Introduction
In and Against Crisis

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On March 6, 2019, as the initial manuscript of this book—the product of a years-long, collaborative effort to think what has, since 2015, been known as the European Migrant Crisis—was nearing completion, the official Twitter account of the European Commission posted this brief message: "In very difficult circumstances, we acted together. Europe is no longer experiencing the migration crisis of 2015, but structural problems remain. Today we discuss the European Agenda on Migration & the progress made over the past 4 years." The post concludes with a URL that points to a brief press release, detailing achievements made and work yet to be done, or in the Commission's parlance, "Immediate Measures Needed."

In our years spent working with others to track and grasp this crisis, we had only seen it expand in every direction and dimension, radiating outward from the itineraries around which it had initially coalesced, the Syria-Turkey-Greece-Western Europe route in particular. We had seen it wend its way into sub-Saharan Africa, where nations like Niger, under EU supervision and sponsorship, now play a key role in policing the movements of migrants from elsewhere on the continent, defraying and preempting their arrival to more northerly transit nations like Morocco and Algeria (themselves now mired in violent border disputes to which cries of "build a wall" are by no means alien). We had seen it produce peculiar and unexpected new forms of (im)mobility, sociality, and inhabitation. And along with much of the rest of the world, we had watched as it engendered new and vexing forms of diplomacy, transnational governance, and legislative (non)-collaboration.

Having drummed up a potent wave of anti-migrant sentiment, for instance, the British right in 2016 succeeded in its quest to make withdrawal from the EU a matter of national policy. Meanwhile, Germany—in many ways the architect of EU-wide immigration enforcement policies—forged a new agreement with Turkey that promised *accelerated* EU membership for the latter in exchange for its taking an increased role in the sequestration and resettlement of Syrian refugees. On the one side, the shibboleth of border security fractures and rends the imagined space of Europe; on the other, it extends it. It was striking, then, to learn that, in the midst of these dramatic geopolitical realignments, the "crisis" around which this anthology is centered had ended, at least as far as the European Commission was concerned; that whatever calamity it once portended for the EU project had been successfully defrayed, attenuated, and contained.

But surprises can often be clarifying. Here, stated more or less explicitly, was the thesis under which we had first envisioned this collection: that the unspoken object of 'crisis' in the formation 'migrant crisis' was and always had been *Europe*, imagined as a site of right action and just governance, and never the migrant as such; that the legislative and geopolitical maneuvers taken under the auspices of 'responding to the migrant crisis' since 2015 had been less about rescuing the migrant in peril, and more about rescuing the *idea of Europe* from this same migrant, about restoring a vision of territorial governance and administrative right-headedness that had been imperilled *by* the arrival of the migrant to European shores.

But if our sustained consideration of the crisis has taught us anything, it is that this once-implicit formulation, now explicit, does little to change the fact that since and well prior to 2015, it has been the migrant—a radically plural subject, a population vastly more expansive, variegated and lively than the discourse of crisis has ever been able to grasp—who has most directly shouldered the violent intensities of the EU's attempts at mitigation and control, at rescuing itself from a peril of its own making. As Thomas Nail, a contributor to this collection, writes:

> "If the mistreatment, marginalization, and death of recent European migrants is so deplorable, it is because Europe has created a social system that has made this a reality. The subject of the crisis should be flipped right side up: *Europe is a crisis for migrants.* Therefore, the critical question (in the Greek sense of the word 'krisis' as a decision) is not what is to be done with the migrants, but rather what is to be done with Europe?"[1]

Gathering scholars, activists, and artists working across a variety of geopolitical contexts, disciplines and media, this anthology takes steps toward unpacking this difficult, often bewildering question, and does so specifically by interrogating how a wide range of mediating processes and representational practices work to constitute "migrant crises" as objects of political contention, affective investment, and legal maneuver. The anthology's title, *Moving Images*, summons the fluidity and dispersal of these processes, referencing the contemporary dynamics of mediation and migration in at least four overlapping ways. First, it invokes the specificity of mediating technologies themselves, pointing to the different ways in which still vs. moving-image technologies have been brought to bear on the task of representing the migrant crisis. Second, it refers to the iconography of the crisis as such, to those images *of* movement and mobility, often under duress, that have rendered the crisis legible for differently situated yet still global publics. Third, it touches on the movement of the image in and of itself, and the politics that inevitably attends this movement, pointing up the important role of various data infrastructures, social media platforms, and communicative networks in putting certain visions of migration and/as crisis into circulation and keeping them there, in moving images of migration into and through discrepant scenes of political action and cultural practice. Finally, and just as significantly, it points to the potent affective charge that often accretes to popular images of "crisis," and thus to the *moving* quality of images that hold viewers in their grip and bind them to others, with profound political and social consequences.

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1 Nail, "The Hordes Are Banging on the Gates of Europe?"

In focusing on the European "migrant crisis," *Moving Images* takes up the eruptive and contestatory events of 2015–16 critically, not as a self-evident historical object or political enterprise, but rather as a tangle of processes, ideas, legal frameworks, actions, bodies, and images whose very contours eclipse its precedents and afterlives. We begin in the predicament that the term "crisis" poses, conscious that its framing of mass displacement, refugeeism, and migration in and across the Mediterranean occludes the *longue durée* in which the very question of Europe has been articulated—socially, juridically, geopolitically and economically.[2]

The elaborate response to the question of Europe, over time, has been a violent and regionally-differentiated shuttling back and forth between free movement and control, a decades-long choreography of willed and unwilled movement, interminable delay, cosmopolitan transgression, and fierce essentialism. The very idea of Europe in the latter part of the twentieth-century—with its economic integration and lessening of internal controls, coordination of judicial practices, and regulation of movement within its territory—has been accompanied by a coextensive focalization and fierce securitization of its so-called "external" frontiers. The internal mobility afforded to citizens of EU member states under the Schengen Rules of 1995, for instance, finds not so much its negative image as its enabling condition in the unified measures against "illegal" immigration and trans-border organized crime (which transnationalized the governance of migration), formalized as the private border policing agency Frontex (a contraction of *frontières extérieurs*, or external borders) a decade later.[3] Thinking such policies less as action and reaction than as the twin products of a shared imperative to strategically manage the movement of people, capital, and information into and across European territory suggests that Schengen did not so much abolish the operations of European border control as spatially redistribute them, pushing them outwards to various continental boundaries and frontiers as well as into a number of transit spaces within the Eurozone (railway stations, motorways, etc.).[4]

Thus, though it is tempting to regard these geographies of mobility and constraint as essentially new formations in the light of the configuration of "crisis," in many cases they follow paths that are all-too-familiar. While the 2015–16 migration "crisis" is certainly a result of instability and conflict in certain areas of East and North Africa, the Middle East, and even South Asia[5]—all of which, of course, find themselves bound to Europe in part through the long history of empire and its afterlives, which is to say,

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2 It should be noted that Fernand Braudel develops his formulation of *longue durée* (among other places) in his book *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, where a temporal movement develops through social interaction with geography and the environment over an extended period of time. This *longue durée* includes not only the time of European imperialism and colonial conquest, but also the sites of connection, commerce and exchange that preceded such European ascendancy. Above all, of critical importance to the inquiries in this anthology is the importance in historical thinking of plural temporalities as a methodological ground for scientific inquiry.

