

MIGRANTS AS A MIRROR
FOR
THE EUROPEAN UNION

THE MIGRANT
AND THE
EUROPEAN UNION
IN CONFLICT
BETWEEN
COLONIALIZATION
AND
COSMOPOLITANIZATION

by

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*For Lucas, my little brother, born on May 8th, 2012,
growing towards a more cosmopolitan world*

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Summary

Migrants have always existed through the history of the world, mankind and thus also Europe and the European Union. Through these different formulations of space and time the discourses and perceptions surrounding migrants have become a broad formulation - which is conveyed through a vast amount of migratory literature concerning a grandé scale of topics. In this thesis I argue that migrants and the European Union are in conflict between two discourses, namely that of (post)colonialism and cosmopolitanism, that are exacted through the institutional level of the European Union and its member states. Through this critical notion I argue that a true cosmopolitan interdependence at the institutional level of the EU requires the supranation to be more recognizable for its colonial past, present and future. The modern day migrant who travels towards and lives inside the EU can be an example of cosmopolitanism to reflect upon for the EU, and all of us.

Table of contents

I	Introduction	6
II	Theory	
2.1	The path that I followed	8
2.2	Quasi-colonialization-cosmopolitanization	9
2.3	Biopolitics & Bare life	11
2.4	Hypotheses	12
III	Methodology	
3.1	Lawrence the Migrant	15
3.2	Research strategy	16
3.3	Impasse	18
IV	Definitions	22
V	Incision genealogy	
5.1	Starting points	28
5.2	Hellenism - The cosmopolitan heritage	30
5.3	The Roman Empire - Turmoil at the borders	41
5.4	The Kingdom of Jerusalem - “All are welcome.”	58
VI	Anarchistic little narratives	
6.1	Introduction	64
6.2	Critical notions	64
6.3	Assessing the cosmopolitan nature	65
6.4	The Prins Hendrikkazerne	67
6.5	Ter Apel	75
VII	Conclusions	78
	Bibliography	80

I

INTRODUCTION

THE QUASI-COLONIAL- COSMOPOLITAN MIGRANT and THE QUASI-COLONIAL- COSMOPOLITAN EUROPEAN UNION

The thesis that I will argue is clear and to the point: The modern day migrant is more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union. Or more elaborated and nuanced: **“How can the migrant be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, and what does this say about the European Union itself and its institutionalizing policies?”** I realize that this thesis is in fact a comparative between a living being and a [supra]national institution, but in the end this is exactly done on purpose to convey a critical and scrutinizing message, which this thesis would otherwise be lacking. Although the overarching topic is the migrant in my “story” - if you believe that I am about to write fiction, just as Foucault once stated in an interview¹ - a great deal will discuss the framework of the European Union and its formulating history and discourses. Because this topic is dealing with the European Union, it will also be a story about bordering and rebordering, which is narrowly intertwined with the (geo)political assimilation process conveyed through the EU and its European Neighborhood Policy.

In the second chapter I will explain the theoretical framework of this thesis. Upon this foundation of a triadic construct the hypothesis is formulated. In it I present the combined post-colonial, cosmopolitan and epistemological anarchistic framework that I used to acquire evidence and formulate the main argument.

Within the third chapter I present the methodology at hand for this thesis, by building forward on the theoretical framework - and elaborating on the ways I will conduct the research that is required for this thesis.

¹ “Foucault liked to say that all his works were ‘fictions’” (p. 7) Source. [Scribbling on Foucault's Walls by Quiet Riot Girl](#)

Then in the fifth chapter I will perform an incision genealogy (Gregory, 1994) within facets of history through a migratory perspective and a story of bordering and rebordering, by using methods of genealogy as introduced by Foucault. This chapter will deal with the migrant as a 'modern' concept and that the deconstruction of this concept will lead to the scrutinizing of the *biopolitical* migrant compared to the natural migrant who in essence has always existed - potentially in all of us. Through the perspective of the migrant, the colonial and cosmopolitan constructs of duality and contrast will be deconstructed.

In the sixth chapter I elaborate on the fieldwork that I will conduct in a *biopolitical* sphere through conducting anarchistic little narratives with migrants in an asylum centre and at the migrant camp at Ter Apel (10 May - 23 May 2012). In that chapter the previous issues that have been discussed will be formulated in an intertwined discourse of a quasi-framework, which attempts to answer the main thesis. This chapter combines the incision genealogy through the migratory perspective - within colonial and cosmopolitan duality and contrast structures - with the personal narrations of 'modern day' migrants. That will lead to the title of this thesis

Summarizing: This thesis and its chapters can be captured in the following statement and questions:

x "The modern day migrant is more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union."

1. Which theory is used to formulate the thesis?
2. Which methodologies are used for this thesis?
3. Which definitions require operationalization?
4. Which vignettes, metaphors and fixes of position can be used through incision genealogy to arrive at a framework that supports this specific fieldwork in relation with migrants?
5. How can the European Union be linked with the migrant through discourses of both colonialization and cosmopolitanization?

Thus the starting statement and its questions can be formulated as a summarizing question - **"How can the migrant be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, and what does this say about the European Union itself and its institutionalizing policies?"** - however I already argued for a statement due to the fact that it empowers a more scrutinizing thesis, which I believe is needed in regard for this subject.

II

THEORY

POST-COLONIALISM & COSMOPOLITANISM linked through EPISTEMOLOGICAL ANARCHISM

2.1 The path that I followed

A thesis and its hypothesis will always be subject to the dynamic and historical defining of a theoretical framework. It will never be a constant process that simply follows a pattern from point A to point B. Formulating a methodology is an iterative scenario that plays out within a personal scene. Therefore it would be unwise to ignore myself within this process, because my role is narrowly intertwined within the theoretical dynamics that formulate the theoretical framework.

From that thought I decided to use three key discourses in my thesis, to avoid the restriction of a singular research-frame, and broaden the mobilities at play for this thesis' subject within the current 'world of paradigm pluralism' (Weichhart, 2005). Focussing on post-colonialism and cosmopolitanism is connected to some of the key terms at hand - the European Union, European Neighbourhood Policy, EU-citizens, EU external borders - within a large emphasis on migrants and their personal experiences with borders. Just uttering these key words immediately gives incentives about the vast amount of literature that is available to address these specific themes.

Because of the diverse and *grandé* amount of literature I was unsure at first which words connect the main argument through a story of post-colonialism and cosmopolitanism. Due to this issue I ended up with a link through Feyerabend in his book *Against Method* (1975) in which he states that "anything goes" (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 7). Because of the epistemological anarchism conveyed from this work, and the scrutinizing critique it received within the scientific world, I do realize that some might argue about the scientific nature and validity of this thesis - but it is exactly the link between post-colonialism and cosmopolitanism through Feyerabend that fits within the "world of paradigm pluralism" (Weichhart, 2005) - because the usage of multiple theories within a thesis implies that this thesis beholds such a conveyance of "world paradigm pluralism".

Perhaps one of the first times I thoroughly thought about the European Union and its geopolitics was when I read Boris Johnson's *The Dream of Rome* (2006) on a sunny april day in the year 2008, in the municipality of Dronten. Now as it so happens to be, not far from Dronten - about 16 kilometers - an asylum-seekers-center is located. It resides there between the municipalities of Dronten and Kampen. Following the road, N307, to the west we find ourselves in a landscape of forests - *Roggebotsebos* and *Revebos* -, agricultural land and farms stretched-out through a somewhat large emptiness. Heading down the same road to the east we encounter a lock, *Roggebotsluis*, which separates and connects two lakes, *Vossemeer* to the north and *Drontermeer* to the south. In front of the asylum center we find ourselves at a bus stop. From there the asylum-seekers or migrants are capable of using a public vehicle, but for the most part they are separated from the surrounding municipalities. The following example shows why the Dronten asylum-seekers-center (Dronten AZC) is like a space of exception, outside of 'normal' legislation (Gregory, 2006).

On 11 July 2000, the 15 year old Kampen girl Maartje Pieck was raped and murdered by perpetrator Jan H. while delivering toystore leaflets in the municipality of Kampen. After H. committed his crime he decided to dump the lifeless body of Maartje in the *Roggebotsebos*. After two days a passant finds the strangled body of Maartje. Not until after two months Jan H. was arrested in September.² During those two months of not knowing who the perpetrator was the local society speculated about who committed this crime - among the 'fictionalized' suspects belonged the asylum-seekers. Some citizens in the region even stated that 'the barbarians in the Dronten AZC were to be collectively punished'.³

2.2 Quasi-colonialization-cosmopolitanization

This personal story, connected with a past chain of events, is the mixture of cosmopolitanization in the form of the multi-national European Union (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 10) and post-colonialization through the 'othering' of migrants (Said, 1978). So in other words, it is part of what this thesis is so much about. Although *Orientalism* (1978) is a key work for discussing the discourse of us and them, and the 'othering' of people - you could argue that it puts too much emphasis on the us-them inclusion and exclusion paradigm, and thus creates a monolithic occident. For my thesis I found that the sequel to *Orientalism* (1978), *Culture and imperialism* (Said, 1993) opens more perspectives for the nationalization-colonialization retrospect in contrast with the dawn of internal cosmopolitanization (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 8 - 9).

This contrast and duality between these two discourses becomes clearly apparent when we consider

² [Volkskrant, 14-03-2001, Maartje Pieck moest van H. vooral ophouden met gillen](#)

³ Based upon the statement of an ex-Dronten citizen, Lian Starmans.

the words of Said -

Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination: vocabulary of nineteenth-century culture is plentiful with such words as concepts as 'inferior' or subject races' subordinate peoples', 'dependency', 'expansions', and 'authority'. (Said, 1994, p. 8)

- compared with the institutionalization of cosmopolitanization in the European Union through rituals and symbols (Beck, 2005) (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). A perfect example of such rituals and symbols is the Euro coin, the coin that depicts the [supra]national aspect through the depiction of a map consisting of all Eurostates, and profiles the national aspect through the depiction of a head of state or a symbol of the nation. And more of a prominent institutionalized cosmopolitan nature is the depiction of fictive European buildings on Euro bills. Thus the coin regards the nation and the [supra]nation while the bill tells the story of the "hesitant formation of the multi-national state" which is in this case the European Union (ibid. p. 10). This opens the debate for whether a European superstate is desirable or not (Boedeltje & van Houtum, 2008).

From the point of view that this thesis beholds, the migrant is part of that debate. From a metaphorical retrospect you could say that the migrant can be a mirror for the European Union - to look at itself and learn from its own reflection. To do so I found great use in the book *European Multiculturalism Revisited* (2010) edited by Alessandro Silj. Within this work diverse international contributors examine memberstates of the European Union and the multicultural paradigm from the early 1990s up until now. Indeed in this work all cases are examined through a national perspective, however in the end the contributors share a common somewhat cosmopolitan conclusion, which basically says that: In the 1990s we might have concluded that a multicultural model exists, but nowadays it is exactly the contradiction which is the paradigm. European nations switched from a '90s multicultural model to a tendency of nationalization. Exactly this shift shows that such pre-defined [national]models are to be interpreted and used with great caution (Silj, 2010, p. 236). So at first the migrant was somewhat a welcome sight who had to be implemented within the national political sphere, and over time the opposite occurred. I argue that this is incorrect, the migrant is still being implemented within the political sphere, however this process and construct are no longer defined by the multicultural paradigm, but by a quasi-colonialization-cosmopolitanization framework which is brought forth through the institutionalization of the European Union.

2.3 Biopolitics & Bare life

To be more specific for this theme - which is the migrant - the use of *biopolitics*, comes into play. A term first coined in 1976 by Michel Foucault in his work *Histoire de la sexualité, I: la volonté de savoir* (translated in 1978: *The History of Sexuality, The Will to Knowledge*). Foucault argues that natural life is being included in the mechanisms and calculations of State power, and thus politics become *biopolitics* (Agamben, 1998, p. 10). In his own words Foucault says:

...man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics calls his existence as a living being into question. (Foucault, 1978, p. 143)

Through the works *Homo Sacer* (1998) & *State of Exception* (2005) by political philosopher Giorgio Agamben the modern day *biopolitics* exacted upon migrants comes into a scrutinizing and most relevant light for this thesis. Although Agamben (1998; 2005) speaks about *biopolitics* in general - I intend to enlighten its core aspects in a quasi-framework for the migrant. Especially when we discuss the matters of political inclusion and exclusion it is hard to ignore the work of Agamben (1998):

The fundamental categorial pair of Western politics is not that of friend/enemy but that of bare life/political existence, *zoē*/bios, exclusion/inclusion. There is politics because man is the living being who, in language, separates and opposes himself to his own bare life and, at the same time, maintains himself in relation to that bare life in an inclusive exclusion. (p. 12)

Out of these words we are to understand that *zoē* stands for "bare life" and bios for "qualified life". Thus the first is life itself and the other a constructed political life that is governed through knowledge and power. Meaning an exercised form of 'power' over subjects (Foucault, 1983, p. 217). From that point of view it became clear to me that a key place for me would be the migrant within the asylum-seekers-center. The person who lives within a *biopolitical* state of colonialization in the camp, within a geopolitical institutionalized form of cosmopolitanization through the European Union - because the EU is "an arena where formal sovereignty can be exchanged for real power; national cultures nurtured and economic success improved" (Beck, 2005, p. 110) and interdependence can become all the more apparent to achieve a potential cosmopolitan Europa. Because of my idea of a duality and contrast of colonialization and cosmopolitalization exacted through the European Union and the *biopoliticized* migrant I realize that a clear story about the European Union is required - and even more so a clear story about the bordering and rebordering of this geopolitical construct, due to the fact that the migrant is wanted or unwanted because of European legislation (van Houtum & Boedeltje, 2009).

Because of my personal affinity with Foucault, due to a minor in philosophy - which is obviously an anarchistic, and for some people an unscientific statement - I find it quite compelling to follow the path of genealogy (Foucault, 1971) in deconstructing facets of European history and the story of bordering and rebordering. An issue at hand is the quality of having or showing great knowledge in this process. As it happens to be Foucault stated that genealogy requires "relentless erudition" (p. 77). Although a challenging prospect, this idea that history can be assembled and disassembled like a mosaic is exactly what is needed to garner new epistemological beliefs, truths and somewhere in between knowledge⁴ - that is told through the story of the migrant.

2.4 Hypotheses

Feyerabend finished his last philosophical contribution in 1993, however it was not published until recently in May 2011. In *The Tyranny of Science* Feyerabend challenges the belief that 'science is successful'. This critique brought me back to the last lectures of Foucault in 1983 and 1984 published as *Le courage de la vérité* (2009) and two years later translated as *The Courage of the Truth* (2011) in which Foucault argues that truth is not the reproduction of reality, but is a reference to that which is not a reality just yet. Therefore truth is a promise, and keeping that promise requires courage. It is from that perspective that I pondered about Rumford (2007) and his question: *Does Europe Have Cosmopolitan Borders?* Exactly that question of how borders are experienced by individuals and if they do so in a cosmopolitan fashion (p. 329) is so narrowly intertwined with the arguments that Beck and Sznaider (2006) convey for a methodological cosmopolitan social-scientific paradigm (p. 13).

