping the flow, the liquid security *dispositif* is modeling and channeling the travel of individuals by imposing on them a form of travel in which speed and comfort are understood as forms of freedom while minimizing risks related to flows. To achieve this kind of double-bind imperative, racial profiling is one of the most utilizable filtering techniques. However, as Kevin R. Johnson pointed out, “racial profiling in both criminal and immigration law enforcement adversely affects African Americans, Latinas/os, and other racial groups. Unfortunately, misconceptions and stereotypes result in law enforcement’s excessive reliance on physical appearances as a proxy for legal wrongdoing” (Johnson 2003: 343). In other words, racial profiling practices in immigration law enforcement have discriminatory functions such as “a petit apartheid” on citizen participation and the rights of a minority (Romero 2006: 451–52). It seems that racial profiling activities resonate with the “new racism” emerging in the globalized world (Balibar 1991; Barker 1981).

The new racism represents one sort of political hysteria against the unpleasant “others.” However, it is difficult to keep the new racism active against the hybridist movement promoted by rapid globalization. As Bigo pointed out, since both the inside (internal security) and the outside (external security) are beginning to merge like the Möbius ribbon (Bigo 2001), it becomes difficult to distinguish between the inside and the outside. In this situation, it is the new racism that plays an important role in keeping the inside of the political community free of contamination by aliens. Following Esposito’s arguments on immunity, this can be interpreted as an excessive operation of immunization (Esposito 2008: 45-77). “Immunity progressively transfers its own semantic center of gravity from the sense of ‘privilege’ to that of ‘security’” (Esposito 2008: 72). However, such an attempt to immunize the “homeland” from external threats might lead to “a kind of auto-immunity crisis with symptoms” as diagnosed by the late Derrida (Derrida 2003: 94). The auto-immunitary process is that strange behavior where a living being, in quasi-suicidal fashion, itself works to destroy its own protection, to immunize itself against its own community. In short, a move of excessive securitization leads to the auto-immunity crisis.

2. What to Protect by a Border: Liberty or Security?

It is commonly said that the function of a border is to keep its inside secure and protect it against external threat. However, it should be noted that the political community is not clarified in this definition and that security is constituted by the act of defining the external threat and distinguishing between the inside and outside. In other words, the political community defines its own identity by demarcating borders of protection. This means that both the border and the bordered political community are contingent. As long as bordered identities and the resulting borders are contingent, their contents will continue to be negotiated through political struggles. However, the struggle over the identity of a political community may lead to absolute antagonism such as a civil war. To avoid such a crisis, it is necessary to stabilize the political order by a legitimate monopoly of violence while maintaining its homogeneity through excluding constructed internal and/or external enemies.

Here, we note the triad relationship among borders, orders, and identities (Lapid

2001: 9–12). This triad of identities, borders, and orders is always in the process of transformation since each of them affects the other. As the identification process affects the boundary demarcation process, the social construction process of borders influences the characteristics of political orders. In short, as identities are always in the process of fluctuation, both social borders and political orders are also continually on the move, reflecting such changing identities.

The balance between security and freedom is currently shifting toward the former direction, which is one example of the fluctuating relations among identities, borders, and orders. The emergence of the ubiquitous “smart” borders can be discussed within the framework of Foucault’s *dispositif* of security in which “freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of apparatuses of security” (Foucault 2007: 71). Through the *dispositif* of security, certain segments of the population are rendered nonexistent, non-citizens in the name of the “life” and “freedom” of the sovereign citizens. While both the EU and US have regarded themselves as missionaries of the liberal project, it becomes conspicuous that both have begun to prioritize security over freedom after the events of 9/11 and 7/7. While repeated references to these spectacular events produced a false consciousness of impending danger, they began to view the Muslim community through the lens of Islamophobia and to mobilize racial and/or religious profiling to target it. There is then no distinction between Muslims and ordinary citizens; hence, every Muslim’s freedom tends to be restricted and cultural pluralism may be suspended due to security concerns mixed with Islamophobia. Furthermore, as Fekete pointed out, “Muslim youth are locked into a cycle of discrimination and criminalization which is not only a major injustice in itself, but also (a) serves to promote, rather than dissipate, any threat and (b) heightens already widespread perceptions of insecurity among the population at large” (Fekete 2004: 12).