3 See, among others, Enrica Rigo, "Citizenship at Europe's Borders."

4 As we were in the process of finalizing this introduction, news arrived that Frontex had sent security forces to Albania, the first such deployment beyond the territorial limits of the EU and an intensification of the border externalization process. See "EU's Frontex border force deploys teams to Albania to halt migrants"

5 Bangladesh now claims the distinction of being the number one source country for migrant arrivals to Europe. See Dearden, "Bangladesh is now the single biggest country of origin for refugees on boats."

of *European* migration, invasion, and settlement abroad—it is at the same time the culmination of a dialectical movement of mobility and constraint, cosmopolitical integration and "retrograde" ethnic, national, and racial differentiation, through which Europe as such has sought to define itself at least since the 1957 Treaty of Rome.[6] How the aftershocks of crisis have been negotiated re-animate various elements of this diffuse but pervasive historical trajectory.

That Frontex's first major deployments have been along the Turkey-Greece border (considered by the agency to be both its operational "center of gravity" and a tactical "laboratory"), for instance, comes as little surprise, pointing to the ways in which Western and Northern European nation-states have long sought to strategically recruit their Eastern and Southern counterparts—particularly those that border the Mediterranean—to the task of shoring up a coherent, integrated vision of Europe Proper.[7] Such strategies remain very much in play in the contemporary moment, and are amplified by European attempts to establish bordering regimes across an expanding and remote frontier (including in Chad, Niger and Libya).[8] As these arrangements make clear, "Europe" as an ideological, legal, economic, and political construction leans heavily on well-trodden repertoires of cultural and ethnic differentiation, distributing both the specter of threat and the necessity of control to the borders of the former Soviet Union, to the Mediterranean and the Aegean seas, to the former African colonies, and to what was once "the Orient." While these discourses are clearly racialized, ethnic, and nationalist, they are also profoundly gendered and sexualized, marked not only by differential vulnerabilities and capacities for movement but also by shifts in affective labor, reduced programmes for 'family reunification,' sexual violence and persecutions, trafficking and sex work.

We thus ask, in what meaningful sense does the ongoing and in many ways regularized production of Europe vis-à-vis both licit and illicit modalities of human migration constitute a "crisis," a term which suggests a certain suddenness, an all-at-once that shatters expectation? Further, how does this crisis take shape as an object of political contention? Through what repertoire of images, trajectories of movement, channels of affect?

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6   Different dates thus recenter entirely the narrative arc of Europe's ongoing articulation—the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Berlin Conference of 1884–5, all articulate the expansion and contraction of the European form throughout the last several centuries.

7   FIDH-Migreurop-EMHRN, *FRONTEX. Between Greece and Turkey*.

8   In response to the dramatic escalation of migrant arrivals in 2015 and 2016, the European Parliament voted to recodify FRONTEX as an integrated border control and coast guard agency, which rather unsurprisingly made its first show of force along the Bulgarian-Turkish border in 2016. Indeed, long cast in the popular imaginary as a kind of conduit between East and West, 'Orient' and 'Occident,' Turkey has played (and continues to play) a key role in the EU's attempt to mitigate the migrant crisis in ways that seek to reconcile aggressive practices of preemption, interception, detention, and expulsion with a decidedly liberal-internationalist cosmopolitanism.

Image Operations

As the open data project *The Migrants' Files* carefully records, what has quite suddenly been deemed a "crisis" has in fact been unfolding continuously and coterminously with the shifting configurations that take the name "Europe" for nearly two decades. Since 1993, more than 35,000 migrants have been lost during the perilous crossing to Europe—a staggering disaster by any measure.[9] And yet these deaths only seemed to emerge as a "crisis" proper in 2013, as traumatic images surfaced of 360 migrants drowned off the coast of the Italian island of Lampedusa. Against the spectral background of Lampedusa's haunting image repertoire of overcrowded boats and drowned bodies (itself a resonant refocusing of the afterlives of the violence of the transatlantic crossing), a cascade of piercing images began to surface and circulate in 2015, and in their surfacing gave shape to the event of the European "migrant crisis." The cascading surge of iconic images produced the contours of a regional emergency whose narrative structure postdated the very sea of images themselves. Between the two constructions—regularized migrant death and humanitarian crisis demanding response—something happened; the task of this collection is to show how this *something* involves a substantial degree of media work and a particular set of "image operations."

At stake is not only the spatial and geopolitical dynamics that shore up forms of belonging and unbelonging in the face of a movement that certainly precedes them. The impetus for this anthology also lies in a shared interest among its contributors in interrogating and disrupting the peculiar, oftentimes wrenching temporality of the migrant crisis as a visual phenomenon.[10] We could not help but be overwhelmed by the sheer volume of harrowing images emerging from the region—large crowds huddled into disastrously insufficient vessels; asylum seekers crowded into rail stations, detention facilities, and more-or-less formal encampments in Greece, Turkey, France, Bulgaria, Serbia; corpses, including those of young children, washed ashore in otherwise "pristine" Mediterranean resort towns. Particularly in its early months of 2015, the "migrant crisis" emerged as an object of contention through an overwhelming surfeit of images hailed by the international press as "iconic." All the while, a number of terrorist incidents behind the walls of Fortress Europe elicited ever-more fearsome performances of national and ethnic absolutism, many of which drew directly on the very same iconography (one can hardly forget Nigel Farage's noxious "BREAKING POINT" Brexit billboard in which a endless queue of migrants subtends the statement "The EU has failed us all").

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9   UNITED for Intercultural Action, "List of 35,597 documented deaths."

10 The collaboration among the editors began as a working group focused on the the notion of 'trespass' broadly construed. With a handful of scholars working in a number of fields and several national contexts, we attempted to think trespass as a methodology, a critical modality, and a visual and performative practice adequate to a contemporary moment marked by intensifying practices of securitization, the violent reassertion of ethnic nationalisms, and the emergence of what would, in the coming months and years, become known as the Mediterranean migrant or refugee crisis. The idea was to develop a method for writing that both presumed and performed its territorial unwieldiness; to understand trespass as that which might make it impossible to think or write a phenomenon "in itself" indeed as that which held every "in itself" open to adjacent and overlapping commitments, histories, conceptual and perceptual registers.

To think in these terms is in fact to put the mediatic, discursive and rhetorical framework of "crisis" in question from the outset. As such, our thinking is animated by Papadopoulos, Stephenson & Tsianos's claim that social change might be effected otherwise than through "events," a manner of organizing historical time according to ruptures and breaks rather than the "practices which are at the heart of social transformation long before we are able to name it as such."[11] Where we depart from their framework, however, is with respect to their claim that events are never "in the present" and can only be named as such retrospectively or in anticipation.