In contrast I found that *Decolonising Geography: Postcolonial Perspectives* (2000) by Derek Gregory showed how the colonial past and present of Europe are narrowly intertwined and even today are still alive - that is why I abandon the term post-colonialism and speak of colonialism or colonialization. For me a hybrid formulation of cosmopolitanization and colonialization can be found through Kramsch's (2011) *Along the Borgesian Frontier: Excavating the Neighbourhood of "Wider Europe"* due to the fact that the European Union aspires to expand itself in an institutionalized cosmopolitan fashion - which is driven by a cosmopolitan [Eurocratic] normative that actually tends to ignore society (Beck, 2006, p. 22) - and therefore exists more like an imposed form of colonialization through the European Neighbourhood Policy and its border regime. In other words the European Union might exist in a state of contrast and duality between cosmopolitanization and colonialization of its institutions and borders - implying multiple paradigms (Weichhart, 2005). A perfect example to pinpoint such a state of contrast and duality is the relationship between Morocco and the European Union. Over the past few years since 2005 the EU has cooperated in a strong developing fashion with Morocco by

⁴ [Depiction of an Euler-diagram about knowledge within Epistemology](#)

providing funds for socio-political reforms, however these funds are strongly connected to the [Eurocratic] normative that is imposed by the EU upon Morocco.⁵ True Morocco could neglect this normative, however that would mean a self-exclusion of Morocco from EU ties just like Algeria has chosen to do. Thus the EU somewhat cosmopolitanizes but also colonizes through its imposing normative Eurospeak, for the socio-political reforms are performed the EU way or the “high-way”.

The words of Mezzadra (2004) combine this duality of European institutions and legislation exacted on citizenship, with the migrant as a pinnacle of contrast:

The effect of this border regime is to produce a movement of selective and differential inclusion of migrants, which corresponds to the permanent production of a plurality of statuses (finding its limit in the illegal alien who is bound to become a permanent inhabitant of European political space), which tends to disrupt the universal and unitary figure of modern citizenship. (p. 39)

From that perspective I ended up with Balibar's (2009) *Europe as borderland* which taught me that Europe is shifting through “frontiers of civilization” (p. 198). Internal borders are more rigid than perceived before due to the penetrable nature of external Europe (p. 213) - which might bring the cosmopolitan nature of Europe in dispute:

'Europe as borderland' is not a solution or a prospect. It is, rather, a 'fact', or a name for the accumulation of facts and problems that call for choices: first of all, the choice to deny them or to acknowledge them. (p. 213)

The words of Balibar are for me somewhat of a theoretical conclusion. I know of some issues that are at hand, due to the theoretical framework of my methodology. From that point I came up with my main thesis: “The modern day migrant is more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union”. That notion brought me to another matter that I will explore, namely the intertwining of bare life in cosmopolitanization, which is partially discussed in the theological article *The Duty of Care to Refugees, Christian Cosmopolitanism, and the Hallowing of Bare Life* (2006) by Luke Bretherton. However I tend to wonder whether other frameworks could have been followed to arrive at the issue at hand. If the words “anything goes” (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 7) are to be understood, then the obvious answer would be: Anything can be done, but that does not mean that all scientific methods are exact and the same, and thus not a single thesis can be an exact scientific clone.

⁵ Communication de la commission. Rapport de suivi Maroc Source. [European Commission](#)

What I do realize myself is that the main subject at hand is a very broad concept which can easily drown itself and lose a certain perspective. This also made me (re)consider other theses, but the more I diverted towards other subjects, the sooner I realized that such subjects did not come to fit within my personal perception and theoretical framework. Another thesis I considered was: "Will the European Union shift from a colonializing paradigm towards a cosmopolitanizing paradigm?" - which I eventually considered as a decent subquestion for another chapter within this thesis.

All aspects considered, I am well aware of the complexity that this theory conveys, it could even pose a problem for myself. On the other hand I am solemnly convinced that the upcoming chapters truly unfold through the chosen theory and methodology - and that it is a logical framework - in both theoretical and qualitative empirical considerations - which can be indulged by the reader, and most importantly if the reader indulges me then the fictive Foucauldian mind is all the more satisfied.

III

Methodology

Genealogy & Little narratives through Epistemological Anarchism

3.1 Lawrence the Migrant

T. E. Lawrence - or popularly known as Lawrence of Arabia - had the somewhat strange habit of pinching a burning match between his fingers to put it out. When questioned by his colleague William Potter how he could perform that act without hurting himself, Lawrence simply replied: "The trick Potter is not minding it hurts."⁶ It seems to me that Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Edward Lawrence had a very personal way for perceiving and not perceiving a problem. Reading the autobiographical account of Lawrence (1922) *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* truly unfolds as a novel which is in fact a personal perspective on the historical matters that were at hand during the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman rule from 1916 until 1918 (Hill, 2010, p. 8). From a migratory perspective you could argue that Lawrence - for his time - was a migrant with a certain nomadic nature -

B In the summers of 1907 and 1908 Lawrence collected data on medieval castles, by taking measurements, pictures etc. Later in his travels through the Ottoman Empire he acquired extensive knowledge and experiences in the provinces Levant and Mesopotamia (1909 - 1911) while working on his graduation thesis *The influence of the Crusades on European Military Architecture – to the end of the 12th century* (Allen, 1991, p. 29). Until the outbreak of the First World War, Lawrence conducted archeological field trips in the Middle-East. By the end of the year 1914 Lawrence was assigned to the intelligence staff of the General Officer Commanding (GOC) in and from Cairo. Soon after, it was Lawrence who was assigned in a liaison role between the British, Arabs and Ottomans.⁷

- especially when considering the definition of the word migrant as a person who moves from place to place to live and perform seasonal work, and the word nomad as a person who does not stay at one place for a 'long' time. However difficult to assess in this case is the experience of time (long), whereas the longitude is a clear geographical concept.

⁶ Popularized in *Lawrence of Arabia (1962)* by Dean Lean, starring Peter O'Toole

⁷ T. E. Lawrence Studies. Source. TELawrence.info

In the case of Lawrence of Arabia we find a colonial and cosmopolitan element. The first is given through the role of Lawrence as a liaison officer for the GOC - which is a profound colonial Commonwealth term - moving between British colonial, Arab independence and Ottoman territorial interests. Secondly the cross-border element of Lawrence's thesis and dialectical skills in performing dialogues with Arabs and Ottomans can be interpreted as the acts of a 'world citizen' - a person who has more "institutionalized cosmopolitanism" (Beck, 2006, p. 7) within himself even though the subject's awareness of it is a matter for debate (Beck, 2006, p. 14).

B Uttering the word - world citizen - exacts a question as to what and who a world citizen is. The first written source, to confirm a certain notion of world citizenship is found through Plutarch, who quotes Socrates saying:

I am not an Athenian or a Greek, but a citizen of the world. (Goodwin, 1878, p. 14)

If one knows about the banishment of Socrates from Athens, and his refusal, and thus ending in drinking from the cup with poison leading to his death. Then the idea of a person stating he is free from geopolitical divisions of nationality, and to do whatever he or she wants becomes somewhat clearer. And for this thesis the comparative of citizenship and subject (Mezzadra, 2004) within colonialization and cosmopolitanization (Balibar, 2009) will prove to be a profound part for the migrants perspective.

I came up with the case of Lawrence because from my point of view he is a perfect metaphorical example of the mixture of the colonial and cosmopolitan story, formulating the quasi-framework. But above all he could be stipulated as a migrant.

3.2 Research strategy

From this perspective it became clear to me that the modern-day migrant can also be interpreted as a person through that quasi-framework. Thus an epistemological viable option for assessing such a statement is wondering to what extent it is possible for this subject or entity to be known, and which research method is involved. Through the work of Agamben (1998) I decided to conduct my qualitative empirical research in a *biopolitical* sphere, meaning I will conduct open-conversations with migrants in asylum-seekers-centers. From the idea of Feyerabend (2010) that "anything goes" (p. 7) I most certainly have not restricted myself to a given number of open-conversations, and will simply see how this part plays-out. What matters is the *a priori* and *a posteriori* knowledge that could be related to one-another through the qualitative data and the theoretical framework. Thus talking with just three migrants could even suffice for this thesis.

In this case the qualitative research that I conduct can be stipulated as little narratives (Lyotard, 1984).

The vast majority of migratory studies conducted can be found in the 20th century and the current 21st century. Pondering over the thesis of Schapendonk (2010) *Turbulent Trajectories* -

How are the trajectories of [...] migrants **facilitated**, how flexible/dependent are migrants during the process of moving and how are the connections mediated along the trajectory? (p. 15)

- the first aspect of that question could be attributed to the change of facilities that have become available to mankind over the past century to migrate from place to place. Although I would disagree with that statement if it were the only considered attribute.

From that thought I argue that the migrant is a conceptualized term which 'we' use nowadays, but the migrant in natural bare life (Agamben, 1998) has only existed within the bordering and rebordering of the world, or more specific Europa and the current European Union as a state of exception (Agamben, 2005) - and thus from a juridical or legislative perspective (Agamben, 1998; 2005) you could argue that the migrant can be stipulated as a person "To be or not to be"⁸ like Shakespeare stated in Hamlet. This shows that the notion of bare life is quite old given a fixed position in time, the first reference stipulating a notion of bare life is found in ancient Greece - through *zoē/bios* - in the works of Plato (Agamben, 1998, p. 9) The "To be or not to be" problem/question - whether perceived or not just like the burning match of Lawrence of Arabia - can be explored through the routes of genealogy (Foucault, 1972), by making incisions in the European history of the migrant through the story of bordering and rebordering. Within that story the core facets of colonialization [imperialization] (Said, 1993) and cosmopolitanization (Beck, 2005) (Beck & Sznaider, 2006) will be reflected upon through the findings of duality and contrast structures.

B Using these words of Shakespeare is no real surprise at all - especially when compared between the published versions. The debate over these words whether Hamlet is philosophizing about suicide or wants to commit suicide has never come to an end and most likely never will. But they reflect well within a modern comparison with the illegalised migrant, who is detained, and held for deportation in the *biopolitical* camp and in fear of this deportation the migrant commits suicide. That list of migrants committing suicide, in fear of deportation by Europe's border *regimé* is growing.⁹

⁸ Shakespeare, 1603; 1604 - 1605; 1623. Source. [wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/To_Be_or_Not_to_Be)

⁹ UNITED for Intercultural Action, European network against nationalism, racism, fascism and in support of migrants and refugees. Source. [www.unitedagainstracism.org; list of documented deaths](http://www.unitedagainstracism.org/list-of-documented-deaths)

Shakespeare being another 'knowledge example' I use belongs to my method of genealogy (Foucault, 1972) because "genealogy demands relentless erudition" (p. 77). That will always remain as a question for myself, whether I can handle genealogy or not, but the awareness of this issue is to state that "anything goes" (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 7). Thus the historical excavation that comes forth from this incision genealogy will explore facets of a cosmopolitan and colonial nature, and intertwine these with the migrant and the European Union to reflect upon these aspects in a scrutinizing message - for I do this in spirit of words written by Derek Gregory (2004) which state that we need to rethink "the lazy separations between past, present, and future (p. 7).

3.3 Impasse

Now that I have presented a qualitative method through the migrant and a genealogy through the migrant in European history, I realize that these two stories require a link within the thesis: "The modern day migrant is more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union." - from a theoretical point of view a probable conceptual-link in doing so could be what I like to call a micro-border, which I will try to explain.

Borders are not just physical, they are also mental. A border can be a barbed-wired fence, but it can also be an individual separation in the mind. In some cases you will say that you like a person and in other situations you don't. It might even be the same person, only in different scenarios. Inside the mind the 'border of like, (neutrality) and dislike' is created. It is this border that could be the most determined factor regarding the EU bordering and re-bordering process. Because in modern-day Europe the individual is presented as more important, compared with the collective or collectivities. The dominant welfare and consumer mentality in the Western societies is translated to the level of the individual. Following that logic, the discourse of the border can also be understood through the language of an individual retrospect. Thus the story of the border is told through an individualistic discourse:

Leaders are successful in uniting the people around security matters more than any other issue—essentially because the appeal to national security is related directly to the issue of protection against a dangerous enemy and involves the physical survival of one's family, friends and nation. The [supra-]national threat is translated to reality at the micrological level. (Falah and Newman, 1995 p. 694)

Thus we could argue that we are dealing with a macro-border - which you could perceive as the *grandé* narrative (Lyotard, 1984) European border régime and perception of its surrounding - and that every individual has a personal perception about borders and its surroundings, which I would label as

micro-border within a little narrative (Lyotard, 1984). Following the possible operability of this definition, the construct of the modern day migrant and the European Union could be intertwined through the presented issues at hand on which I will elaborate in the upcoming chapters. To move from the thesis statement towards the formulation of the question - "How can the migrant be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, and what does this say about the European Union itself and its institutionalizing policies?" The issues at hand can be seen through the usage of a European Union manifest video entitled Growing Together.¹⁰

In this manifest we see a woman in a yellow jumpsuit, in the wake of a moment an Asian martial artist enters the scene, showing off his techniques. Then an Indian, Pakistani, Oriental person - within these words we can see how easy it can be to 'other' people - enters the scene showing his sword skills. He is followed by a dark-skinned man who shows acrobatic 'fighting' skills. These three men seem about to attack the woman. She calmly stands still and multiplies herself, outnumbering the three men. The three men eventually sit down along with the multiplied woman, and sort of concede to the European Union. This video caused major upheaval and initiated protests about sexism and racism.



Figure 1. Growing Together screen capture. Source: [Daily mail](#).

Soon after the video was removed from EU websites, and the European Commission formally apologized for it.¹¹

¹⁰ Growing Together, European Union video manifest. Source. [youtube](#)

¹¹ Daily mail, [Just what is the EU doing making this video? Accusations of racism over 'propaganda' film showing white woman facing ethnic minority 'attackers'](#)

This recent event (march 2012) is but one of the prominent happenings that truly fits with the issues at hand, my statement and its question. Within it we find the institutionalized EU cosmopolitanization (Beck, 2005; 2006) and colonialization (Said, 1993) exacted by the woman in the yellow jumpsuit. The migrant who eventually submits can be stipulated as the anarchist (Feyerabend, 1975) who concedes or is trapped within the *biopolitics* of the European Union (Agamben, 1998; 2005) (Mezzadra, 2004). And thus the migrant who was first an anarchistic notion for the EU border regime - because of the turbulent migration trajectory that is not predictable - becomes intertwined in a state of duality between colonization and cosmopolitanization of the EU. The example of this specific EU video manifest is an exemplification pure sang, that shows this possible idea of a EU in a state of duality between colonization and cosmopolitanization - and because the migrant from outside the EU is a fitting reflective subject to convey a theoretical formulation of these conceptualizations.

IV

Definitions

Words ready for use

4.1 Understanding definitions

To understand this upcoming incision genealogy a clear set of definitions is required which disconnects and reconnects the dots over the course of this chapter. - with regards for the thesis:

“How can the migrant be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, and what does this say about the European Union itself and its institutionalizing policies?”