The trade-off between liberty and security is a well-debated point. The greater the threat, the more easily we are forced to accept restrictions on our liberty. According to Bigo, there are at least six ways to contextualize the relationship between liberty and security, as follows.

1. Freedom is the only principle with no limits (the anarchist approach).
2. Freedom may be considered as the principle, and security as the exception (the libertarian view).

3. Security could be analyzed as the freedom of the individual under the name of safety. Freedom encompasses security (the constitutional view).
4. Security may be considered as the first freedom as it is linked with survival and death. Security encompasses freedom at the beginning, but not after (“the exceptional view”).
5. Security is considered as a collective common good and as the first freedom because life exists only if survival exists. Freedoms as practices are residual (the permanent emergency view).
6. Security is the only principle with no limits. Order and obedience are better values than freedom (the fascist view). (Bigo 2006: 38-39).

The balance between liberty and security tends to shift toward the latter during a period in which fear against the “other” is incited due to reasons such as economic downturn and political incidents. For example, we note this phenomenon in the Hague Programme adopted by the European Council in 1995. Despite the purported European “new vision” (“creating an area of *freedom, security, and justice*”), security concerns have infiltrated and contaminated the other two: freedom and justice (Bigo 2006: 35). This shift is now leading to the banopticon form of governmentality, which is represented by the detention camps for foreigners (Bigo 2007). It goes without saying that the priority in these camps is not to detain people, but to send them back to their points of origin and keep them at a distance from a certain territory. However, we should pay attention to the banal fact that the practice of deportation has emerged as a definite and increasingly pervasive convention of routine statecraft of OECD countries against incessant inflows of asylum seekers and “illegal” migrants from the Global South. In short, deportation now seems to have become a virtually global *regime* (De Genova 2010: 34).

3. Border Crossing Attempts against Securitization of Migration

Some counter-hegemonic moves attempt to challenge the hegemonic tide of more strict migration control. For example, some NGOs advocating human rights attempt to organize anti-deportation movements to protect asylum seekers and *sans-papiers* who are

to be deported by host countries (Nyers 2003). These movements can be said to sway the exclusionary citizenship regime based upon the sovereign states' system from the cosmopolitan standpoint.

In addition, many people challenge the border control by taking huge risks to cross borders from the South to the North. These attempts often lead to failures and casualties, including accidental deaths. According to the anti-racism NGO network UNITED, more than 13,000 deaths of migrants and refugees related to border crossings have been documented in Europe since 1993 (UNITED 2009). Many of them drowned in the sea before arriving on European shores. Related to this, the Strait of Gibraltar constitutes the largest mass grave for "illegal" workers coming to Europe (Doty 2003: 76). A similar situation exists at the US-Mexico border. It is estimated that harsh border control activities such as Operation Gatekeeper have led to more than 2,000 deaths at the US-Mexico border during the mid-1990s (Castles and Miller 2003: 151-2). It is notable that approximately 10% of these deaths were caused, directly or indirectly, by policing activities. One recent tragic case occurred on Christmas Island, a remote Australian territory in the Indian Ocean: In December 2010, a small wooden boat carrying approximately 90 Iraqi, Iranian, and Kurdish asylum-seekers smashed to pieces on the island's rocky shore and at least 48 people, including children, were confirmed dead (AP 2010).

Despite the very high risks, border crossing attempts continue. Indeed, even in the face of the massive border buildup, the number of unauthorized immigrants in the US has increased by an estimated 275,000 per year (Andreas 2009: 108). Approximately six million illegal immigrants are currently estimated to be living there. However, it is very difficult to estimate the exact number of "illegal" immigrants due to their invisibility. The only methodology explicitly used for estimating flows of illegal immigrants to the developed countries is a projection based on border apprehensions. For example, using an assumed ratio of 1:2 border apprehensions to illegal entries to the EU, it is estimated that the annual illegal immigration number of people reaches over 400,000 on the basis of some 260,000 border apprehensions (Jandl 2004: 9-10). However, there are serious technical problems in estimating the "correct" multiplier with this simple methodology and hence, it is difficult for policymakers to determine reliable estimations. In other words, unreliable information tends to cause misguided xenophobic responses.