We return to these processes of mediation in the image regime from the vantage point of the European commission's avowed *end* to the "migrant crisis," an end that is symbolized vividly by a project by the Swiss-Icelandic artist Christoph Buchel at the 2019 Venice Biennale. Through a series of complicated negotiations with the Italian state, Buchel and his collaborator, the curator Maria Chiara di Trapani, had arranged to install on the Venetian Arsenale—for centuries the beating heart of the city's formidable maritime economy, and thus inseparable from the history of imperial plunder and racial slavery—the rusted remains of the 90-foot fishing vessel which, on April 15, 2015, sank off the coast of the Italian island of Lampedusa, killing somewhere between 700 and 1100 migrants (itself a devastating rehearsal of another wreck two years prior, in which upwards of 400 migrants, mostly from Eritrea, Somalia, and Ghana, also drowned off the coast of Lampedusa when their boat sank). In comment to the *Guardian*, di Trapani describes the project in somewhat contradictory terms, both as a monumental memorial to the ongoing calamity of migrant death at sea, and as a clarion call to action, a cry uniquely capable of piercing the media din that has since 2015 accumulated around this loss. "We are living in a tragic moment without memory," di Trapani asserts. "We all look at the news, and it seems so far away: someone is dead at sea and we change the channel." The boat, she suggests, pleads for—demands—a different kind of engagement, its sheer scale asking that we "feel respect for it and look at it in silence—just keep two minutes of silence to listen and reflect."[12]

What di Trapani does not indicate, however, is how this reverent silence is distinct from the reverent silence that so often greets the art object, symptomatic not so much of a sudden ethicality, but of the embodied and social codes of aesthetic looking, of the institutional conventions of the art world and, more importantly, the globalized art market, which descends on the Arsenale as so many trades before it: in naval equipment, in weaponry, in captive bodies. In di Trapani's comments, then, there is a latent sense that in cutting through one representational regime—that of the twenty-four hour news cycle, which produces migrant death as a grotesquely recursive yet utterly inconsequential spectacle—Buchel's project may risk simply entombing it in another: that of the aesthetic gaze. Though perhaps installed as memorial, the boat quickly slips into the register of sculpture, liberated from the churn of commercial news only to be assimilated to the category 'art,' which even in its participatory forms (see Milevska, this volume) has fared little better in resisting dehumanizing, objectifying, and spectacularizing modes of migrant representation.

That Buchel's work would follow so closely on the EU's declaration of the so-called end of the migrant crisis is telling, suggesting that as the crisis passes from an all-con-

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11   Papadopoulos, Stephenson & Tsianos, *Escape Routes*, xii.

12   Charlotte Higgins, "Boat in which hundreds of migrants died displayed at Venice Biennale."

suming present into a recent past, it becomes apt as well to pass from ongoing spectacle to museal object, demanding not urgent defensive maneuver but rather restrained aesthetic contemplation. This peculiar dovetailing of political and aesthetic maneuver, though perhaps incidental in this case, is nonetheless reflective of the tight coupling between crisis as visual regime and crisis as object of political and legislative response that this collection attempts to interrogate and, even if only provisionally, prise apart.

As a group of scholars and cultural producers more or less anchored in some form of media and visual studies, we were increasingly preoccupied with the character, volume and movement of these visual and political regimes, as the discourse of crisis consolidated into a kind of shorthand for migration as such. And while we had initially sought to respond to a glut of photojournalistic and documentary images that spectacularized, or risked spectacularizing, the migrant body as corpse, flood, hoard, and so on, today we face a rather different situation. As Buchel's oeuvre makes clear, the migrant crisis, and indeed the migrant body, has become the locus of a highly formalized and notably more conventional regime of textual and aesthetic production. What was once an unruly and seemingly boundless flow of iconic images produced under severe duress has, in recent years, re-emerged as a set of professionalized and semi-professionalized image-making practices, ranging from glossy, BBC-produced docuseries like *Exodus* to a wide range of VR installations and smartphone apps that allow users to temporary inhabit the position of the migrant either stranded precariously at sea or in the midst of an overland crossing (in a particularly grim twist, such projects have become something of a mainstay at major international summits like Davos, where they play a role eerily similar to that of a carnival attraction for the world's financial and political elites). And this is to say nothing of the innumerable responses that have emerged from the European and global art world, among which we might highlight the epic tableaux of Richard Mosse's *Heat Maps* series (2017), Ai Weiwei's *Law of the Journey* (2018), which repurposes Zodiac boats and life vests as sculptural works conceived on a colossal scale, as well as nuanced and moving filmic works as Gianfranco Rosi's *Fuocoammare* (2016) and Philip Scheffner's *Havarie* (2017).

In tracking these different media configurations, our point is not to *reduce* the crisis as such or the larger structures of which it is symptomatic to mere representation, forgetting or simply discarding the severe and relentless material costs of European border security and immigration control. Rather, following Bishnupriya Ghosh's contribution to this collection, the aim is to develop a rigorous understanding of the visual as a series of "image operations," that is, as emphatically *real* interventions into the whole field of institutional, political, and social relations within which migrant practices unfold. Jens Eder and Charlotte Klonk, in an anthology that follows from a conference held in Berlin in 2014, argue specifically that images are not only representational, referential or illustrative, but augment and create significant events, and thus have material effects.[13] Combined with text, speech and music, images form part of multimodal publications, intertextual networks and complex referential chains. They are put into operation through a complex, diffuse, multiple and sometimes simultaneous network of agencies—personal, technological, affective, and political. Images have a dynamic of their own, have a kind of "liveliness," gathering velocity and accruing value.

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13 Eder and Klonk, *Image Operations*.

Particularly in the context of crisis, image production and consumption must be understood as attempts at action, as efforts to do something, or to make something happen: to express solidarity, to dis/affiliate oneself politically, to demand that particular kinds of rights be extended or withdrawn, to either occasion or retroactively justify the closure of checkpoints, border crossings, and points of entry. Image operations are enacted immediately in the various state and para-state surveillance and border triage politics that regulate and contain people on the move, most obviously, but they also operate through the circuits of news media, NGOs and international organizations, and broadly across social media platforms. Images taken in one context have significant afterlives in the theaters of contestation around refugee rights and emergent forms of nationalism. Such mediating processes are, in some respects, nothing new (there has been a daily instrumentality to image culture for at least a century). They nevertheless have a new operational force deriving from their capacity to circulate rapidly, producing and fracturing common sentiment as they unfold across varied territories and constituencies. If this is the case, then how, politically, does the visual iconography of contemporary migration—overburdened boats, tattered life vests abandoned on the shore, throngs of would-be refugees pressed up against border fences, and now, sculptural and screen installations of various sorts—operate as a mode of seeing, sensing, and knowing what migration *is*? What is at stake when "crisis" becomes the affective and temporal ground against which the movement of human populations toward and across Europe's terrestrial and maritime borders gains figuration? When "crisis" animates and puts into motion an image repertoire with real and unpredictable political and material effects?

Across the essays, interventions and artistic works that comprise this collection, we track the wide-ranging itineraries and mercurial material, iconic, and discursive form of the "migrant crisis," considering how it variously draws upon, shores up, but also potentially rends the very idea of Europe, inflaming fearsome ethnic nationalisms and prompting aggressive bordering operations while simultaneously resisting capture by given legal and semiotic categories. In doing so, we take aim at the ways in which "crisis" as both a discursive formation and a tightly-articulated visual regime is conjured so as to naturalize European mechanisms of inclusion and belonging, and moreover, to secure a very particular vision of Europe—defined, as noted above, against particular sites and forms of difference—as a seat of just governance, moral integrity, and liberal freedom.

While we bind these questions to the case of contemporary Europe, the questions we pose are broader, opening up to the intersections of mediating processes (moving media) and migratory movement (mobile positions) as twinned modalities of a politics of "crisis." The manufacture of emergencies along the US/Mexico border, expulsory measures in Australia, temporary labor movements into the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, signal that mediating migration *as crisis* is a global affair—both in its scope and its entanglement with the structures and apparatuses of capitalist flows and embargoes. This collection is thus meant to think both the historical specificity and the abstract generalization of migration *as crisis* at once.