To make sure that you as a reader will be able to follow key facets of this incision genealogy I will elaborate on some definitions I already introduced and explained - but I feel need a moment of “*repetitio est mater studiorum*”. Other defining words which are easily open for multiple interpretations will be given ample angles of perception due to the fact that you as a reader might find yourself in a state of multiple paradigms (Weichhart, 2005). Furthermore the interpretation of this genealogy beholds only one single statement which are the words “anything goes” (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 7). In other words I convey that this genealogy and you reading it can be conceived through the words of Friedrich Nietzsche: *Tatsachen gibt es nicht, nur interpretationen* - from his work *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinn* (1873).

4.2 Migrant

When considering the definition of the word migrant as a person who moves from place to place to live and perform seasonal work or labour - we limit ourselves to a category of persons, due to the fact that a modern definition of work or labour states that a person is paid for the performed deeds. Within this genealogy I consider any person who moves from place to place to live as a migrant, and disregard the notion of paid work or labour. The main reason for this consideration is the fact that a person who works to be paid is stipulated as a ‘*homo economicus*’ bound in contemporary facets. However using this term would mean a time-space restriction from the late 19th century - when the term was conceived by critics of John Stuart Mills theory on political economic development - until the present (J. S. Mill, 1839: J. Persky, 1995).

4.3 Europa/Europe

Uttering the word Europa or Europe brings forth many defining words. Within etymological aspects Europa is a myth from the ancient times, within Greek mythology. It tells of a Phoenician princess who was abducted by the upper-god Zeus, who disguised himself as a white bull. With Europa on his back Zeus crossed the "Mediterranean sea" and brought Europa to the island of Crete, where he impregnated her. Europa gave birth to Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthus.

B Within ancient Greek context it is 'logical' that Europe is not defined in modern terms. Greek mythology wants us to believe that when Minos died and arrived in Hades, he had the final judging vote over the souls that arrived in Hades - whereas Aeacus judged the Asians, and Rhadamanthus the Europeans. This shows that even during the time of Homer a notion of separation is present between Eurasian people. You could argue that it brings us closer to a contrast (us-them) between those two people, but also shows a form of cosmopolitanization over duality, because of Minos who judges 'all people'.

Following the words of the ancient Greek poet Homer, we learn that Europa was not considered as a geographical designation. Somewhere between 800 and 500 BC the word Europa was used as a reference to central-north Greece, and by 500 BC Europa also included the lands in the north of the latter designation. I point out these various facets because I feel that there is a need for the reader to realize that the coining-term Europa does not always reside where it resides over time and space. When I use the word Europe I refer to the geographical designation of the continent which comprises the westernmost peninsula of Eurasia. Europe being divided from Asia to the east, by the waters of the Ural and mountains in the Caucasus, the Ural River, the Black and Caspian Seas, and the waters connecting the Aegean and Black Seas (National Geographic Atlas of the World, 1999).

However when I use the word Europa, I refer to a time-space related context which emphasizes specific socio-political aspects of Europa at that time (e.g. Europa of ancient Greece, Europa of Alexander the Great, the Roman province Europa). Following this genealogy the importance of these separate stipulations will show its fruition.



Figure 2. Contemporary Geographical designation of Europe. Source: [wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Europe)

4.4 Colonialization & Cosmopolitanization

In stipulating colonialization and cosmopolitanization a clear understanding of both these words within this genealogy is required to understand how they are defined to follow this story.

Cosmopolitanization is to be understood as globalization from the individual within. It is an internal realization that “really-existing relations of inter- dependence” exist between all people over the world - from cities like Al Hudaydah to Zihuatanejo or countries like Burma and Botswana - part of the globalizing consuming and producing world that intertwines with everyday lives. In other words within the individual it is internalized cosmopolitanism (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 9). Since the national boundary fades in the discourse of cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanization includes the extensive growth of multiple cultures, the rise of NGOs and multi-national states - e.g. the European Union (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 10).

Colonialization is the state or fact of being colonized - in other words the process of 'founding' a colony (van Dale, English dictionary). This word can be derived from the word *colōnia*, which was a Roman outpost that was established to secure conquered territory (Naerebout, 2009). A little further down the line in history the word colony cannot be traced, the Greeks used two words namely: *apoikiai* which was a *polis* (urban centre and agricultural surroundings - or body of the citizens) on its own, and *emporion* which was a bounded Greek trading-point (Mogens Herman, 2006), but none the less both were sovereign.

B The oldest 'recorded' existence of a colony is an Egyptian colony in the south of Canaan (modern-day Israel, Palestinian territories), which was used for the production of pottery that was exported back to Egypt (Porat, 1992).

A modern coining of the term is to be understood as a subjected territory that most certainly is not sovereign (e.g. European colonies in Africa, Asia). However for this genealogy I define colonialization within cultural aspects (Said, 1993) instead of a pure political sphere. Thus meaning that the word culture is to be stipulated in a way. And with culture I do not mean the usage of the word by ladies who were part of a 'high society club' named after Dante Alighieri, who would utter the word collectively in a high enthusiastic note. I define [high] culture through the elitarian words of Matthew Arnold:

“[culture is] the best which has been thought and said” (Arnold, 1875)

B In Arnolds time and even until the 1950s, his essays were used to promote culture as the pursuit of perfection which helps face everyday difficulties. True, his words can be interpreted as 'elite', but it does not go without say that this incision genealogy will focus on the *grandé* history (e.g. wars, conquests, well known rulers) and *kleine* (small) history ('common folk', peasants, labourers) of migrants (Spierenburg, 1998). However here we stumble upon a genealogical boundary, the fact that most of written history is *grandé* history. Whether this boundary can be crossed is a matter for debate - you could argue that the closer a genealogy resides in contemporary chronological times, the more *kleine* history becomes available - and vice versa. However it is also possible to state that all contemporary scientific work is elite in nature, and thus most genealogies can also be stipulated as *grandé* history. However the words "anything goes" (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 7) also imply that any given theory can be valid and does not need a stipulation between *kleine* and *grandé* history.

Using culture within the term colonialization is a way of breaking loose from time-space political boundaries, and jumping into time-space socio-geographical spheres, that might even show parallels between 400 BC and 2012 AD. But to give some sense of a concrete definition, I will use the word colonialization when aspects of subjection are at hand - the modern perception- , and I will elaborate on time-space-context specific forms by using words from a specific setting (e.g. Ancient Greece, Hellenistic Greece, Renaissance Europa).

4.5 Contrast & duality structures

With these two terms I mean exactly what they mean in a dictionary - apart of the word structure - which is to be understood as a context specific form of institution, government, or even a person. Contrast is simply the equation of similarities and difference(s) between structures or individuals that makes them distinguishable - even when they share a majority of facets. Whereas duality is a more tricky concept derived from dualism, which states a binary or multiple separation(s) between structures and individuals - e.g. the Greek goddesses Eris (discordia, chaos) and Harmonia (harmony) (van Dale, English dictionary)

4.6 Biopolitics & bare life

To stay specific for this theme - which is the migrant - the use of *biopolitics*, comes into play. A term first coined in 1976 by Michel Foucault in his work *Histoire de la sexualité, I: la volonté de savoir* (translated in 1978: *The History of Sexuality, The Will to Knowledge*). Foucault argues that natural life is being included in the mechanisms and calculations of State power, and thus politics become *biopolitics* (Agamben, 1998, p. 10). In his own words Foucault says:

...man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics calls his existence as a living being into question. (Foucault, 1978, p. 143)

Through the works *Homo Sacer* (1998) & *State of Exception* (2005) by political philosopher Giorgio Agamben the modern day *biopolitics* exacted upon migrants can be seen in a unprecedented relevant light for this genealogy:

The fundamental categorial pair of Western politics is not that of friend/enemy but that of bare life/political existence, *zoē/bios*, exclusion/inclusion. There is politics because man is the living being who, in language, separates and opposes himself to his own bare life and, at the same time, maintains himself in relation to that bare life in an inclusive exclusion. (Agamben, 1998, p. 12)

Out of these words we are to understand that *zoē* stands for “bare life” and *bios* for “qualified life”. Thus the first is life itself and the other a constructed political life that is governed through knowledge and power. Meaning an exercised form of ‘power’ over subjects (Foucault, 1983, p. 217).

4.7 (Epistemological) Anarchism

Within these the most prominent representation of anarchism comes from the migrant who can be in a state of *zoē* and free of political life when living the journey from the beginning to the end - if there ever is such a thing as an end or beginning. The theoretical and methodological ordeal of the words “anything goes” (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 7) is the exact paradox in which detractors of Feyerabend’s work exist (e.g. Lakatos). They disparage anarchism and therefore can only embrace structure and rules - whatever form it may take. However if we pay close attention to some of Feyerabend’s first words we might understand a valid message:

My intention is not to replace one set of general rules by another such set: my intention is, rather, to convince the reader that all methodologies, even the most obvious ones, have their limits. The best way to show this is to demonstrate the limits and even the irrationality of some rules which she, or he, is likely to regard as basic. (Feyerabend, 2010, p. 32)

And to understand the ‘migrant in bare life’ what better path is there to be followed, than the path without rules, the road of irrationality. For it is the migrant who is irrational through the perspective of the EU border regime. Since the migrant is a person that does not fit within the EUrocratic discourse and therefore is kept outside the EU or at bay through *biopolitical* practicalities.

V

Incision genealogy on the migrant within colonialization and cosmopolitanization

A deconstruction of facets in a migratory perspective in Europa

5.1 Starting points

For this incision genealogy I decided to use moments in history that show a proliferation of colonialization and cosmopolitanization which exact a message of contrast, duality and anarchism - but also tell a story about migrants. First of all it is not a complete genealogy that traces all chronological steps, but as Derek Gregory (1994) puts it a series of vignettes, metaphors and fixes of position (p. 14).

5.1.1 Hellenism

The first start-off point I use is that of Hellenistic antiquity - the time of Alexander the Great and ending with the battles between the *diadokhoi* (successors). The main sources that I use as a reference are those of Arrianus (2005) and Green (2008). I will always follow Arrianus' line of writings as a historical chronological deconstruction - and elaborate on specific details through other written works. Even though Arrianus' work is a military history, it does behold a clear line of writing over the given timespan of the context. This paragraph will focus on a potential description of where cosmopolitanism originated and its intertwinement with colonialism.

5.1.2 The Roman Empire

Second I elaborate on the Roman Empire, starting at the battle of the Teutoburger Wald and ending with the northern formation of the Empires borders. A time loop is made towards the 'turmoil' at the Empires borders due to the Huns, Goths, Visigoths, Germans, Lombards, Franks i. a. - also known as the Migration Period. This specific theme will be brought in contrast with the European Union and its border regime - specifically through the work of Boris Johnsons *The Dream of Rome* (2006), Gibbons *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire Vol. I - V* (1776; 1781). Thus I elaborate on the territoriality and border regimes of the Roman Empire and the European Union in a comparing perspective within the dynamics of migration through Guy Halsalls (2007) *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568*.

5.1.3 The Kingdom of Jerusalem

In this third time frame, I merely use the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a metaphorical explanation, as to why cosmopolitanism is often intertwined with a centre, that defines a part of the cosmopolitan discourse, and why migrants could be compelled to migrate to a certain place - by using Joris Schapendonk's *Turbulent Trajectories* (2010). These facets show that there is a clear line of conflicting discourses between migrants, the European Union and the *duality* and *contrast* between *colonialization* and *cosmopolitanization*.

5.2 Hellenism - The cosmopolitan heritage

Defining and pinpointing hellenism

Hellenism, or hellenistic civilization is often coined with the phrase: Greek civilization beyond the classical Greeks. Some Dutch historians and students of history use the term 'Griekserigheid' - to indicate hellenism as being Greek to a certain extent and meshed up with non-Greek elements. The majority of historians pinpoint the hellenistic civilization in time from the year 323 BC (the death of Alexander the Great) until 146 BC (the conquest of Greece by The Roman Republic). These data are not the sole truth and merely represent an interpretation, for example the *patricians* and *nobiles* in Rome spoke a great deal of Greek, often more so instead of Latin - Greek had this elitarian ring to it, it was the literate language that often indicated that the speaker had great status because he could afford a Greek tutor, and secondly due to the fact that the Greek culture was admired to the highest extent in Roman culture - it is no wonder that so many Greek elements remain present within the Roman culture until the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 AD) , and even the Byzantine Empire (1453 AD). Thus a hellenistic fetishist could argue that the hellenistic period ended after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, however it might not even end there given the arguments one uses (Green, 2008, p. 10).

The starting point of hellenistic culture beginning to spread is found within the conquests of Alexander the Great (*Figure 3*). His military conquests in Egypt, the Persian Empire, and venturing as far as the borders of modern day India, by crossing the *Caucasus*.¹² Exaggerated as it often might have been, but Alexanders actions resulted in the founding of various kingdoms after his death, which we would call hellenistic kingdoms (*Figure 4*), and those kingdoms formed hybrid Greco-Asian cultures, however mostly at the elite level (Green, 2008, p. 17).

¹² Caucasus is the Greek name for the Hindu Kush and Himalayas



Figure 3. The Empire of Alexander:

Source [wikipedia](https://www.wikipedia.org)

A biopolitical hellenistic migrant who colonizes and cosmopolitanizes

Yes I for one would call Alexander himself a migrant. Especially because his conquests were not only about the forming of an empire, but about a journey. This journey which Alexander undertook was inspired through the ancient legends of old. Achilles, Hercules - they all traveled East and became great men in the eyes of Alexander. This is a subject which Alexander discussed with Aristotle and fellow students, more than once (McCarty, 2004, p. 24).¹³

These discussions developed a sense of personal divinity within Alexander's mind in his later years near the end of his life - which Aristotle thought of as beneath consideration (Green, 1991, p. 379). But one of the intriguing aspects within this story of the journey is that Aristotle encouraged Alexander to travel east, and conquer Persia. When it comes down to *biopolitics* Aristotle was ethnocentric to the core towards the barbarians in the East. Greek superiority was a given fact and thus Aristotle counseled Alexander with the words: "be a hegemon [leader] of Greeks and a despot to the barbarians, to look after the former as after friends and relatives, and to deal with the latter as with beasts or plants" (Green, 1991, p. 58 - 59). Imprinting such thoughts in the mind of a man who was but 20 years young when he became King of Macedon (King of all Greeks) in 336 BC surely builds up tensions of imaginations.

It was no mere imagination for Alexander to besiege the *polis* Halicarnassus in 334 BC, but a practical form of *biopolitics*. Although Halicarnassus was originally a Greek *apoikia* (colony) bound to a *metropolis* (mother city) - the 'problem' was that the Persians ruled over it. Fact remains that many people in Halicarnassus held Greek roots even under Persian rule. But the allegiance of the *polis* and the presence of a Persian naval fleet made sure that it had to be conquered through violence (Arrianus, 2005, p. 85 - 89). It was a simple case of you were either in the *polis* or in the besieging army.

The lines of being Greek or Persian blurred between the notions of *inclusion/exclusion* and the *political life* that removes all part of that moment from their *bare life*. Metaphorically you could say that Halicarnassus was one camp and the army of Alexander was literally a camp, exacting the *biopolitics* even more.