In addition to the immigration agency, the mass media also play an important role in constructing images of “illegal” migrants. Through the effect of the mass media on society, immigration as a threat and security concern has become the hegemonic discourse in government policy (Buonfino 2004). Furthermore, as immigration control becomes more restrictive, some potential “illegal” migrants seek help from an organized crime network to cross borders. This indicates that the securitization of migration leads to the more insecure situations for migrants including trafficking. In this type of vicious cycle, migration from the Global South tends to be more securitized as a threat to the Global North. This type of securitization related to movement in this direction is strengthened through the construction of mass media images of migrants or aliens as threats.

The increased securitization of migration can be observed not only in non-fiction films and TV programs but also in fictional ones. As news media promote such securitization through the reporting of crimes committed by “illegal” immigrants, fictions including similar stories also push forward criminalization of immigration. It goes without saying that negative topics have negative consequences on the minds of the recipients. Although the new racism in the media explicitly avoids racist labels, it tends to strengthen racist stereotypes by using negative images to describe the characteristics or actions of immigrants or minorities (for instance, “illegal”) (van Dijk 2000: 39).

Note that the new racism has connections to the “post-imperial melancholia,” as described by Paul Gilroy (Gilroy 2005: 89–90, 140–41). Post-imperial melancholia represents an inability to face the current profound change in a state’s circumstances and moods, including multicultural situations that resulted at the end of the empire and the consequent loss of imperial prestige. While melancholic reactions are prompted by the loss of a fantasy of omnipotence, the racial fantasies required by imperial power still linger on in new forms such as wars against asylum seekers, refugees, and economic migrants. This new racism seems to derive from hysterical reactions against the loss of self-confidence and fears about uncomfortable and heterogeneous others.

This kind of reactionary new racism advances the securitization of migration, which may lead to insecure conditions for potential “illegal” migrants. Some of them may resort to requesting criminal organizations, including traffickers, for help in

obtaining fake passports or arranging small wooden boats to reach the land of hope. As this vicious cycle continues, it is difficult for them to escape from the stereotyped images such as “dangerous illegal migrants” that are imposed upon them.

4. Aesthetic Works Resisting Border Controls

Some challenges have emerged that counter the securitization of migration as well as the logic of the new racism. British artist Heath Bunting’s artwork “BorderXing Guide” on the Internet is one of them². Bunting’s work, commissioned by the Tate Modern and the New Museum of Contemporary Art, is a guide to crossing borders illegally both for activists and those lacking appropriate documents in Europe. It suggests approximately 30 routes across borders that activists actually attempted on foot. As this web art proclaims, borders are there to be crossed and their significance becomes obvious only when they are violated. This artwork attempts to unsettle the secure border control regimes along the anarchist and de-territorial line by identifying loopholes in the social grid (Amoore 2006: 341; Sanvoval 2010).

We also note this type of challenge in some popular films and web art. Michael Winterbottom’s film “*In This World* (2002)” and Philippe Lioret’s film “*Welcom* (2009)” are representative of this. While Winterbottom’s film describes Afghan refugees passing through Iran, Turkey, Italy, and France toward the UK, Lioret’s film describes a 17-year-old Kurdish refugee trying to swim across the Strait of Dover. It seems that these films affirm the people’s right to freedom of crossing borders. Since these people obtain some hope and unrealized freedom beyond their original borders, it portrays the outcome as very inhuman if these are denied to them.

Films against securitization of migration have also been made. These kinds of films attempt to transform the “distribution of the sensible” (Rancière’s *partage du sensible*) by the excluded or unaccounted-for elements in a political society (Panagia 2010; Rancière 2004: 12–19). Rancière’s *partage du sensible* refers to the implicit law governing the sensible order that parcels out places and forms of participation in a common world by first establishing themodes of perception within which these are inscribed. The distribution of the sensible thus produces a sense of self-evident facts of perception based on the set horizons and modalities of what is visible and audible as well as

what can be said, thought, made, or done. Strictly speaking, “distribution” therefore refers both to forms of inclusion and exclusion (Rancière 2004: 85). In short, aesthetic resistance attempts to challenge the exclusiveness of a partition that divides legitimate and illegitimate modes of being by opening up the possibility of dissensual modalities of what is visible and audible as well as what can be thought.