Thinking From a Double Estrangement

For obvious reasons, the task of accounting for this peculiar trajectory calls directly on our respective disciplinary formations as researchers, scholars, artists, curators and editors. Many, though not all, interlocutors in the long dialogue from which the present book emerges claim allegiance to some branch of media study, or perhaps more broadly cast, to the critical analysis of visual culture through a variety of media and genres. Our collective training, then, encompasses such approaches and methods as critical discourse analysis, art history and contemporary art practice, the politics of representation, feminist and queer theory, critical race studies, (new) media theory, curatorial practice, and to a lesser though still important extent, science and technology studies. With several important exceptions, many of us wield these tools from the context of the North American and European academy,[14] an institutional space that is in the grips of its own set of crises, many of which overlap explicitly and importantly with the politics of immigration, refugeeism, securitization, and state power. In some sense, then, we write, produce and curate from a position of double estrangement. In the first place, our training equips us to think the European migrant crisis not so much from an anthropological, sociological, or legal-theoretical perspective, but rather in terms of the way it circulates as a set of images, texts, processes, genres, and formats, and how these circulations proliferate particular understandings of "the migrant," "the refugee," and just as importantly, "Europe."

Given this mediatic framing of "crisis," we ask: What happens when image cultures becomes turbulent? Might something else be thought? Another theory of the political? A way of trespassing Europe—the territory, the project, 'the very idea'—that does not finally locate the possibility of freedom within a fantasy of knowing hinged to the transparency of images? That looks to the social conditions of (forced) migration, listening for the hums of an *otherwise* that reverberate at and across the limits of figuration, straddling the turbid zone between excess and exhaustion—however narrow? "Turbulence," writes Nicole Starosielski, "is a chaotic form of motion that is produced when the speed of a fluid exceeds a threshold relative to the environment it is moving through [...] When a fluid—whether air, water, or blood—becomes turbulent, it breaks down into smaller swirling currents, called eddies, which in a cascade break down into smaller and smaller irregular flows."[15] Our particular training positions us to home in on these procedures, interrogating and tracing how specific forms of representation—the forensic, the documentary, the photo-journalistic, the abstract or non-figurative, the participatory—seek to establish or extend certain programs of response and intervention, often to the exclusion of alternatives.

The second estrangement from and within which we think and write concerns our own position as editors (and, in a number of cases, as contributors) within the predominantly Anglophone North American academy. Over the course of our lengthy collaboration, our own scholarly and professional itineraries have, of course, passed through a number of the territories that 'directly' abut the crisis (at least to the ex-

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14 There are important exceptions to this location, and these form some of the most piercing critiques of the terms of the "migrant crisis" in this anthology. See in this volume, El Montassir, "The Adouaba Project," and Zachariadi and Lynes, "Either You Get it or You Don't."

15 Starosielski, *The Undersea Network*, 17.

tent that the crisis has, in much popular discourse, been powerfully identified with certain bounded geographies, among them the Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa, and so forth). As a result, our discussions have been often discontinuous and elliptical, variously extended and *distended* by all manner of technical glitches and institutional forces—among them poor Internet connections and halting video feeds, multiple time zones, and more distressingly, the violent operations of state power and military force. To this extent, our thinking and writing has been profoundly conditioned by very infrastructures of circulation and containment that we have these last four years attempted to theorize. There is (however and of course) a limit to what these experiences of distension and interruption can actually dislodge. We remain for better and for worse the products of particular disciplinary formations and intellectual trajectories, with all their attendant methodological, analytic, and epistemic baggage. To be plain: we are not 'Europeanists' in any strict sense of the term.

Nevertheless, the anthology collects and enfolds a frictional contact among very different positionalities, critical, creative and political inheritances, and modes of expression and action. Located across North American, Europe, Africa and Asia, with personal trajectories that are more diverse and differentiated than this, many of us are nevertheless historically positioned to inherit the political, social, and institutional affordances of European imperialism and settler citizenship. Because this is an inheritance that we cannot simply elect to refuse, as if through some supreme act of political will, we are also positioned to reproduce and proliferate those affordances through our modes of affiliation and the infrastructures of critical and creative publication within which this anthology finds its place.

Located within institutions and intellectual communities that rigorously engage the settler-colonial formation of the Canadian and US nation-states, for instance, that participate differently but robustly in the contemporary politics of migration and bordering as they unfold across the North American continent (not only at its putative edges, such as the US-Mexico and US-Canada borders), and that critically engage the relentless violence of white supremacist statecraft, interrogating its grotesque ensemble of operations and techniques (mass incarceration, police brutality, systemic neglect, punishing surveillance, severe forms of deprivation and impoverishment), we are positioned to think questions of refugeeism, migration, and "crisis" in ways that perhaps trouble or at least qualify, for instance, investments in the capacity of nominally liberal-democratic nation-states to meaningfully respond to or ameliorate the regularized production of migrant death at the border, in prisons, in transit. We learn from scholarly and activist networks that make clear the *structural* entanglements of various programs of migrant inclusion and exclusion with ongoing efforts to extinguish Indigenous political orders (within which one can often glimpse radically different articulations of sovereignty, nationhood, and belonging) as well as with the whole spectrum of governmental and institutional projects that operationalize a virulent and pervasive (though still nationally-inflected) anti-blackness.[16]

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16 And this is to say nothing of what we, and this book, have learned from our students. Variously positioned in relation to contemporary formations of power, privilege, and domination, they have shown us—and continue to show us—what it means and *might* mean to learn, think, write, act and convene against colonial occupation and the attempted elimination of Indigenous, minoritarian, and repressed cultural practices and intellectual histories, against deportation, incarceration, and exclu-

What such positioning produces, methodologically, is a theoretical debt to contemporary scholarship on movement that is more firmly located in critical race studies, feminist and queer theory, and postcolonial studies than in the literatures that frequently explain migration, exclusion, state and para-state governmentality and identity formation in a European context. It is also, nevertheless, allied with Marxian frameworks that insist upon the "autonomy of movement." The insistence in Papadopoulos et al, as well as Nicholas De Genova and others, on the "autonomy of movement," reconfigures movement itself as a form of political action that resists structures of social and political control. In this respect, current "economic migrants" act in continuity with vagabonds, pirates, maroons, rebelling slaves and others.[17] Movement entails a potential form of flight from the political categories that organize and attribute rights and responsibilities in relation to the granting function of the nation-state ("citizen," "laborer," "family," etc.).

Thus, while we raise the shorthands that make short work of the complexity of migration in and across the shifting territories that constitute the "crisis" ("Europe," "migrant," for instance), our aim is not simply to critique them but also to trace other departure and arrival points, focal lenses, and subjective and social dynamics that bring into view the primacy of movement (more broadly) to the constitution of social life. In line with a theory of movement's autonomy, we assert that the European Union's border control apparatuses entail not an overarching resistance to movement, but the selective and differentiating porousness of entry and exit points in a larger heterogeneous and hierarchized space of global circulation. Beyond the sanctioned movement of goods in the architectures of "free trade," there are also the permit structures that have historically granted more-or-less-temporary-workers visas (without the accompanying rights of citizenship), as well as the sanctioned movements of Europeans out of the European territory. Indeed, the history of Europe might be conceived as one of overarching imperial movement: a history of violently displacing the sovereignty of territories abroad through (ongoing) processes of invasion, occupation, and settlement; a history contingent on the forcible capture, enslavement, and global circulation of bodies made chattel.

"We are the Freedom of Movement:" Fugitivity and Autonomy

Beneath these patterned and bureaucratically-sanctioned circulations, however, there are other forms of movement that precede, subtend, shadow, or stray from the circulatory dynamics that constitute the "global system." Prior to the "migrant crisis," and

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sion, against an always-already racial capitalism, against both the militarization of police and the policification of campus, against military raid, arbitrary arrest, forcible displacement, bodily mutilation. From these encounters, we learn something important about what it means to call something a "crisis;" how this produces and proliferates particular kinds of visibility that tend to stabilize the basic 'goodness' of liberal political reason and moral sense, nudging us toward programs of "reform" that aspire to more humane or bureaucratically sound forms of containment, disappearance, and exclusion, rather than programs of abolition and speculation that both imagine and seek to *build* alternative forms of living in common.