We can all but wonder how it must have been for those people who travelled along with Alexander to breathe in the world of the 'barbarians' and the world of the 'unknown'. Especially the presence of scholars, botanists, geographers, historians i. a. in Alexander's army made it somewhat of a

¹³ In 343 BC Aristotle was invited by Alexander's father Philip II of Macedon to tutor (Russell, 1972)

small scale migration trend. True their thoughts and intentions but their attributed functions are unknown. We do know that they were allowed to tag along with Alexander because of Aristotle's influence over the soon to be Pharaoh of Egypt and Lord of Asia (Plutarch, Life of Alexander). And although it might have been a strange notion for those scholars to behold a *polis* of Greek origins to be besieged, you could argue that those scholar-migrants followed the ethnocentric code that Aristotle thought them, and thus the experience of the siege can be stipulated as 'normal' thanks to a strong us-them paradigm.

Which brings me to the matter of the *colonialization* of Halicarnassus by Alexander. The coining term would never have been attributed to this siege by Alexander or any other person of his time. The defending commanders of Halicarnassus decided to set the city aflame when the army of Alexander breached the walls (Cartlidge, 2004) - the fire was strengthened by the coastal winds, and thus destroyed most of the city. Although all those less positive effects transpired, the *polis* was not enduring a process of *colonialization* - the existence of the *polis* itself was an act of antique-Greek-colonialization (Newton and Pullan, 1862 - 1863).



Figure 5. Fragment of The Empire of Alexander showing Greek colonies. Source [wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_the_Great)

B Halicarnassus was probably founded by Dorians - one of the dominant ethnic groups in ancient Greece, besides the Ionians, who were perceived as superior in their time (othering is not just restricted to contemporary times). As a *metropolis* either Troezen or Argos can be pinpointed to the *apoikiai* Halicarnassus.

Thus only *re-colonialization* could be attributed to the siege of Halicarnassus, since it already was a colonized area. However within the perspective of Alexander, such words would never be used, on the contrary Alexander beheld to unite the people of Greece and Asia. He demonstrated such wishes by dressing himself in Persian clothing, an act which some of Alexander's generals - the *diadokhoi* - did not approve of.

In just 6 days time, Alexander's army traveled from Gaza into Egypt, and it is this moment in Alexander's journey that shows no violent conflict at all. The rulers and people of Egypt voluntarily joined forces with the 'descendant of Hercules'. When Alexander arrived in Memphis he organized musical feasts and sportive tournaments, for which he brought famous athletes from all over Greece

(Arrianus, 2005, p. 133), true the cultural extension of Alexander willing to share the world with all can be seen through these acts, such actions made it all the more attractive for people to join Alexander's army, and thus it would grow into a quasi-army/migration movement. After the Battle of Gaugamela (1 October 331 BC), the way onward towards Babylon was open for Alexander and his fellow migrants. If there was one urban centre in antiquity that can be stipulated as *cosmopolitan* for a short time, then it was Babylon. For it was here that Alexander spoke to his fellow Greeks, - and

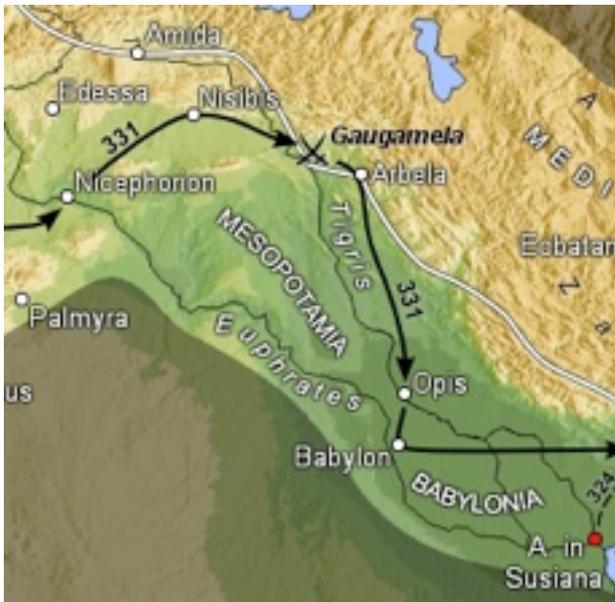


Figure 6. Fragment of The Empire of Alexander showing Gaugamela, Mesopotamia & Babylonia. Source [wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_the_Great)

the others being the Persians - as a people that were to be united in one great thought, an empire for all to behold. More than a century later, Antiochus IV (175 - 164 BC) attempted the same, however whether this resulted in true integration of all people is disputed (Meijer, 2007, p. 121). True this sense of grandeur was somewhat motivated by Alexander's growing feelings of personal divinity - the idea that he could achieve anything he desired - but, the written words of Ptolemy Soter I show us that many Persians, Asians - or whatever ethnic definition one might attribute - embraced Alexander's worldview which can be comprehended as an attempt of *cosmopolitanism* in antiquity, however I must stress-out that such idealistic thoughts are overshadowed by what some of 'us Westerners' would describe as unethical *colonializing* actions. Arrianus clearly shows this in several chapters, even though his main source Ptolemy idealized Alexander and himself - especially when it comes down to 'wrong' acts of war - however Arrianus was able to see through these false historical accounts thanks to other sources (Arrianus, 2005, p. 194 - 199; p. 250 - 252). This process of *cosmopolitanization* can be seen through various symbols and rituals (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). For example, I already mentioned the exchange of clothing between the Greek and Asian cultures.

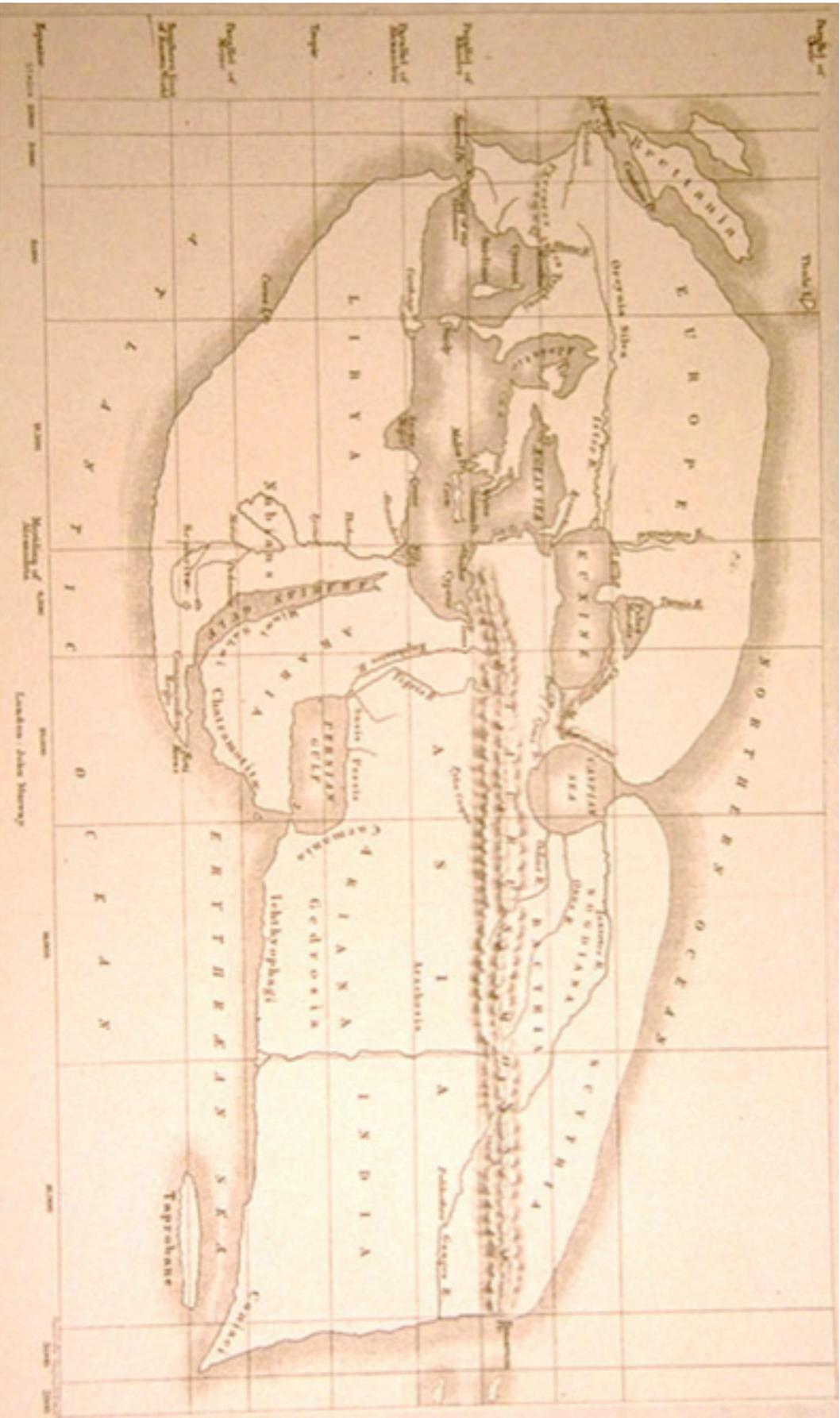


Figure 7. Reconstruction of Eratosthenes' map of the known world (19th century) Source [Bunbury, E.H.](#)

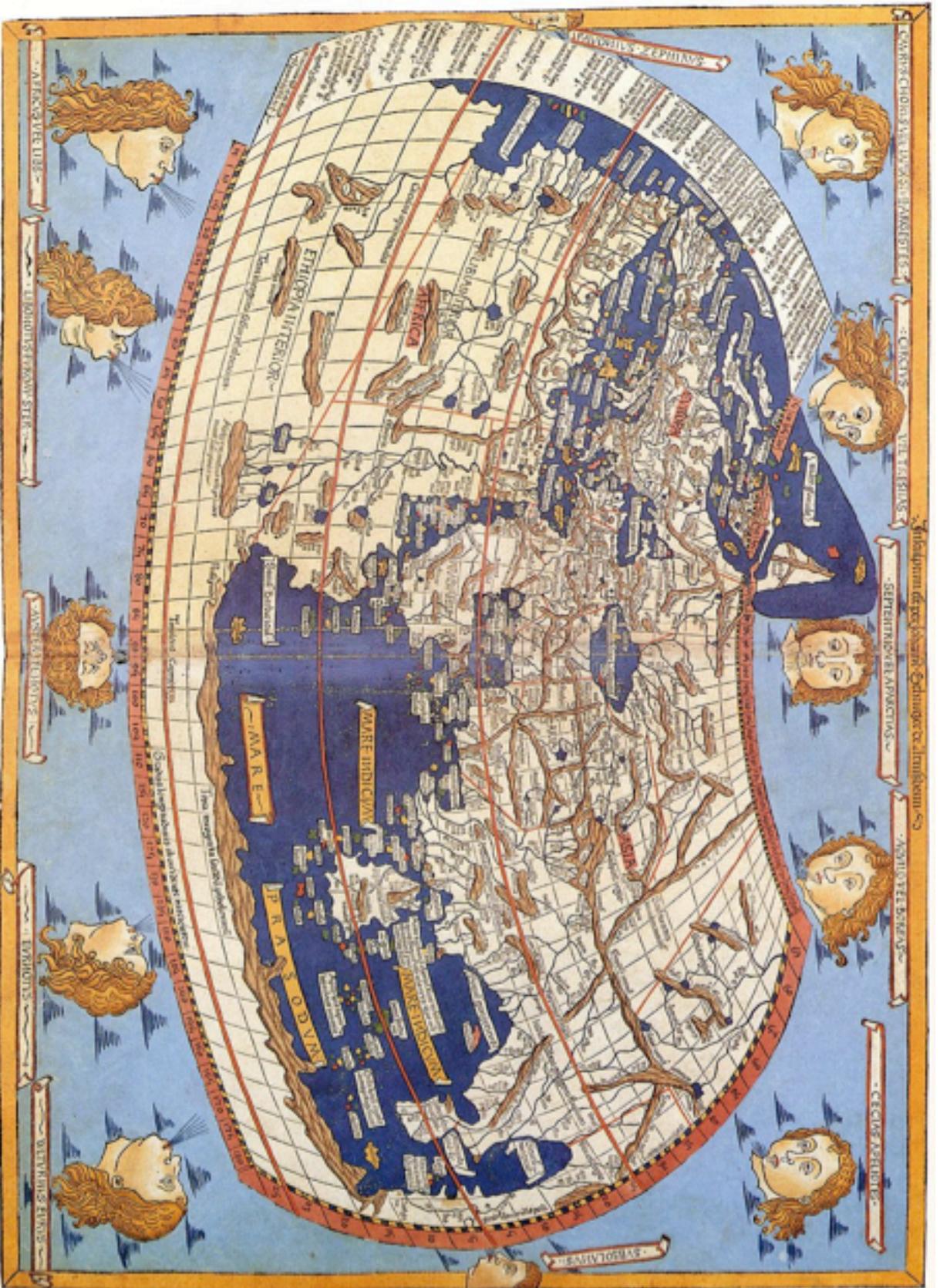


Figure 8. Claudius Ptolemy's map of the known world (oikoumenē) by Johannes Schnitzer 1482. Source Decorative Maps by Roderick Barron

Alexander himself married a Bactrian princess, Roxana (Arrianus, 2005, p. 189 - 191) - now that truly profiled the desire to unite two worlds that were once 'mortal enemies' into the realm of the *cosmopolitan* world for all, but what is even more prominent is found at the institutional level, like the organization of Alexander's army. Not to everyone's pleasure, Alexander conscripted many Asiatic people to join his army, or allowed them to travel along as migrants further east across the *Caucasus* and into India.

By that time Alexander's army truly conveyed a story of the migrant. Among his army were not only the 'wise' scholars, but also artificers, potters, gardeners, whores (both male and female), slaves, women, 'young' children. Every area they touched never stayed unchanged. Those people willing or commanded to stay at a place *colonized* it, but it was always exacted through the vision of Alexander's wish for unity even if it was through his own divinity (Arrianus, 2005, p. 303 - 305) - yes you could argue that the *cosmopolitan* heritage was truly established.

B To pinpoint this statement from a *cosmopolitan* European perspective (Beck, 2005) I present a diverse range of maps, that show how the world, and particularly Europa and the hellenistic world were perceived around the time of Alexander. The reconstruction of Eratosthenes' map (*Figure 7*) merely indicates known areas of the world and stipulates those people that were defined as populating a 'given' area. It does not include borders of regions, empires or kingdoms like those of the *diadokhoi*. Since Eratosthenes was a Greek geographer, and even formulated the term geography, such a pure geographical 'borderless' map is not that surprising (Bunbury, 1883; Eratosthenes, 2010). Observing Johannes Schnitzers map of the known world (*Figure 8*) which is based upon Claudius Ptolemy's (c. 90 - 168 AD) knowledge of the known world brings forth more geographical designations and places, however the geopolitical notion of borders is still missing. Furthermore I myself cannot escape the idea that the geographical mapped areas are depicted as being intertwined through branches like in a tree, something that also comes forth in cultural geography and relates the geographical and natural environment and the conceptions of nature - including mankind - as being one and interdependent (Berque, 2000). Through the word interdependent (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 22) thus once again we are reaching into the *cosmopolitan* mind, through hellenistic times, Roman antiquity, the end of the 'middle ages'/renaissance and into contemporary times - arguably making *cosmopolitanism* an older heritage than we might perceive - if not almost as old as *colonialization* even if it is antique-Greek-colonialization.