Both types of films suggest that very high risks, even death, are involved in the act of crossing borders. Jamal, the hero of “In This World,” and his friend Enayat are refugees from Afghanistan who tried to enter Italy by hiding in a truck container; the latter died of suffocation during the trip. In “*Welcome* (2009),” Bilal, a 17-year-old Kurdish refugee, tried to swim across the Strait of Dover to meet his sweetheart in England with the help of a French swim coach, but he finally drowned in the sea near the coast of England. Despite such expected tragic ends, all the characters would dare to cross borders as a form of resistance against the territorial order. By describing these figures and suggesting that people have a right to pursue happiness across borders, these films try to jolt an audience’s “distribution of the sensible” based upon the Westphalian order. These jolts encourage a shift toward the post-Westphalian world by attempting to rewrite Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in accordance with the spirit of absolute hospitality (accepting freedom of movement across borders as a basic human right).

While the cultural governance of representations organizes, regulates, and provides meaning to social practices, including migrations, through the distribution of symbolic and material resources between different groups, these kinds of aesthetic works bring about an egalitarian moment that causes equality to have a real social effect on the symbolic order of global politics. That is, the democratic move to bring in those who Rancière calls “the part who have no part” or “the count of the uncounted.” According to Rancière, politics is “an activity antagonistic to policing (an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, of being, and of saying): whatever breaks with the tangible configuration whereby parties and parts of lacks of them are defined by a presupposition that, by definition, has no place in that configuration — that of the part of those who have no part” (Rancière 1995: 52–53). Hence, it can be said that aesthetic works aimed at protecting the free movement of migrants or refugees play a role in bringing the politics back in by questioning an unjust gap between the “counted” and

“uncounted” or between the place where the demos exists and where it does not.

In some notable cases, the documentary film director’s “self-evident” sense or perception of facts itself is transformed by his or her experience of watching the absurd realities being filmed. One example is the documentary film “Backdrop Kurdistan (2007)” which was directed by the young Japanese director Masaru Nomoto, who has received Awards of Excellence and Citizens’ Prizes at Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival³. Initially, the Kazankiran family came to Japan to evade persecution as Kurds in Turkey and they attempted to gain refugee status from the Japanese government. Although UNHCR granted them the status of mandate refugee and they continued to appeal to the Japanese government for the full status of refugee by a sit-in protest in front of the United Nations University, it was denied to them. Then, two of them, the father and elder brother, were deported to Turkey against the non-*refoulement* principle⁴.

Witnessing the realities faced by them, the director shifted from a passive observer to one demonstrating outstanding audacity by actively engaging in this issue and flying to Turkey to meet them and examine their realities there. While covering this issue, he discovered that their date of deportation coincided with that of when the Japanese government announced an approximately 98.7 billion yen appropriation for the construction of the Bosphorus Tunnel. This situation indirectly indicates the probable hypothesis that the Kazankiran family was abandoned due to the important geo-economic bilateral relationship between Turkey and Japan. Against this kind of realist politics by power elites, Nomoto attempted to search for the alternative network and connection beyond borders by tracing the Kazankiran family’s steps.

This kind of aesthetic work is a challenge to “the fortress against refugees” as well as a trial to protect migrants’ or refugees’ human rights against exclusionary citizenship regimes, which is represented by the slogan “No human being is illegal” (Ngai 2006). The anti-deportation movement attempts to revive social solidarity among the “uncounted” by attempting to achieve the unachieved human rights or infilling a human rights gap. Responding to the de-territorialization of the political responsibility, this movement also expands its social solidarity (collective identity) beyond national boundaries. In such a situation, “critical art” might play a role in building awareness of the mechanisms of domination in order to turn the spectator into a conscious

agent of world transformation (Rancière 2009: 45). By bringing in margins left by the dominant representation system, an aesthetic approach may provoke a realistic way of thinking (mimetic theories of representation) that tends to overlook the gap between representations and what they represent (Bleiker 2001). In short, while aesthetic works on freedom of movement could shake a realist paradigm to its foundations by indicating the possibilities of marginalized people's dreams, they also sway dominant realist political rationalities by arousing emotions and empathy.