17   See for instance Boutang, *Economie politique des migrations clandestines de main-d'oeuvre* and Neilson and Mezzadra, *Border as Method.*

prior even to "migration" or "refugeeism," there is nevertheless movement. Prior to the deliberation of asylum claims, to the patterning of trajectories, to the interception of Zodiac boats, or to processing zones, there are displacements that do not name their routes, their motivations or their points of entry or exit. Papadopoulos et al. name this movement "escape," by which they mean imperceptible moments in everyday life which trigger social transformation through the "refusal to subscribe to some aspects of the social order that seem to be inescapable and indispensable for governing the practicalities of life."[18] They call such acts "fugitive occurrences."

In a vivid example of such an act, on May 20th, 2019, hundreds of protesters, most of African origin, many "sans-papiers," descended on Charles De Gaulle International Airport north of Paris. In a nod to the *Gilets Jaunes* movement—whose tactics of sustained urban protest had in the preceding months thrown cities like Paris into upheaval, turning them into sites of insurgent violence and dramatic clashes between demonstrators and riot police—the protesters called themselves *Gilets Noirs*, or black vests. Occupying terminals 2F and 2G, they concretely demanded an end to Air France's participation in the deportation of asylum seekers, refugees, migrants, and sans-papiers, while couching the action within a total refusal of the larger project of racialized migrant exclusion and exploitation, connecting the specific struggle against corporate-backed deportation, for instance, to the fight against migrant detention elsewhere in France. In a statement posted to Twitter the day of the occupation—a fitting rejoinder to the EU Commission's earlier use of the platform to declare the migrant crisis over—the *gilets noirs* wrote: "We will attack all those who exploit and draw profit from the *sans papiers*, just as we will attack all those who organize and live off of racism in France. We do it with the determination of those who are on hunger strike, those who evade, and all those who struggle against detention centers, in Hendaye last Saturday, in Rennes last week, and elsewhere."[19]

The action, to be sure, evinced a certain media savvy. The adoption of the mantle *gilet* inscribes the protests within an extant interpretive and discursive framework, even as the substitution of *noirs* for *jaunes* strategically and politically disidentifies the two movements, subtly throwing into relief the latter's investments in a broadly white working class politic that demands economic justice, yet by and large neglects the exploitation of migrant labor as a *particular* strategy of European and global capital in the present conjuncture.[20] And yet, in their communiqués to the press, the *gilets noirs* also seem acutely aware of the political risks that attend media spectacle in general and so-

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18 Papadopoulos et al, *Escape Routes*, xv.

19 "On s'attaquera à tous celles et ceux qui exploitent et tirent profit des sans papiers comme nous nous attaquerons à tous celles et ceux organisent et vivent du racisme en France. Nous l'avons fait avec la détermination de celles et ceux qui sont en grève de la faim, celles et ceux qui s'évadent et de tous celles et ceux qui luttent contre les centres de rétention, à Hendaye samedi dernier, à Rennes la semaine dernière et ailleurs." [translation ours]

20 As the *gilets jaunes* movement has circulated globally, this investment in whiteness has become all the more explicit, as in Canada, where a nascent 'yellow vest' movement, nominally concerned with the continued expansion of the fossil fuel industry as guarantor of working-class jobs, has quickly revealed itself as an explicitly white supremacist project. In France, groups such as *Comité Adama* (organized against police violence in Paris' banlieues) and the *CLAQ* (Committee of Queer Liberation and Autonomy) have participated in the *gilets jaunes* protests in order to combatively contest these investments.

cial media virality, in particular. And with good reason: as multiple contributors to this volume make clear, these modes of cultural circulation have since 2015 been absolutely central to the production of migration as a crisis. "The airport *is not a symbolic site for us*, it's the rear base and the outpost of the war against the *sans papiers* and immigrants. We have come today to block this base to take it back, to reconquer it."[21] To inhabit the circuits of mediated visibility in a globalized present, yet to resist the pull of the symbolic; to engage in the production and proliferation of communiqués, digital images, and other medial artefacts, yet to insist on the absolute materiality of the action, on the airport not as a symbolic site but as the "rear base and forward post in the war against the sans-papiers and immigrants." This is the gamble of the *gilets noirs*. To be visible as immigrants, as sans-papiers, yet to refuse all those ways of being visible—as anonymous bodies amassed at the border fence, as viral symbols of an undifferentiated and unspecified struggle, as hypervisualized targets of state surveillance, as ghostly absences hovering around the rusted hull of a ship—that do not materially disrupt those mechanisms of exploitation and expulsion that allow the EU Commission to declare an end of the migrant crisis; those mechanisms, indeed, that make clear that Europe *remains a crisis for migrants*—a crisis that did not begin in 2015 and did not end in 2019.

In the taking-and-holding place of the *Gilets Noirs* occupation, there is both an autonomy and a fugitivity; a willful acting and moving in open contravention of those sanctioned (im)mobilities that would avow the separability of 'Europe' and 'migrant.' This is, quite literally, a retaking (reprendre), a *reconquering* (reconquérir), a defiant declaration of flight from and against the final, expulsive flight of airborne deportation. As the *Gilets* write in their statement, "Nous *sommes* la liberté de circuler:" We *are* the freedom of movement.[22] In emphasizing such sites and modes of autonomous movement, the present anthology owes a substantial debt to Fred Moten's notion of "fugitivity," even as we hasten to acknowledge the historical and political specificities of the "migrant crisis."[23] For Moten, a liberatory arc may be traced in what he calls "fugitive movement in and out of the frame, bar, or whatever externally imposed social logic—a movement of escape, the stealth of the stolen that can be said, since it inheres in every closed circle, to break every enclosure."[24] This fugitive movement is *not* a semiotic strategy for breaking apart the framing mechanisms of our visual apparatuses. It constitutes instead a material persistence, what he calls "stolen life," life that per-

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21 "L'aeroport *n'est pas un lieu symbolique pour nous*, c'est la base arrière et l'avant post de la guerre contre les sans papiers et les immigrées. Nous sommes venues aujourd'hui bloquer cette based pour la reprendre, la reconquérir." [translation ours]

22 *Circuler* may be translated as "movement" insofar as it implies a coming and going, a displacement along paths or channels. *Circuler*, however, also implies a cyclicality and renewal, in the way that blood circulates in the body. It also implies a passing from hand to hand, like fake currency, or a diffusion and expansion. The term chosen might then highlight the differential movement of bodies, of capital, of knowledge that the airport embodies as an infrastructure and architecture. To block an airport is to take part in a struggle around circulation in specific networks of movement.

23 We do not mean to confuse, nor equate through metaphor, the contemporary migrant crisis and the calamitous social afterlives of the Atlantic slave trade, even as the two both would seem to invite comparison (quick and uncritical, on the one hand, nuanced and committed on the other), and require a sharp attention to the living on of the fact of slavery in the migrant crossings of the last several decades.