To return to Alexander's journey we leap back in time, to the anecdotic meeting of Alexander and Diogenes the Cynic (334 BC), - the latter being regarded as the 'founder' of cynic philosophy. For it was not just Socrates who beheld himself as a world citizen, Diogenes was more prominent in the usage of his words that convey a cosmopolitan worldview, because he introduced the defining word. Once asked where he came from, he answered: 'I am a citizen of the world' (kosmopolitês) (Diogenes, § 6, line 63). Now there are many accounts of how this meeting in history transpired and which words were exchanged between the two of them, but among the most explanatory versions, Plutarch's version is the most reliable:

Thereupon many statesmen and philosophers came to Alexander with their congratulations, and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander; and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him; and he found him lying in the sun. Diogenes raised himself up a little when he saw so many persons coming towards him, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. And when that monarch addressed him with greetings, and asked if he wanted anything, "Yes," said Diogenes, "stand a little out of my sun." It is said that Alexander was so struck by this, and admired so much the haughtiness and grandeur of the man who had nothing but scorn for him, that he said to his followers, who were laughing and jesting about the philosopher as they went away, "But truly, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." (Plutarch, Life of Alexander, § 14).

Diogenes truly left a mark on Alexander, and I for one might perceive this meeting as an exchange of cosmopolitan minds between *bare life* and the *political life*, the *included* and the *excluded*. Since Alexander was as much on a (physical/mental) journey as on a military (political) campaign, and Diogenes did not care less for the physicality and political aspects of the world (bare life) and was on a mental journey. Both individuals being *cosmopolitan* in their personal extent, but Alexander also conveying the colonial *biopolitical* story, whereas Diogenes is the excluded who is truly in *zoē* (bare life). This truly shows us that Alexander could have been in a state of duality between *cosmopolitanism* and *colonialism*. And it are such moments that might even explain why Alexander sometimes deviates from the ethnocentric worldview which Aristotle imprinted upon him during his youth.

B True such ideas might be fact, interpretation or nothing at all. But what is clear to me, is the *situatedness* of theory which Edward Said describes as “theory [that] has to be grasped in the place and time out of which it emerges.” (Said, 1984, p. 241). Thus the situations out of which theory emerges are in a constant change and overdetermined, “[exhausting] the situation out of which [theory] emerges or to which it is transported.” (Said, 1984, p. 242). So we can all ponder about what theory and what situation is at hand when we are dealing with “facts”. The words of Derek Gregory (1994) describe this at best for all of us in his work *Geographical Imaginations*:

The facts do not and never will speak for themselves, and no one in the humanities or the social sciences can escape working with a medium that seeks to *make* social life intelligible and to *challenge* the matter-of-factness of “the facts”. And I say “working with” because social theory does not come ready-made. As I have said, it provides a series of partial, often problematic and always situated knowledges that require constant reworking as they are made to engage with different positions and places. Conceived thus, social theory, like geography is a “traveling discourse,” marked by its various origins and moving from one site to another. (p. 12)

Whether Diogenes or Alexander was ever aware of such notions remains to be seen, especially in the case of the latter individual. For it was Alexander who started to become more megalomaniacal as his military conquests in India came to an end (325 BC). Alexander’s fascination with his own destiny intensified, and his vision of unity became more of a striving desire to conquer the entire world, no matter what the cost. This is very clear through the interpretations of Alexander’s testament (Green, 2007, p. 23 - 24). It was also the most ‘ruthless’ period during Alexander’s journey. *Colonizing* remote places was one thing, but on the other hand a lot of refusing people, who did not wish to join forces with Alexander were treated with little mercy - often resulting in the destruction of entire Indian settlements (Arrianus, 2005, p. 194 - 199).

On a personal note I would argue that this is where the *cosmopolitan* story ends for Alexander. Perhaps that Alexander’s “inspiring actions” for unity influenced the migrants who were also on this journey, but alas there are no written sources that can stipulate such interpretations through “facts”. Thus making *cosmopolitanism* in the Hellenistic times somewhat of a short-lived moment through history. The death of Alexander (June 323 BC) marked the start of the wars between the *diadokhoi*, and whatever sense for unity did not already die in Alexander’s mind, now truly became a heritage for the world.

5.3 The Roman Empire - Turmoil at the borders

Barbarbar

Thus speaks the barbarian, the *barbarbar* - the non-Greek speaker. This individual rambles or wanders around in heat in an animal sense - which truly fits with the word *barbarbar* that is used by the Greek speaker. A most interesting notion since the majority of people within the Roman Empire only spoke their native language or Latin. Greek was the language of the elite, the *patricians* and *nobiles* - the people that could afford a tutor who taught them Greek. So pinpointing Germanic tribes as barbarians, is an interesting linguistic concept, since the etymological foundation of the word actually *barbarbars* the majority of people in the Roman Empire. But the Romans defined the *barbarbar* as one who is not educated in Roman ways. And as it so happens to be, speaking Greek was not essential Roman - but elite-Roman.

SCIPIO.

—But was not Romulus, think you, a king of a barbarous people?

LÆLIUS.

—Why, as to that, if we were to follow the example of the Greeks, who say that all peoples are either Grecianized or barbarous, we must confess that he was a king of barbarians; but if this name belongs rather to manners than to languages, I believe the Greeks were just as barbarous as the Romans.

SCIPIO.

—The testimony, however, we most require in the present argument, is rather that of enlightened minds than popular prejudices; and if intelligent men, at a period so little remote, desired the government of kings, you will confess I have found authorities that are neither antiquated, rude, nor insignificant.

(Cicero, 1841, p. 85)

Yes the idea of *othering* might not escape ones mind - and in particular *internal othering*. So here we have it, the borders that are created, both physically and mentally - the weight-balance between the *macro-border* and the *micro-border*, whichever weighs heavier is probably always in dispute.

B You could argue that we are dealing with a macro-border - which you could perceive as a *grandé* narrative (Lyotard, 1984) border régime and the perception of its surrounding - and that every individual has a personal perception about borders and its surroundings, which I would label as micro-border within a little narrative (Lyotard, 1984).

Augustus becomes the other

It probably gave Augustus a terrible headache - literally and figuratively - butting his head against a wall in his palace and shouting out the words:

Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions! (Suetonius, 121, Augustus, § 23)

His reaction was quite natural, this was the greatest military defeat he endured during his reign as emperor, and one of the crucial determining geopolitical border issues of his time. It was somewhere in 9 AD September, and the *clades Variana* or Varian disaster which is nowadays known as the Battle of the Teutoburger Wald was about to transpire. Around that time Publius Quintilius Varus was assigned as commander of the Rhine, to quell to unrest among the Germanic tribes. At his behest he had three legions, and among them was his 'loyal' advisor Arminius (Hermann) who was a chieftain of the German Cherusci.

Arminius was raised as a Roman military commander in Rome and thus a Roman citizen, he knew the *cursus honorum*, the tactical abilities of Roman legions, and above all Arminius was very charismatic and convincing. For it was Varus who closely took all Arminius' words into account. Whenever Arminius stated that a German tribe was no longer hostile due to successful negotiations - Arminius simply believed the word of his aide (Johnson, 2006, p. 13). However in the meantime Arminius held secretive meetings with former waging Germanic tribes - the Marsi, Chatti, Bructeri, Chauci, Sicambri and Cherusci - who at first exacted forms of *internal othering* came to set their differences and found one *external othering* party - the Romans. Why this new alliance came to be is not that surprising, for a long period (23 BC - 8 AD) the Roman Empire subjugated and over-taxed the Germanic regions to an extreme extent - boosting the hate for the Romans and their emperor Augustus to an extreme height, even though that hate was buried deep (Johnson, 2006, p. 10).

Partially I can only speculate, but we know that Arminius told Varus that a revolt was about to take place against the Romans within the Chauci region - even though other reports told Varus otherwise - he simply seemed to drown in Arminius' charisma. A revolt meant an opportunity for Varus to unleash his swing-happy-gladius hand, it was the opportune moment to achieve more *auctoritas* and *dignitas* and become more *biopolitical profound* compared to other aspiring commanders (Agamben, 2005, p. 77) and rise through the *cursus honorum*. Arminius knew Varus would take this bait. So while Varus marched with his three legions eastward towards Kalkriese Hill nowadays in Osnabrück County at Lower Saxony - Arminius left the legions under the guise as if he was about to join up the Roman legions with his own Cherusci tribe.



Figure 10. Thomas Cole: The Savage State. Source <http://www.explorethomascole.org/>



Figure 11. Thomas Cole. The Arcadian State. Source <http://www.explorethomascole.org/>



Figure 12. Thomas Cole: The Consummation of Empire. Source <http://www.explorethomascole.org/>



Figure 13. Thomas Cole. Destruction. Source <http://www.explorethomascole.org/>



Figure 14: Thomas Cole. Desolation. Source <http://www.explorethomascole.org/>

B *Dignitas* was regarded as the sum of personal influence a male Roman citizen could acquire through his life. Culminating all factors such as, personal reputation, ethical proportions, respect, treatment by others - form the *dignitas*. And through *dignitas auctoritas* (authority) is acquired (Agamben, 2005, p. 74 - 75). Put simple in a modern definition it is the name of a person that defines authority, however this is not a legit defining of the terms, for they exist within a very specific cultural context in history.

However in truth Arminius prepared a stealthy operation that ensured the deaths of all Roman sentries and scouts - whereupon the German tribes could prepare their ambush site, without being spotted by the Romans. Now as Varus and his Romans marched for a long stretch through the forest - about 15 or 20 kilometers - the legions were forced to disperse over a long line, instead of maintaining a standard formation, due to the narrow paths in the forest. From the flanks the German tribes attacked the Roman army with javelins in a surrounding maneuver. In the night the Romans had managed to set-up a fortified camp (Johnson, 2006, p. 15). Leaving camp cost the Roman army even more losses - as they were lost of their tactical advantage, which was their bows. The rainy weather made sure that the sinew strings got slack, and to worsen matters their shields were soaked and weakened. When night fell, under its guise the Romans attempted an escape, but stumbled upon yet another trap. The road was blocked by a trench and the Roman army got stuck between swampland and a hill, and along the roadside the Germanic tribes had built a wall, which allowed them to attack the Romans from cover. As the onslaught continued, the Romans desperately stormed the wall, but were overtaken by Germanic cavalry - and these are not the elegant horses with their small-shaped hooves, these are the tanks of antiquity - the horses with the large hooves. The most iconic modern depiction of such a horse would be a Belgian draft horse or a Frisian - which is depicted on the bottle of a Palm beer bottle.

Varus must have realized that this was the fatality that would befall all of his men. As the remainder of the legions was decimated, Varus and many other ranking officers fashionably robbed themselves of their own lives by falling onto their *gladii* (swords) (ibid. p. 17). We can only imagine the thoughts that went through Varus' head, but I for one believe that he most certainly felt outplayed. He who was about to become a well established person through his *dignitas* lost all, because Arminius played his ultimate card - his knowledge on Roman military tactics. So the *denarius* coin flipped, and for that moment not the Germanic tribes were the people that got *othered*, the Romans were - for the Germanic tribes made sure that this moment in history consolidated their borders in the upcoming decades. That makes the perspective all the more diverse, who is the *other* on which side of the border? Who is the *barbarbar* if there even is such a thing as the barbarian:

And now what shall become of us without any barbarians? Those people were some kind of solution. (Konstantinos Petrou Kavafis, 1904)

Thus the Romans never again attempted a full scale operation to consolidate and hold the Germanic region above the Rhine. For it did not take long after this victory that the Germanic tribes started *othering* one another again over territorial disputes, trade issues, sovereignty i.a. (Tacitus, 117, Book 2, § 88). So the Roman border at the Rhine did not withheld a single Germanic movement, it withheld dynamic mobilities along the separate Germanic borders, the German tribes kept to their own disputes as Gibbon (1776) puts it in a slight *othering* fashion:

Their progress was checked by their want of arms and discipline, and their fury was diverted by the intestine divisions of ancient Germany. (p. 175)

Ancient and modern day migrants

It is often suggested that the first phase of the migration period (300 - 500 AD) was a major cause of the downfall of the Roman Empire - that is to say the Western Roman Empire. If this is actually true, you might argue that contemporary migration movements towards the European Union could be a cause of the EUs downfall somewhere in the future. Whether the EU will end within inevitability is something with or without a question - given your own point of view. History has shown us that complex societies balance on the edge of *anarchism*. "We" always attempt to grasp and control the world through various institutionalizations, but a beginning and an end are always pinpointed somewhere on the chronological line. This thought is quite well illustrated by Thomas Coles *The Course of Empire* paintings (1833 - 1836) (*Figures 10 - 14*). *Figure 13* captures the hypothesis that the first migration period caused the downfall of the Western Roman Empire to a prominent extent. This figuration can easily be associated with the Vandal sack of Rome in 455 AD.

Whether they are Huns, Goths, Visigoths, Germans, Lombards, Franks i. a. - their individual migration trajectories can never be traced. There are only some Greek and Latin sources that contribute to the dynamics at play in that time, however they are almost inevitably intertwined within the historical context of the Roman Empires decline. Because of his ancient sources Gibbons *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776; 1781) still holds value, to understand such dynamics. For Gibbons is the first historian to state that migratory movements in part caused the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, and that the empire was in an intense struggle against external migratory movements for its last living century (Gibbon, 1781, Vol. III - V):

The union of the Roman empire was dissolved; its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown Barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the North, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa. (Gibbon, 1906, Vol.V, p. 161)

Within the word “victorious” Gibbon implies that the migratory stream of “barbarians” was indeed the cause of the Roman Empire’s downfall. However this is incorrect, we learn that from Guy Halsall’s (2007) *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* in which he shows that the fall of the Roman Empire caused the “barbarian” migrations, and not vice versa. So in this case the *barbarbar* is the migrant of this story, and given all these different Germanic tribes that means the *barbarbar* is not a fixed ethnicity, especially in the words of Halsall (2007):

Ethnicity is cognitive: a state of mind. It is not, however, simply identity. There are many types of social identity – religion, class, gender and age – but ethnicity does not necessarily correlate with any of these. It occupies a distinct arc within the spectrum of social identities. Sometimes certain classes were equated with particular ethnic identities, and ethnicity has sometimes apparently been gendered. Nevertheless in no case did the occupation of a particular class situation or the possession of specific sex attributes define the ethnic group. (p. 38)

However at the nearing end of the Western Roman Empire the migrants were definitely stipulated as a fixed ethnicity and labeled *barbarbar*. That *othering* practicality is profoundly shown through the words of an anonymous 4th century writer:

Above all it must be noted that wild nations are pressing upon the Roman Empire and howling about it everywhere, and treacherous barbarians, covered by natural positions, are assailing every frontier.¹⁴

B Such words truly convey us-them tendencies that we even hear in the political arena of the entire European Union, and not just at the national level of an EU member state in the form of a political party e.g. True Finns, Front national, PVV. True their words might not be as ‘blunt’ as our anonymous source of the late antiquity, but within their political-discourse the us-them card that is played cannot be missed. From a supranational retrospect it is becoming more and more apparent that the EU is shifting towards a stronger us-them *included* and *excluded* paradigm in terms of wanted and unwanted migrants (van Houtum, 2010, p 964).