Concluding Remarks

The action of crossing borders does not always result in a move toward the cosmopolitan or post-Westphalian order. Despite continual border crossings by people, the international order of migration continues to irregularly swing between exclusion and inclusion, not moving straightforward in a more inclusionary direction. Through re-activation of old identities and reinforcement of border controls by reacting to aliens' border crossing, the Westphalian territorial order tends to be strengthened toward the ubiquity of walls rather than the breakdown of walls. As the population of migrants shares only two or three percent of the total world population (Faist 2000: 3-6), it is natural that the majority tends to protect its own political communities based upon fixed territoriality against aliens' border crossing. First, this kind of reaction might be triggered by underclass resentment based upon their belief that cheaper migrant workers cause their unemployment. Second, this kind of reaction also derives from conservative intellectuals' moral panic or nostalgia for the lost racial order, which is clearly represented by the late Samuel Huntington's "*Who are we?*" (Huntington 2004). In that book, Huntington sounded the alarm that "we" should protect "our" Anglo-American identity against threats such as Hispanics crossing our borders.

Acts of defending territorial integrity against aliens' border violations by using preventive methods including racial profiling imply challenges to re-define "who are the demos of the political community" along the exclusionary line and against the globalization of human mobility. However, that kind of backlash by "*dispositif* of security" may lead to highly insecure situations for marginalized people and may make distributions of risks and insecurities more unjust. Some of the marginalized people,

such as deported refugees or refugees in detention camps, seem to be “a *homo sacer* at a zone of in-distinction between human and animal” (Agamben 1998). If worse comes to worst, they must endure absurd conditions, such as social death, or accept death in vain. These painful conditions resulting from securitization of migrations indicate the hollowing of democracy to protect its current condition and the exclusionary characteristics of the political communities that eject them.

To prevent the hollowing of democracy, it is necessary to make the political community more open. However, as far as it is the state sovereignty that ultimately protects human rights in the present Westphalian system, it is contradictory to break down borders upon which that sovereignty is based in order to protect human rights. As Behabib suggests, the logic of democratic representation requires closure for the sake of maintaining democratic legitimacy so that we can only advocate more porous borders and not completely open ones (Benhabib 2004: 220–21). In other words, although democracy is restricted by its territoriality, it can be transformed to a more open system by responding to migrants’ claims to political membership. This kind of change also brings about transformations in triadic relationships among borders, orders, and identities, leading toward a moral universalism with cosmopolitan federalism.

Related to this transformation, notable aesthetic works play a role in promoting change in “the distribution of the sensible” from a Westphalian worldview based upon closed territoriality to the post-Westphalian view based upon more porous borders. To paraphrase it in Esposito’s locution (Esposito 2010: 1–19), that is a move toward an open community [communitas], the opening of being that is exposed to what interrupts the closing and turns it inside while a gesture of avoiding hyper-immunization. In short, it is a test to save a living being from security *dispositif* in which living beings are continually captured.

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Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Studies Annual Convention, Montreal (March 16-19, 2011) and at the international seminar at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (June 23, 2011). I thank commentators for their useful comments and suggestions.
- 2 See the following URL. <http://www.tate.org.uk/intermediaart/borderxing.shtm>
- 3 See the following URL. <http://www.yidff.jp/2007/2007-e.html>
- 4 Japan is notorious for its strong reluctance to accept refugees. The numbers of asylum seekers whose applications were admitted by Japanese government are only 46 (2005), 34 (2006), 41 (2007), 57 (2008), and 30 (2009). If compared with numbers of admitted asylums in other countries such as 16,762 (US), 9,648 (France), 1,785 (Italy) in 2008, Japanese government's unwillingness to accept refugees and its exclusionary characteristics are highly conspicuous.