24 Moten, "The Case of Blackness," 179.

sists beyond the reaches of governmentality and biopolitical power. In Moten's view, this fugitive movement, a "fugitive coalescence of and against," makes black social life productively "ungovernable."[25] The image repertoire of the migrant crisis has circled around failures of governmentality—around the specter of fascist bureaucratic excess, transportation infrastructures, border controls, passport and visa regulations, quotas and debt obligations. The iconic images which surface articulate the threat to Europe's exertions of governmentality, invite retrenchments that rearticulate the idea of Europe and its debt to its others, but equally visualize moments of breakdown which put into crisis the structures of belonging/unbelonging that constitute the biopolitical lever of European consolidation, and thus might open onto modes of resistance to the persistence and totalizing nature of the language of "crisis."

The concept of an *a priori* or autonomous movement, however, should not be taken to metaphorize migration (and the figure of the migrant) to represent the universal condition of estrangement and malaise that constitutes twentieth- and twenty-first-century affect. For Sara Ahmed, the generalization of migration transforms historically-specific complex displacements of peoples into a "mechanism for theorizing how identity itself is predicated on movement or loss."[26] Such theoretical tendencies, in universalizing conditions of displacement and loss, displace the specificity of what Ahmed calls "the contingent and worldly relations that mark out habitable terrains."[27] Movement is thus not necessarily or mechanistically transgressive, although it may provide a set of actions and escape routes for potent forms of political transgression.

To commit to the autonomy of movement as such, then, *guarantees* little in and of itself; its possible meanings risk being mischaracterized, remaining thus monopolized by the very imaginative and political projects we aim to contest. The forms of affective and political excess with which images of a borderless world are sometimes associated (post- or extra-nationalism, global citizenship, the cosmopolitan, and so on) may also sit closely astride what Elizabeth Povinelli calls the "conditions of exhaustion and endurance" that suffuse "our world's scenes of abandonment."[28] We center this ambiguity in our thinking so as to complicate the "simple ethical investment in the thresholds and transitions of becoming within biopolitics," holding close to hand the proviso that in the face of exhaustion, elimination, deprivation, and displacement, "to be the same, to be durative, may be as emancipatory as being transitive."[29]

We understand fugitive movement, then, not as a simple investment in movement over stasis, or as a merely descriptive tool for categorizing illicit and unsanctioned modes of transit, but rather as an embodied, often perilous, migratory praxis that demands the committed work of what many feminist, postcolonial, and Indigenous scholars have called decolonizing methodologies. Such methodologies would mobilize specific standpoints of "opposition" (Chela Sandoval), "refusal" (Audra Simpson) or "wake work" (Christina Sharpe) so as to resist the easy appropriation of the migrant

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25   Moten, "The Touring Machine," 267.

26   Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 80.

27   Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 79.

28   Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment*, 130.

29   Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment*, 130. Indeed, a great deal of migrant-organized resistance and revolt has taken on precisely this character, formalized as sit-ins, encampments, and blockings of deportations that have taken place alongside and within the "crisis" of migration.

(or the refugee, or the internally displaced) as a mere "emblem" or "figure" of either post-national freedom or Agambenian bare life. The ways in which acts of movement are engendered across a contemporary landscape of dislocation are multiple, and we can presume to know neither the conditions nor the outcomes of those performances in advance. Chela Sandoval's strategies of "differential movement," for instance, do not cede vision and visuality to imperial power but rather seek to counter unlocatable vision with the multidimensional and mobile positioning of situated knowledges. This movement allows for consciousness to challenge its own perimeters from within ideology, to decipher an ideology according to its own dynamics and imperatives, which Sandoval calls the very "methodology of the oppressed." Similarly, we take seriously the positional quality of Christina Sharpe's "wake work," her demand to "stay in the wake," to understand the relation between slavery's violences in the conditions of "spatial, legal, psychic, material, and other dimensions of Black non/being as well as in Black modes of resistance."[30] She calls "wake work" an analytic that imagines new ways to live in the wake of slavery, a new mode of inhabiting the contemporary conjuncture in the present horizon. It is for this reason that the critical and creative, the declarative and poetic, the material and immaterial co-exist in this anthology, as a method of imagining beyond "crisis" and committing such imaginaries to social change.

We are therefore compelled by Sandro Mezzadra's preface to this anthology, to his insistence on recovering "the insurgent character of the movements of migration" in 2015, an insurgency that is distant to the rhetorics of "crisis." His attention to the possibilities that movement creates for prefiguring different relations between Europe and its outsides is vital to not remaining within the architecture of "crisis"—even as a modality of critique. His preface reminds us that—like with his *Mare Jonio* rescue ship project—scholars, activists and artists must resist the terms and structures that bind and narrow potential liberatory futures.[31]

Moving Images thus seeks to hold open the fugitivity of migrant movement, its decolonial logic, and its capacity to put under erasure the global state of things by going beyond the limits of legibility. Or, to countenance those limits as an index of that which resists, even if that resistance is not strictly 'activist' in character and less purposive than the language of agency might suggest. Even if the resistance is a hum, a churning; "what can be attained in [a] zone of unattainability, to which the eminently attainable ones have been relegated, which they occupy but cannot (*and refuse*) to own."[32] It sees in *movement* the possibility of tuning our instruments to other frequencies where the crisis extends beyond an event, and "Europe" is properly set in its place as a pitted political strategy of the contemporary global order. Thus, while our thinking is focused on—and focalized by—the crisis' particular visual regime, these predicaments have broad implications for the visualization of social movement and political movements more generally, and for the manner in which technologies of vision and modes of circulation give shape not only to the contours of various political crises, but to the racialized, ethnic, gendered and sexual ideologies that surface certain bodies and invisibilize others, both with severe and relentless social costs.

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30 Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 14.

31 See in this regard the exceptionally potent essay by Mezzadra and Caccia, "What can a ship do?"

32 Moten, "The Case of Blackness," 179.

At the conjunction of the interrelated episodes of the crisis' *end*, the Venice Biennale's sculptural shipwreck and the defiant occupations of the *Gilets Noirs,* a critical terrain opens: a field of political, aesthetic, and representational negotiation in which the meanings and implications of the now-familiar phrase "Migrant Crisis," and indeed the very notion of crisis as such, are put at stake. Far from mere description, crisis in this space is revealed as a multivalent and intensely contested framework for knowing the body in motion, for marshalling and distributing the resources (and forces) of the state, and for animating particular strategies of governance and administration that obtain at a variety of scales and across multiple locales. What's more, in this space it becomes abundantly clear that "crisis" as a modality for thinking migration is intimately, even *essentially*, bound up with strategies of figuration and representation, interpellating various domains of cultural and aesthetic practice, from the global art market to the social media platform, and from the television news broadcast to the activist communiqué.

Moving Images is an attempt to inhabit this terrain. It aims to intervene critically in the various visual regimes—documentary, photojournalistic, forensic, abstract, participatory—through which both the figure of the migrant and the category Europe have been refracted in recent years. And in staging such an intervention, we aim to disrupt the temporality of crisis itself. Though certainly a powerful vehicle for mobilizing specific kinds of political and cultural response, in framing contemporary practices of migration as unanticipated outbreaks—foisted as if from without and all at once on an unsuspecting European continent—crisis shears migration (and indeed the migrant) of any substantive historicity. The cut is both strategic and profoundly political, for this is a historicity that may well speak of the violences of empire and its proliferating afterlives, of the everyday exclusions and expulsions that give late liberal statecraft its distinctive texture, and of those quotidian forms of reason, judgment, and moral sense that innervate both. As such, the temporality of crisis and its attendant visual language(s) are productive of the social worlds and subjectivities produced at and around the borders of Europe, as Mezzadra and Neilson persuasively argue in *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor,* of the struggles that take shape in the changing relations of domination, dispossession and exploitation that take place there. Thinking in and against the panicky rhythms of crisis and the spatially-distributed acts of bordering it sponsors, we seek to return to migration something of its social fullness.