¹⁴ On Matters Military 6.1, ca. 360s or 370s AD.

The Romans had their sentry-posts and legions to exact border patrols, the EU has Frontex as a supranational coordinating organization that tends to the EU external borders:

Travel flows are increasing and security threats need to be addressed in the most effective manner. The EU needs to commit to continuous improvements and be ready to adapt to new challenges and an ever changing reality, while fully respecting the rights of people fleeing war and persecution and looking to Europe for protection," said Cecilia Malmström, European Commissioner responsible for Home Affairs. "Against this backdrop, the amended Regulation contains important changes that will strengthen safeguards so as to guarantee the full respect of fundamental rights and improve the ability of Frontex to support Member States more efficiently and more independently. The Commission therefore welcomes the European Parliament's support for a stronger and more efficient Frontex.

(Malmström, September 13th, 2011)

Ironically the migrant stipulation - or coined in a late antique fashion *barbarbar* - of Frontex is not that different from the treatment of the *excluded* "barbarians" in late antiquity as described by our anonymous source. Frontex' migratory depiction is that of an invasion being visualized through arrows (*Figure 15*). In *Figure 16* we see the depiction of 'illegal' border crossings categorized by top-nationality and others. This visualization *others*, but also *internalized othering* is at hand by treating migrants from different nationalities inside one category being the *other*. It is ironic to perceive such practicalities from an EU institution - whereas the politically correct Eurocratic normative conveys to oppose xenophobic tensions. What can be more xenophobic than *othering*? Thus the EU is in a migratory institutional *duality* through multiple paradigms (Weichhart, 2005), one being that of a *colonializing* discourse and the other being the *cosmopolitanizing* discourse.

For it is the individual that rationally dominates over his own passions and is capable of disciplining himself to perform labor which constitutes the foundation of "material" property (Mezzadra, 2004, p. 33), and thus can become a citizen of the European Union. This concept of property rights by John Locke is what separates the *citizen* that is *included* and the *subject* that is *excluded* from the EU - the subject in this case can be the unwanted migrant. For he is "not characterized by the property of the self theorized by Locke" (Mezzadra, 2004, p. 33) and therefor not an individual - or to be treated as such.

Through borders we can connect an “inner mobility” (Beck, 2000, p. 75) which forms us “to become members of and the cross-cutting tendencies of polities to impose [EU] border regimes on us in ways which compromise our mobilities, freedoms, rights, and even identities” (Rumford, 2007, p. 336). And thus the *citizen* can be as *cosmopolitan* as he chooses, however the *subject* being the *excluded* migrant cannot. Zygmunt Bauman expresses this *contrast* in scrutinizing words:

Progressively, entry visas are phased out all over the globe. But not passport control. The latter is still needed . . . to set apart those for whose convenience and whose ease of travel the visas have been abolished, from those who should have stayed out—not meant to travel in the first place. (Bauman, 1998, p. 87)

Perhaps the most factual and physical impact of the borders on the ‘outside’ of the EU are the death-tolls, which pileup at the borders of the EU. Spijkerboer (2007) in his article - *The Human Costs of Border Control* - clearly, shows that the current EU external border policy contributes to the amount of people who die at the borders of the EU. Spijkerboer’s data is based upon the early 1990s until may 2006. The militant nature of the border regime wasn’t as prominent in those years as it is now - that is not a real surprise given the fact that Frontex was established on May 1st, 2005. However the list of documented refugee deaths is growing. As of 2 February 2012, 16136 documented refugee’s died, according to UNITED for Intercultural Action.¹⁵ On the 3rd of May 2006, 7182 documented deaths were accounted for (Spijkerboer, 2007). In an even shorter time span (2006 - 2012) this number doubled. Pondering over these numbers, questions the validity and protective nature of Frontex and the border regime - and not so much as to what happens at the border but why.

¹⁵ UNITED for Intercultural Action, European network against nationalism, racism, fascism and in support of migrants and refugees. www.unitedagainstracism.org; list of documented deaths [[link](#)]

Rejoining our Roman friends we can find an answer. Without a doubt the pressure on the imperial borders increased through late antiquity. But this is not a force of migrating peoples that attempted to oppose the Roman defensive border regime. And even if we can assume that the *barbarbar* pressure was increasing along the Roman borders in the 4th century. The numerical superiority and military efficiency was on the Roman side, making any form of confrontation an uneven fight for the "barbarians" (Halsall, 2007, p. 161) - Roman border control evasion was the only way to go, just like our modern day migrants perform such actions as a reaction on EU border control as shown by Rumford (2007):

[...] attempts at border crossings, whether across sea or land, are increasingly located away from the EU's networked borders, that is those borders constituted by airports, railway stations, motorways, and maritime ports, as these 'smart' borders constitute a serious barrier to the mobility of those lacking proper travel documentation (Rumford, 2006a). Those seeking illegal entry to the EU must rely on the relative porosity of the land and sea borders, which may be increasingly securitized but where crossing is still, for some, a distinct, if potentially lethal, possibility. (p. 336)

Not one group of "barbarians" beyond the Rhine would have attempted to organize an active "invasion" of the Empire before 376 AD and even beyond that year. "The 'barbarian threat' was as much a Roman creation as a barbarian reality" (Halsall, 2007, p. 161). For the pressure on the imperial borders to be understood, we need to take a look at the symbiosis between the Roman Empire and "barbarians". In the 3rd century confederacies of symbiosis (Romanization) emerged, and one of these was probably a Roman creation, named the Alamanni (etymological meaning: all men) - a formulation of multiple Germanic tribes (Nuber, 1993; 1998). These confederacies came about at the height of Roman internalized weakness and instability, that disrupted political and social structures. "Payments to non-Roman rulers during imperial frontier management in the end only raised the stakes in barbarian politics. Their reliance upon Roman prestige and gifts made the barbarian polities as dependent upon the efficient handling of the imperial office and the management of its patronage as were the provincial societies within the frontiers. In the decades either side of 400 AD imperial patronage ceased to be managed effectively, and the results were dramatic" (Halsall, 2007, p. 162).

Is it colonization, cosmopolitanization or something else?

In other words the Romans and “barbarians” formed an *interdependence* (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 22) which they probably lacked to understand to a certain degree. This same construction is present between the European Union and the modern day migrants. Their *interdependence* formulated over the course of the *colonizing* history of the European nations which at first stipulated the us-them card, just like the first president of the Fifth French Republic Charles de Gaulle once stated: “Algerians cannot be French.” - neglecting a *colonizing* past between Algeria and France that started with a bloody conquest of Algeria in 1830. This *interdependence* between the European Union, its former colonies and migrants is exacted at the institutional level through the European Neighbourhood Policy. However the ENP is not so easily embraced by all partner countries. Especially Algeria is “(self-) excluded” (Kramsch, 2011, p. 205) from the ENP because of the prominent Eurocentric nature of the ENP that is imposed upon the ENP partners. Thus we find the EU and the ENP in a state of *duality* between *cosmopolitanization* and colonization through *interdependence* - the colonial past that is neglected makes it thus all the more harder for such a state of *duality* to be perceived.

So if there is one clarification to be given as to why situations are what they are at the borders of the European Union it could be a lack of understanding *interdependence*, the paradox is that *interdependence* is a strengthening *cosmopolitan* prospect (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 22), but the *interdependence* between the EU, its former colonies and migrants, comes forth from a long past of *colonizing* activities and “Euro[cratic]” laws and reason - origins we cannot ignore, especially considering the words of Samuel Johnsons character Rasselas in his novel *History of Rasselas: Prince of Abissinia* (1759):

By what means are the Europeans thus powerful? Or why, since they can so easily visit Asia and Africa for trade or conquest, cannot the Asiatics and Africans invade their coast, plant colonies in their ports, and give laws to their natural princes? The same wind that carries them back would bring us thither. (§ 11)

Before Johnsons character Rasselas uttered these words an answer to this question was given by Ibrahim Muteferrika, an Ottoman scholar who was an ethnic Hungarian unitarian, wrote in his *Rational Basis for the Politics of Nations* (1731):

Why do the Christian nations, which were so weak in the past compared with Muslim nations begin to dominate so many lands in modern times and even defeat the once victorious Ottoman armies? Because they have laws and rules invented by reason. (§ 3)

Thus the migrants that are being *excluded* by the EU border regime are as much intertwined with the European Union, and vice versa. The strict border regime practicalities of the EU do not coincide with the initial conveying story of the ENP that proclaims *cosmopolitanism* to a certain extent, but at the same time maintains *colonizing* practicalities through its past by supporting regimes that have endured since the “decolonization” of European colonies - e. g. a financial association agreement with Libya that was made in 2008, to contribute 60 million Euros over 2011 - 2013.¹⁶ That is something which was/is not taken lightly, especially since the Arab Spring (2010 -) Making the migratory trajectories of *barbaric*, “barbarians”, or migrants not the issue at hand when it comes down to the European Union and its border regime practicalities and migratory policies, but the institutions that are in *duality* and *contrast* between *colonialization* and *cosmopolitanization* require a new revision of the “laws and reason” that formulate the institutions. “[Especially] if Europe truly wants to become not just a global player but a worldly one, as an agent which recognises that its external boundary to a certain extent has escaped its control, if only because it already belongs to the world” (Kramsch, 2011, p. 207). Not doing so could eventually lead to a new set of paintings made by a Thomas Cole like artist somewhere in the (distant) future. For it is Thomas Cole who represents the rise and downfall of complex civilizations - for the processes through history have shown that complex civilizations tend to balance on an edge of chaos, which they always attempt to control. However before a civilization meets its downfall or is conquered, it is destroyed from within as stipulated by Will and Ariel Durant in *The Story of Civilization Vol. 3* - in its subtitle:

“A great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself within.”

True such words might come across as pessimistic, however they can attribute a positive learning curve with insights as to why processes over history occurred as they did, and how such occurrences can be foreseen in the (distant) future. On a personal note I convey that such thoughts are a lesson for the European Union and its member states to consider.

¹⁶ [European Commission's National Indicative Programme 2011-2013 for Libya, page 21](#)

5.4 The Kingdom of Jerusalem - "All are welcome." (Baldwin IV)

A cosmopolitan center of the world

I arrived at Jerusalem, because through history it was often regarded as a center of the world, especially during the crusades, but even today the city still functions as a center of diverse religions, and as a focus point of a very complex conflict - which does not require an elaborate introduction. *Die ganze Welt in einem Kleberblatt* (Figure 20) is a map which was drawn by Heinrich Bunting (AD 1545 - 1606), that depicts Jerusalem at the center, and the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe being connected with this center. Bunting was well aware of the true geographical knowledge of the world at that time - other maps of his grandé work *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* depict such knowledge - and still he made this map. It is often suggested that this map was made to express the Trinity within Christianity due to Buntings background as a protestant pastor. True the map has the prominent elements of Saint Isidores T and O map, which was the standard for European mapmaking until the age of discovery started. But if we look closely at the title of the map we can translate this sentence into: "The whole world in a cloverleaf which is the coat of arms of Hannover; my dear fatherland".

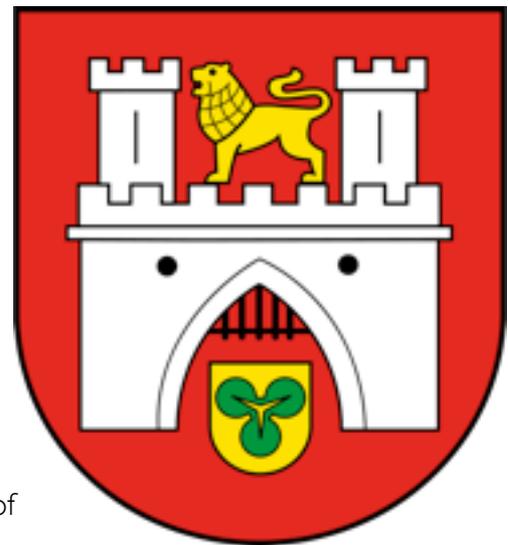


Figure 17. Coat of Arms Hannover.

Source [vectorimages](#)

And indeed if we look at the coat of arms of Hannover, we find the cloverleaf at the center of the gate. Metaphorically and physically it is the gate that decides wether one is *included* or *excluded* within the center of the world. Buntings map makes us believe that Jerusalem is the center of the world, however his personal title of this map, somewhat reveals otherwise, Hannover is Buntings center of the world. Which brings me to the matter that *cosmopolitanism* is a personal experience, and that each and every individual has her/his personal *cosmopolitan* roots or centre based upon symbols and rituals that formulate a personal and social identity (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). And for many people, including migrants Jerusalem was, and still is that centre.

Europa as a Kingdom of Jerusalem

I came to this metaphorical link through Joris Schapendonk's *Turbulent Trajectories* (2010), in which Schapendonk elaborates on the perception of Europe through Senegalese interpretations. During his fieldwork he often heard a Wolof proverb: 'Barça ou barzakh' - which is related to migration (Ba, 2007). The context of the phrase is in essence a binary choice between "Barcelona" or "death" - the latter being social death in the country of origin (Vigh, 2006). Through his fieldwork Schapendonk encountered Senegalese people who elaborated on "Barça", explaining that is not just an abbreviation for the Spanish city, but a metaphor that defines "Europe, social success, economic progress, freedom and adventure" (Schapendonk, 2010, p. 99). Thus "Barça" can be found anywhere in Europe. However this implies a different understanding of Europa through the eyes of the African migrant, compared with the Europa that is intertwined in the European Union. It is not just a geographical concept, Europa becomes an imagined borderless integrated space (Schapendonk, 2010, p. 99). Now that is a strong *cosmopolitan "inner mobility"* (Beck, 2000, p. 75) within a micro-border.

For Europeans and Saracens alike, the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099 - 1291) was like a "Barça", where they could find their religion among other push and pull factors - that made it the centre it was, like Bunting depicts it (*Figure 20*). For modern day migrants it can still be a "Barça", because it depends on the personal perception of Jerusalem, that formulates the geographical imagination (Gregory, 1994) of the individual, in that sense any geographical representation can stimulate one's imagination and create a personal "Barça". The difficulty for the migrant is seeing through the power and knowledge implications from the institutional level that exact a message (Harvey, 2005) about the "Barça" the migrant attempts to reach. For example if a migrant only hears stories about the multicultural paradigm of Europe from the 90s and first years of the 21st century (Silj, 2010, p. 236) and none about the current national xenophobic migration tendencies in EU member-states, and stricter EU borders, partially as a response on the Arab Spring (Bialasiewicz, 2011) then you can certainly question whether the "Barça" is a false geographical imagination that makes Europa somewhat of an cultural orient (Said, 1993) that does not coincide with the paradigms of the European Union. Thus if a migrant has imagined his/her Kingdom of Jerusalem or "Barça" somewhat like this, and attempts to enter Europa via Morocco, Ceuta, Gibraltar then the "*cordon sanitaire*" as Henk van Houtum (2010) elaborates (p. 961), becomes one of the first "conflicts" between the migrant and the European Union with its European Neighbourhood Policy that has become a "*bufferzone of geopolitics*" between the EU and its neighbouring Mediterranean countries that are increasingly called upon to act as policemen of the EU (Guild, 2010).