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The anthology thus begins not with this introduction, but with Allan deSouza's potent critical fiction "Through the Black Country"—a text-based artwork which takes up and wryly inverts the conventions of the 19th-century colonial travelogue so to produce a "reverse exploration" of England and Europe that originates, rather than terminates, in Asia and West Africa. Appropriating through a disidentificatory gesture the figure of the "explorer," the account considers Europe (and London specifically) as a site for *discovery*. The project's journals, maps, photographs, sketches and artifacts mimic the archival record of innumerable colonial expeditions, and locate contemporary movement patterns within counter-readings of historical relations between Europe and the global South. Seizing upon a literary form that abrogates to itself the right of colonial and imperial movement, "Through the Black Country" displaces and reverses both the

relation between those who move and those who stay put, and the anthropological gaze through which such determinations have historically been made. It thus poses from the outset a set of challenges for the collection as a whole, demanding that the anthology recalibrate its emphases, question its terms, refocus its visions, and closely interrogate its assumptions—and attend closely to the task of representing and interrogating "crisis."

The remainder of the collection is divided into two sections, "Moving Media" and "Mobile Positions," which together gather a series of interrelated reflections on the often troubled transit between mediation and migration. If the essays in the former section are more weighted towards the infrastructures, techniques, and operations that propel images of migration-as-crisis through and across global circuits of consumption and interpretation, the latter focalize more sharply the figures that animate those operations, steeped as they are in a set of racial, gendered, sexual and classed imaginaries. Nevertheless, these emphases refuse to hold their distinct positions within the entangled social dynamics of refugeeism, migration, asylum, deportation, nationalism, border securitization, trafficking, separatism, civil disobedience, occupation, blockade, and trade. Because these phenomena are integrally entwined sites of mediation and mediatization, the anthology argues precisely for the inseparability of thinking moving images and mobile positions separately, despite the chasms that isolate certain forms of movement from others. Each section begins and ends with imaging practices—some artistic, some activist, and some both at once. These images and documents do not take sides on the "to show / not to show" dilemma that so often informs the ethical framework for witnessing traumatic images, so much as displace the binary itself to make room for other practices of figuration and documentation, as well as other modes of social action.

Section One begins with Zineb Sedira's *SeaPath*, an artistic project consisting of a series of images taken from ferry crossings between Algiers and Marseille. They present, as Tyler Morgenstern poetically theorizes in "The Literal, at Sea," not a document but a turbulent and indeterminate imaging practice, one in which the "literal is already littoral," severed from reference and set adrift as fleeting bits of form (and foam) on the sea's surface. In their poignant abstraction and—paradoxically—their obdurate material and contextual specificity, they both dramatize and obscure what Morgenstern refers to as the scene of "vectoralized movement, determinate starting points and ending points, definitive boundaries between this and that, here and there" that since 2015 has given the Migrant Crisis so much of its political and affective texture.

Following this, Bishnupriya Ghosh's "A Sensible Politics: Image Operations of Europe's Refugee Crisis" tracks the sprawling, socially mediated itineraries of the iconic image of the young Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, who was found dead on a Turkish beach resort in 2015. Rather than engaging questions of representation or attempting to parse whether such images can be read straightforwardly as ethically good or bad, Ghosh argues that the image, shared globally through a torrent of affectively-charged Tweets and mournful news broadcasts created a mode of public participation *prior* to the determination of the image's significance. In this modality of participation—precariously and indeed improperly demotic—Ghosh locates a form of sensible, or affective, politics antecedent to the emergence of any conventionally deliberative public that could be represented through the bureaucratic and quantitative strategies of state and market.

Extending this focus on the mechanisms of circulation and their often mercurial politics, Ian Alan Paul's "Controlling the Crisis" proposes that the instruments of securitization and governmentality that today intensively mediate the movement of migrants toward and across European territories are not simply an effect of crisis—a reasoned *response* to irregular movement—but rather an "output of societies organized by the desire to *control crises*." Through an account of several theories of cybernetics (Haraway, Deleuze, Tiqqun), Paul traces how the complex regime of sensing, surveillance, and policing elaborated in recent years by Frontex—the EU's primary border security agency—emerges *co-constitutively and recursively* with the "crisis" of 2015 and 2016. Fleshing out a logic of "crisis-control" that mediates the transitory space between those liberal theories of freedom, right, and subjectivity that continue to anchor EU border imaginaries in important ways and those cybernetic techniques, favored by agencies like Frontex, that seem to evacuate the liberal project of its substance, Paul locates both a new modality of governance and a vital new terrain of resistance and subversion.

Paul's concern with the structural entanglement of crisis and control in the cybernetic dispensation finds a ready counterpart in Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani's "Forensic Oceanography: Tracing Violence Within and Against the Mediterranean Frontier's Aesthetic Regime." In this contribution, Heller and Pezzani trace the technologies, legal apparatuses, political regimes and image operations that have harnessed the sea's geopower to a more or less organized "form of killing," and map their efforts, through their Forensic Oceanography initiative, to document and understand these malleable configurations. Specifically, they trace three of these shifts (the movement from practices of non-assistance to *policies* of non-assistance, and the further move to criminalize rescue initiatives and outsource border control to overseas partners). Throughout, they attend to the forms of violence ensuing from these shifts, and the shifting visualizing practices and ethico-political stakes they entailed for Forensic Oceanography.

Similarly attuned to the mercurial movements of EU border policy is Lonnie Van Brummelen and Siebren de Haan's "Reframing the Border," which documents the artists' ongoing efforts to represent Europe's external frontiers—a domain written and rewritten since the consolidation of the Eurozone by an array of trade agreements and friendship treaties that tie former colonies to Europe in relations of dependency and, more to the point, form the foundations of contemporary migrant governance projects. Both Heller & Pezzani and Van Brummelen & de Haan locate their practices within a configuration of power that is (post)colonial and (neo)imperialist, and as such, both essays reveal how negotiating these inheritances is bound to a set of representational technologies, epistemic conventions, and power relations that affect where and how they position their (metaphorical and literal) cameras. Together, the essays stress how artistic and activist image operations are always coextensive with other mediating processes, whether the transformation of the NGO Sea Watch into an immense audio-visual recording device designed to counter the "factual lies" of EU border enforcement agencies, or French President Emmanuel Macron's decision to repatriate artefacts of colonial plunder from French museums to their countries of origin.

Providing a kind of conceptual scaffold for these varied and variable image-making practices, Thomas Nail's "Migrant Images" seeks to develop a kinetic theory of the migrant and the image alike, centering social migrancy (rather than static notions of

state-based belonging) and a vision of the image as an object on the move (rather than simply a representation of a static object *external* to it) as primary and intercalated features of our historical juncture. Moving away from the specificity of image-making practices by or for migrant or refugee populations, Nail focuses instead on the broader implications of philosophies of movement (Lucretius, Marx, Henri Bergson, and others) for the figure of the migrant and the mobile image, exploring what it might take to develop a coherent theory of "migrant images."