You could say that "Barça" is a *cosmopolitan* aspiration of Europa or even the European Union in

the mind of the migrant who aspires to achieve “Barça” within a borderless integrated space. In contrast stands the institutionalizing reality of the Eurocratic discourse of the EU that exacts practicalities e.g. the ENP in the Mediterranean. Thus it becomes quite clear that the “unfinished business” of Europe’s “decolonization” (Sparke, 2002; Kramsch, 2002) is something to be given more attention to understand this “ignored proto-colonial inheritance” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 194). Just how easily can such geographical visualizations of *duality* and *contrast* be ignored (Figure 18 & 19).

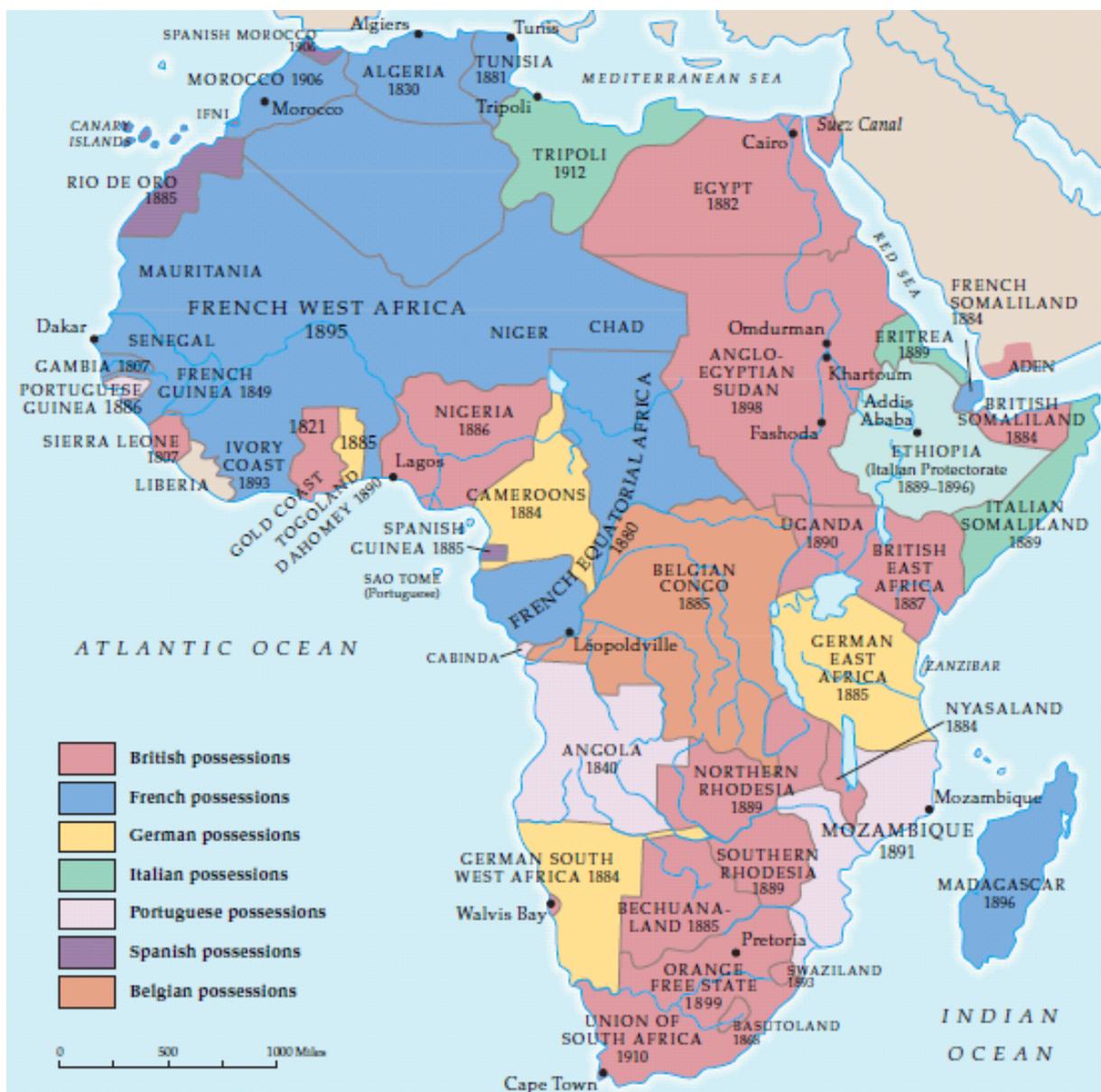


Figure 19. Europe’s colonial possessions in Africa 1914. Source. [A History of the Modern World](#)

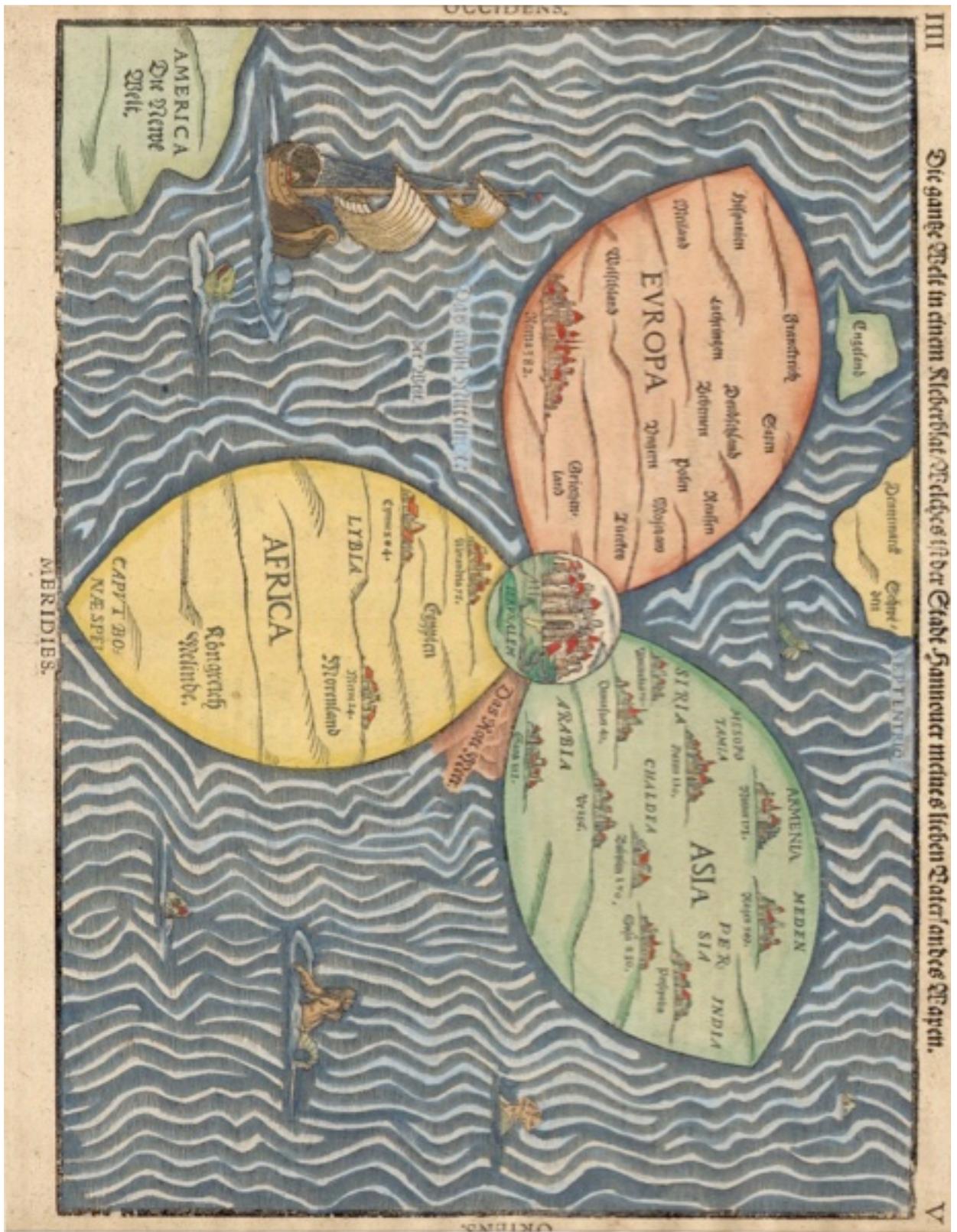


Figure 20. Heinrich Büntings worldmap: Die ganze Welt in einem Kleberblatt welches ist der Stadt Hannover meines lieben Vaterlandes Wapen



Figure 18. Carte des territoires de l'Europe. Source. [Europe's Information Society](#)

Do 'they' know if the EUgate is closed or open?

The depiction of the Spanish exclaves Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco are the perfect example of the European Union's *colonizing* ties from the past. On 20 July 1987 Morocco applied for entry into the European Union, this request was revoked by the European Council.¹⁷ In contrast however the European Neighbourhood Policy as of 2005 actively involves Morocco within a beneficiary program on a socio-political developing scale.¹⁸ In January 2012 Štefan Füle the European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy visited Morocco and stated:

Morocco is doing well in the reform process and the European Union appreciates this progress [...] I came here with a clear message that the Commission stands firmly behind your reform efforts and expect these efforts to be continued [...] I can express my

¹⁷ W. Europe Bloc Bars Morocco as a Member. Source. [Los Angeles Times](#)

¹⁸ Communication de la commission. Rapport de suivi Maroc Source. [European Commission](#)

satisfaction, that barely one year after my last visit to Rabat, several important changes occurred: a new constitution was approved in the July referendum, free and fair elections took place and now the new government is taking the reform agenda forward [...] The extent of our support and increased cooperation should reflect the needs and ambitions of our partners. For more progress in democratic and economic reforms there will be more EU assistance.¹⁹

(Füle, January 2012)

Clearly the EU is practicing at the levels of a *cosmopolitanizing* model in Morocco - in which they also include a migratory program, however the state of *duality* with the *colonizing* and *biopolitical* practicalities is something that questions the extent of the EU's *cosmopolitan* nature and capabilities - especially not knowing what to do with migrants in a given situation that is *anarchism* pure sang from a Eurocratic Frontex perspective, and is difficult to address from any given *biopolitical* institutional discourse, for example:

On the 31st of January 2011, the Spanish Guardia Civil intercepted a Malian migrant who tried to climb the fences of Ceuta. His aim, however, was not to reach 'Europe' via the Spanish enclave. He actually climbed the fences in 'reverse direction' - from Spain to Morocco. This man stated to be tired of waiting for a better life in 'Europe'. For this reason, he wanted to return to Mali. However: the fences obstructed his homeward journey.

(Schapendonk, 2011, p. 205)

Now such an occurrence made me realize that we as a European Union clearly lack an understanding of the migrants inner workings within the *biopolitical* arena. Thus formulating the upcoming 6th chapter of this thesis in an explicit *biopolitical* frame.

¹⁹ Š.Füle in Morocco: We stand behind your reform efforts. Source: [Europe press releases](#)

VI

Anarchistic little narratives in the camp of the migrant

From the Prins Hendrik Kazerne into Ter Apel

6.1 Introduction

Finding the narratives within the *biopolitical* arena was as much a journey of the mind as it was a physical journey. As you already have read, the amount of migratory literature is vast, and the thought often crossed my mind, that there is no real grasp for the researcher as to how to deal with that information, and how to conduct your own fieldwork. Therefore I once more refer to the words of Feyerabend (2010) "anything goes" (p. 7). However in Schapendonk's *Turbulent Trajectories* (2010) I found the inspiration for gaining access to migrants for these narratives. True Schapendonk's thesis is all about sub-Saharan African migrants, but his fieldwork movements can be inspiring to consolidate one's own capabilities that "anything [truly] goes" (p. 62 - 69). Because of the *biopolitical* nature of my fieldwork I decided to approach the asylum centre (AZC) of Nijmegen in the Prins Hendrikkazerne (Section 6.4) to conduct narratives with the migrants within that *biopolitical* sphere. My research expanded due to the formation of a migrant camp near the AZC at Ter Apel (May 10th - 23rd, 2012) that housed about 325 migrants protesting against their expulsion from The Netherlands (Section 6.5). But before elaborating on both these cases I tend to some personal critiques (Section 6.2) and explain the formulation of my research framework, which is based upon the previous chapter (Section 6.3).

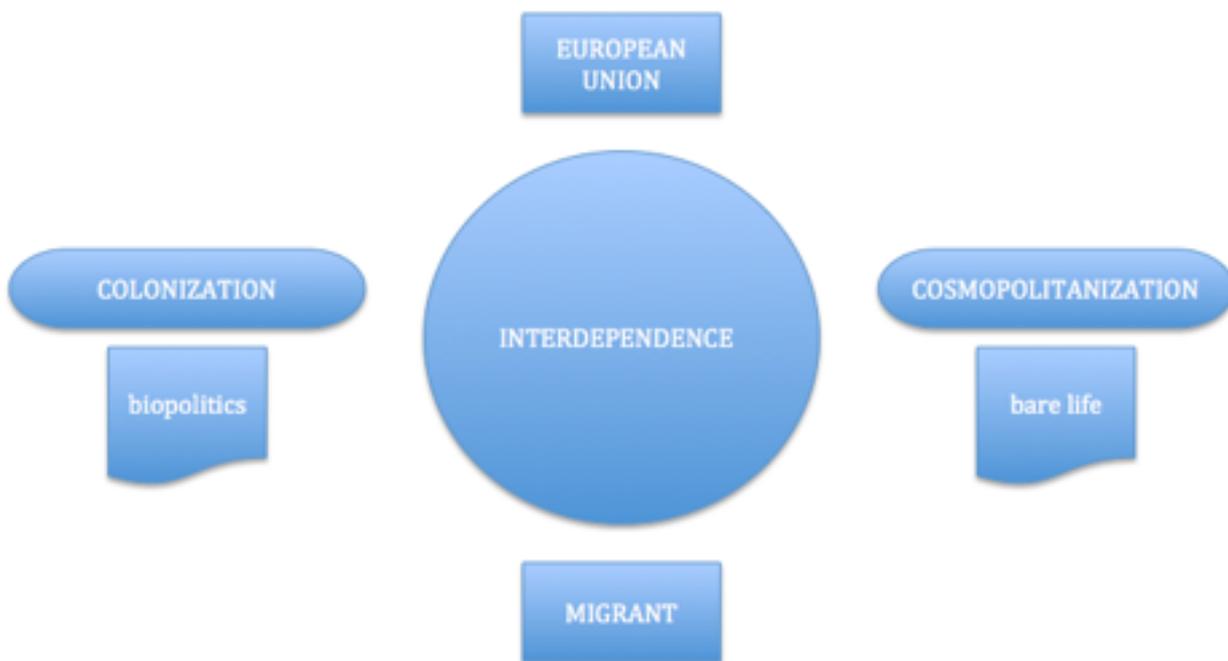
6.2 Critical notions

Conducting fieldwork for a mere bachelor-thesis in such a short timespan is limited in terms of the amount of recipients the researcher can approach. Furthermore if I truly wished to convey a stronger *cosmopolitan* paradigm (Beck and Sznaider, 2006) within this thesis I should have considered conducting fieldwork abroad, across borders - however in the case of Ter Apel, we have a research location that resides near the Dutch-German border. On the contrary I state that the contact with migrants from abroad can behold a strong *cosmopolitanizing* notion since they crossed borders to arrive at the Netherlands, and finding *cosmopolitanizing* aspects within the migrant is about how *cosmopolitan* the migrant is in her/his own personal mind (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). True I believe

that this chapter could be far richer given if there was more research time, since I am not even capable of implementing all qualitative data that I have acquired. However I am also convinced that the thesis - "How can the migrant be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, and what does this say about the European Union itself and its institutionalizing policies?" - can be answered through the previous chapters and the linkage between this chapter. And perhaps even more important invites researchers to conduct more fieldwork of this nature.