Finally, Thomas Keenan & Sohrab Mohebbi's "Listing," and the accompanying documentation of Banu Cennetoğlu's ongoing project, "The List," draw from the Amsterdam-based organization UNITED for Intercultural Action's "List of Deaths of refugees and migrants due to the restrictive policies of 'Fortress Europe.'" Collaborating with numerous curators and art institutions, Cennetoğlu has facilitated the publication and exhibition of UNITED's up-to-date list in multiple languages and formats, from public displays in cities like Amsterdam, Barcelona and Los Angeles to newspaper supplements. Documentation of this work is included here. Keenan & Mohebbi, for their part, provide a poetic reflection on the act of "listing," fleshing out its polyvalent meanings as an act of itemizing, hearing, tilting, drifting, and documenting. Together, these pieces question what it means to document the dead as a political act, to make these deaths legible or visible, and how such acts might make particular demands on highly differentiated publics. As such, their questions and reflections evoke the abiding concerns of this section, pointing up how overlapping infrastructures, policies, and practices of mediation are constituted and conditioned by the intensities of crisis.

The contributions collected in Section Two, by contrast, follow the vexed itineraries of certain key figures around whom crisis as a political and visual modality has crystallized in recent years. Together, the authors in this section follow such figures as the migrant and the refugee, asking what happens politically as they assume a variety of social roles and positions—form the entrepreneurial subject of late capitalism to the art participant, and from the potential "terrorist" to the "trafficked woman"—and as they pass through different spaces of cultural practice and consumption. How do these figures move and for whom? What role do they play in consolidating particular kinds of political events, subjectivities, and communities around the issues of migration and refugeeism? Moreover, building on the concerns raised in Section One, what kinds of technical infrastructures, communications markets, and social networks are required to put these images into circulation and keep them there? How do such networks siphon individual and collective forms of affect, aspiration, and desire? How, finally, do these visual and cultural itineraries intersect with the uneven movement of bodies, commodities, capital, and information across a European continent at once globalized and deeply fractured by resurgent nationalisms?

Section Two begins with Abdessamad El Montassir's "The Adouaba Project" (2019), which traces and visualizes two communities—the adwaba villages in Mauritania and the tranquilos communities in the hills and forests outside the Moroccan city of Tangiers. In El Montassir's complex artistic project, these communities constitute a contemporary form of *marronage*, built by those who have fled conditions of enslavement yet now await the emergence of new routes of passage to an elsewhere and otherwise, suspended in the administrative time of European statecraft without ever having touched European shores. The accompanying collaborative text, deriving from conversations between El Montassir and Krista Lynes, seeks to flesh out what the verb form

marronner might signify for thinking migratory movement differently, away from the pull of Europe and its presumed association with rights or freedom.

El Montassir's efforts to rethink the figure of the migrant, and to articulate visually an other formation of migrant subjectivity, are echoed in the essays that comprise the remainder of the section. Veronika Zablotsky's "Unsanctioned Agency: Risk Profiling, Racialized Masculinity, and the Making of Europe's 'Refugee Crisis'" focuses on the reception and circulation of so-called "refugee selfies." She argues incisively that gendered and racialized scripts govern the construction of unaccompanied refugee men, painting them as "suspiciously agential" and therefore less vulnerable. She unpacks the construction of the "single, male refugee" through a feminist and postcolonial reflection on humanitarianism, whiteness, and neoliberalism in Europe.

Farah Atoui also examines the racialized and gendered imaginaries that govern mediation of the "migrant crisis," focusing particularly on how the category shifts between "refugee" and "migrant" are mobilized strategically in order to illegalize people in movement and preempt their entry into the United Kingdom. Through a careful historical reading of media coverage of the refugee camps at Calais—alongside an account of the Sangatte Center that preceded it—Atoui argues that anti-migrant discourse in the UK articulates and instantiates a "political ontology of threat" (Massumi) that hinges on a clear distinction between the migrant and the refugee; a distinction which itself cloaks economic determinations regarding properly and improperly governed labor power in the supposedly neutral formalities of domestic law.

But while the figures of improper or suspect arrival that Zablotsky and Atoui examine have certainly been central to the production of crisis as a visual regime, prompting all manner of border securitization and deterrence projects, they are at the very least matched in their potency by their inverse: the figure of the migrant who never arrives at all, who drowns at sea. In her aptly-titled contribution, "SOPHIA: The Language of Trafficking in the Mediation of Gendered Migration" Krista Lynes considers how this figure has become visually and discursively enfolded within the gendered, racial, and class politics of recent European anti-trafficking initiatives operating under the name Sophia, which comes to denominate ships and infants, radio signals and imperial navies. These initiatives bind the seemingly discrepant logics of humanitarianism and securitization to one another in and through the body of the "trafficked woman." Developed in sustained conversation with postcolonial and Black feminisms, Lynes's essay considers what such a conjunction forecloses, what complicated and difficult agencies it puts under erasure, and what is at stake politically in the semiotic drift that collapses "woman" into "traffic" in the long wake of racial slavery.

Suzana Milevska, for her part, pursues these thorny questions of agency and objectification into different disciplinary quarters, exploring the question of refugee representation in contemporary art practice, examining in particular the "participatory turn" in artworks which aim to intervene in the "migrant crisis." Beginning with an analysis of the ethical implications of the slogan "We Refugees," invoked often by a humanitarian politics in the contemporary moment as a gesture of solidarity with displaced and migratory peoples, Milevska ultimately offers a critical appraisal of recent artworks that require refugees and migrants to complete the work through their action, participation, or labor, examining whether or to what degree such an approach might offer a corrective to the political quandaries that so often befall efforts to simply represent the marginalized or vulnerable Other.

Appropriately, the section ends with documentation of a very differently participatory artistic-activist action by the collective LGBTQIA+ Refugees in Greece, performed on the occasion of Documenta 14's exhibit in Athens, Greece in 2017.[33] The action, which involved a performative "rock-napping" of a public sculpture by the artist, Roger Bernat, meant both to emphasize the instrumentalization and exoticization of queer migrant life, and to foreground the specific vulnerabilities of this community, and the work of the collective. The documentation is accompanied by a conversation between Krista Lynes and Sophia Zachariadi, reflecting on the action, the role of art activism in mobilizing for refugee and migrant rights, and the politics of solidarity.

Throughout, each contribution mobilizes different crafts and practices, languages and media, to intervene in the iconography of the migrant "crisis," to challenge its settings and locations, its figures, its imagined audience, and its evidentiary nature. This experimental strategy, with its risks and potential failures, is meant also to position the potentials of these forms of academic inquiry within the inescapable politics of positioning, conscious that the location from which we intervene matters to the movements and mediations we describe and in which we participate.

Together, all the contributions gathered here take up the task of thinking critically about "eventfulness," when the very terms of analysis keep taking new objects through and in relation to a highly circulatory media environment. How might processes of scholarly inquiry track and keep pace with the ephemeral but perpetually catastrophic rhythms of the mediation of "crisis"? How might we devise tools and positionings responsive to the continual opening up of new spaces of vulnerability and exposure? Such questions are ever more urgent in the light of intensifying and accelerating processes of displacement, detention and deportation in Europe, even as the visual economy of the migrant crisis has shifted once again.

Moving Images attempts to take these questions seriously, in the interests of imagining and building something that makes an otherwise elusive mode of engagement possible. We wish to develop not only a visual and aesthetic politics that reveals the European project as always-already subtended by a long, ongoing history of migration and displacement, but also a *space* where this politics can be put into practice; a space where emerging scholarly and artistic responses to contemporary forms of population displacement can be brought into conversation with one another, linked in ways that trouble the epistemic and political parameters of prevailing geopolitical, legislative, and indeed historiographic formations.

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33   For more on this action, see Lynes, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place."