6.3 Assessing the cosmopolitan nature

Through the incision genealogy of chapter five I came to understand one clear aspect of the *cosmopolitan* nature that seemed measurable, namely the individual realization of *interdependence* (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 22). It came about that such notions of *interdependence* are intertwined with the individual migrant and the institutional level of the European Union within *colonization* and *cosmopolitanization* (p. 51) - formulating the quasi-colonialization-cosmopolitanization framework (Figure 21).



20

Figure 21. The migrant in interdependence with the European Union and its institutionalizing discourses: Source. Own creation

²⁰ Personal note: I don not pretend that these facets are the only paradigms at play, I merely restricted myself to this framework for this thesis, with regard for the world of multiple paradigms (Weichhart, 2005).

As we have seen through Alexander and Diogenes that sense of *cosmopolitanism* can be attributed with *bare life* because the *cosmopolitan* discourse also conveys a certain sense of being in a state of *zoē/bios* (p. 34). Whereas *colonization* has always been intertwined with *biopolitics* whether it was in the time of hellenism, the Roman Empire or the contemporary European Union (§ V). It might not hurt to reflect upon such notions - for they show how far reaching back in time they already existed. So for the fieldwork the focus point is *interdependence* and assessing to which discourse it belongs in the elaborated narratives - being the Prins Hendrik kazerne (barracks) and the migrant camp at Ter Apel (May 10th - 23rd, 2012). In these narratives I use partial material of the recipients, occasionally I elaborate on their words in linkage with theory, but in practice I dealt with open narratives that were only interrupted with ad hoc questions. The reason for this was deliberate, so that I would enter each qualitative situation with the least amount of prepared context and prejudice - even though complete objectivity is impossible to achieve from my point of view.

6.3.1 Trusting me

“How to create a trustworthy environment in a context that is strongly shaped by suspicion?” (Schapendonk, 2010, p. 65) - that was one of my main concerns before starting my fieldwork. It is important to take into account the identity of the respondent as a personal aspect on which can be elaborated, as much as the respondent desires. Thus I expressed to have no affiliation with any form of an organisation, but the university of Nijmegen, and always stated that I was merely interested in the person before me. The fact that I was not allowed to record (Section 6.4) my narratives most certainly made it easier to gain a person’s trust - since the only remainder of our conversations are my scribbled notes and the memories of our conversations. However as is stated by Crang and Cook (1995) the rules and relations that are constructed between the researcher and the participants are to be taken into consideration - not recording a conversation is one of these rules - in realizing potential “socially sanctioned norms” that may apply (p. 90 - 91). Michael Patton truly captures such complexity of understanding one another’s world:

It is the ongoing challenge, paradox and dilemma of qualitative analysis that we must be constantly moving back and forth between the phenomena of the program [being evaluated] and our abstractions of that program, between the descriptions of what has occurred and our analysis of those descriptions, between the complexity of reality and our simplifications of those complexities, between the circularities and interdependencies of human activity and our need for linear, ordered statements of cause-effect. (p. 325)

Since I wanted to keep the research as low profile as possible - to avoid suggestive answers - I

never elaborated on my thesis or any of its core aspects. Being interested in one another's story was enough for me to start with in a conversation. This made my narratives quite the kind of informal talks you could have almost anywhere you as a researcher and the respondent feel informal. Making the place of a talk an important factor to consider. At the Prins Hendrikkazerne I talked with the migrants around the compound, simply sitting on a bench in the open terrain, or just outside the gate. At Ter Apel I talked with one migrant at the camp - others gave some input without my request capturing the sense of them wanting their plea being heard from that place.

6.4 The Prins Hendrikkazerne

Preparing for the barracks (kazerne)

I came across Pieke Hooghoff's *Bandoeng aan de Waal* (2000) with the assistance of my thesis supervisor Dr. Olivier Kramsch. Hooghoff elaborates on the linkages between the *colonial* past of The Netherlands intertwined with the Dutch-Indies (Indonesia) and in particular the Indonesian people that resided in early 20th century Nijmegen - being a former Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) centre of operations and training place for KNIL soldiers. Between 1909 and 1911 the barracks were based upon a design by Jo Limburg. The barracks were named after Hendrik van Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the spouse of queen Wilhelmina of The Netherlands. Since 1911 the Prins Hendrikkazerne was the only point from which all KNIL soldiers left for the Indies (Hooghoff, 2000, p. 31) - making it an ultimate focuspoint of the *colonial* heritage in the Netherlands, however the thought could not escape my mind, but to notice a facet of *interdependence* between the geographical designations being, The Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Dutch-Indies - thus named at that time - intertwined through a prominent geographical visualisation (*Figure 22*) however if that can be perceived as *cosmopolitan* within the context of time-space of an individual is open for interpretation. However with the given knowledge of today and the situatedness of theory (Said, 1984, p. 241), we can stipulate this as a *duality* of *colonization* and *cosmopolitanization* through *interdependence*. For you can argue that one needs the *other* to define the personal identity of rituals and symbols (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). 1909 was also the first year that the Four Days Marches of Nijmegen took place. During the first edition about 300 people participated, of which but 10 were not soldiers. From 1925 until 1946 the Prins Hendrik barracks was the starting point of the marches and from 1928 until 1938 the barracks housed the Flagparade - which is the official opening of the Four Days Marches (Hooghoff, 2000, p. 32). Nowadays people from about 70 countries participate in the annual event - bringing us back to *interdependence* that exists between *colonization* and *cosmopolitanization*. That made it clear to me that without a doubt the kazerne was one of the places for a narrative.

The kazerne as a heritage of our time

Starting fresh on the 1st of March 2012 I went to the barracks (AZC) inquiring as to what possibilities were available for conducting a narrative. I entered the gated compound, and approached the security desk at the main building. I looked through a security solid window across a desk where two security guards were monitoring the compound through the usage of cameras and audio communication - with the rest of the controlling personnel. I asked them as to whom could advise me concerning fieldwork at the barracks. They directed me to contact the location manager of the AZC by telephone and make an appointment. So I went back to my humble abode and attempted to contact the location manager. It was almost like an impossible task - given the restrictions of time - to get in touch, and leaving a voicemail did not do the trick, however after several attempts over the course span of almost two weeks I got in touch with the location manager - B. van de Vogel. However after I made my elaboration about my fieldwork plans I was told to contact the communication management of the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) in Rijswijk - which manages all the AZC's. After another week I got in touch with the communication advisor in Rijswijk and eventually the process of my fieldwork started to move on. However some strict rules were exacted upon my research path. (1) I was not allowed to approach the migrants within the barracks, but only nearby the entrance, (2) I always had to report at the security desk of the barracks and wear a visitors pass, (3) I was not allowed to make any visual or audio recordings.²¹ For my first visit I was told to report myself at the security desk of the Prins Hendrik barracks and report whenever I wished to conduct my research. According to the COA by no means was it possible to facilitate me in any way, I had to approach all migrants myself - within the restricted boundaries of the AZC, certain boundaries that have not changed so much over time given the configuration of the structure (*Figure 23 & 24*). Within all these *biopolitical* practicalities that are exacted upon the migrants but also on me as a visitor, I could not escape that pondering grasp that the camp or *lager* is truly a heritage of the 20th century and our present for all of us (Mezzadra, 2003). I realized this even more so by inquiring one of the migrants about how it feels to be here in The Netherlands:

“Before I came to The Netherlands, I had no idea I would end up here. When I started my journey seven years ago [2005] I had but one goal, to get away from my home [...] where they want me dead. [...] At first I was on the run, but when I got far away I felt like having a lot of possibilities. [...] Being in here [kazerne] would not be my first choice.”

²¹ Visiting regulations COA. Source. [COA](#)

The words “At first I was on the run, but when I got far away I felt like having a lot of possibilities” intertwined me with this notion of *bare life* that came about during the journey away from the migrant’s past. If I purely reflect on my own senses that I have during a journey, I dare say that the trajectory bound to anywhere, can indeed stimulate this *cosmopolitan inner mobility* (Beck, 2000, p. 75). You could argue like James Clifford (1992) that we are travelers, somewhat like migrants, but we differentiate through our individuality, that formulate rituals and symbols within (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). A personal moving example came out of these words concerning the asylum centre (AZC) and its colonial past when I was asked by a migrant about the building’s history, on which I elaborated that many Dutch historic buildings (e. g. old schools, churches, castles) are repurposed:

“So this used to be a barracks, I never knew that. [...] Even though it might be normal for you, I find it quite strange given its past.”

It shows that rituals and symbols are so personal, and even when these symbols are *colonial* they can still intertwine within a *cosmopolitan* notion of historically defined *interdependence*. For it is the migrant that seems more aware of the historical notions of the kazerne at that moment and stipulates them with a personal critique that shows how personal interpretations can be. True the migrant made sure I reflected upon “our” colonial past. I felt like I was the *colonial other* and he the *cosmopolitan* mind that lectured me. He pointed out to me that it is a bizarre practicality for migrants to be put inside a former (KNIL) barracks. In response I elaborated on such practicalities from our Dutch past: e. g. camp Westerbork and Vught being repurposed for Moluccans due to Dutch decolonization (Akihary, 1991). Being the researcher I knew about this past, the migrant just acquired this knowledge, but was perhaps more amazed about it than an average Dutch person or European might be. This can probably be attributed to the colonial state of mind that differs between us, him being the migrant from a “post-colonial” country, and me the Dutch pre-master student from a country that *colonized* - and still *colonizes* in a *biopolitical* sphere.

The influence of *biopolitics* can extend to a violent context which “we” often do not perceive, until that moment arrives. By the end of 2011 there was an incident among some of the migrants at the barracks that caused one man to be stabbed²² - this resulted in the arrest of the victim and three other suspects.²³

²² Gewonde bij vechtpartij in AZC Nijmegen. Source. [Omroep Gelderland](#)

²³ Vier aanhoudingen na vechtpartij AZC Nijmegen Source. [de Gelderlander](#)



Figure 22. Front cover of old Dutch school atlas. Source. Own picture

I heard of this incident thanks to a Somalian woman at the asylum centre, when we were talking about the social cohesion within the compound, she said:

“Most of the time things go well, some keep to themselves, and many [inhabitants] come together [...] We organize happenings, feasts [...] But sometimes things happen [...] Meaning a fight occurs [...] Between the inhabitants, or with the personnel [...] I have seen worse.”

I delved deeper into these incidents, and found out that there is indeed an increased amount of upheaval at the barracks.²⁴ An exact explanation for this I cannot pinpoint, thus the why remains unanswered. However the Somalian woman did give me insights into the perception that she had about these incidents compared to her violent experiences in the past - “I have seen worse” - on which I shall not elaborate, but suffice to say she is well aware of the differences between The Netherlands and Somalia, and knows to relativise the tendencies between *interdependence* (“many come together. [...] We organize happenings, feasts.”) and opposition (“a fight occurs [...] Between the inhabitants, or with the personnel”). However whether she is truly aware of a strong *interdependent* notion is something I do not dare to conclude out of these words.

However there was one migrant that talked about his journey with three other migrants in a clear *interdependent* fashion, for he said:

“We travelled together because we needed eachother [...] Crossing a border is dangerous, you have to look out for patrols [border guards], which is hard with just two eyes [...] I was the only one speaking English [referring as the only person with sufficient English knowledge].”

True, this remains but an interpretation, however I believe that the strongest need for *interdependence* might arise through the journey that the migrant undertakes. Individual awareness of such feelings, notions or ideas of *interdependence* always remains to be seen - but in this individual case the *cosmopolitan* notion seems present. However I pondered on this matter of *interdependence* in relation to a *cosmopolitan* notion whether it is just about interdependence or more. Once more the words of Friedrich Nietzsche (1873): *Tatsachen gibt es nicht, nur interpretationen* - made me realize that even such a concept of *interdependence* and *cosmopolitanization* is but an interpretation made through my senses. Thus I realized that *interdependence* is a personal feature and therefore cannot be attributed to a single perception.

²⁴ Onrust op asielzoekerscentrum Nijmegen-Oost. Source. [de Gelderlander](#)



Figure 23. De Prins Hendrikkazerne gezien vanaf de Daalseweg, 1913. Foto: collectie Antoon Janssen. Source. Bandoeng aan de Waal

For example, love can form a personal *interdependence* across continents, formulating a relationship that is cross-border to the core and can stimulate one's *inner mobility* to traverse borders (Beck, 2000, p. 75). But knowledge can also be the key to *interdependence*, an example could be the exchange of lecturers across universities across the globe. On a personal note, my point being here is that *interdependence* is the key in terms of the *cosmopolitan* linkages that can be formed, however the means as to how and why, are determined at the personal level of interpretations. The following words of a migrant covered that in a quite fitting manner:

"In here we are taken care of for which I am grateful. [...] In my country I took care of myself, there was no one to help me."

For if it is gratefulness that can be bonding between people - depending on whether a person values such an emotion - you could state that gratefulness can form *interdependence*, however it once more shows how personal the notion of *interdependence* and *cosmopolitanism* is, and in the end it is an interpretation. For another statement given clearly shows no sign of gratefulness:

“We are restricted by time when we can leave the terrain, and when we are supposed to return. [...] I do understand rules are needed.”

In this case the migrant is critical about the curfews imposed upon the inhabitants of the asylum. However he does say he understands the need for rules. In that sense one might argue that understanding, and the need for something [in this case rules] can be seen as a form of *interdependence*, because this individual is aware of an issue through his interpretation, but also able to reflect upon this from another party's (AZC administration) perspective.



Figure 24. Gate at the Prins Hendrikkazerne. Source. Havang. Open

However, with the word *interdependence* we often bounce against the wall of “dominant discourse acts” (Said, 1993, p. 51) that determine what *interdependence* is. Both discourses are intertwined in their aspects of *colonialization* and *cosmopolitanization* through *economic interdependence* that is often nicknamed as “Americanization of the world” (Jameson, 2003, p. 701). For it is the globalizing economy that is often regarded as interdependency factor uno - which is not illogical given the fact that the major entirety of the world is woven with the capitalistic discourse. Colonial acts from the past, present and the future are often solely driven by economical stimuli - and that is where *cosmopolitanization* ought to drift away from, the dominant economic discourse. Hence I argue that cosmopolitan *interdependence* is personal - which could be communicatively conveyed from an institutional level (e.g. EU and member states) through *cosmopolitanizing* rituals and symbols (Beck and

Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). However the question as to 'how' each individual can be reached thusly is a matter for another thesis, and perhaps even an impossible thesis - but that issue is open for debate.

To stipulate this notion of *economic interdependence* I came across an uttering that conveys this dominant discourse which is intertwined with a Somalian's journey:

"We were brought together, and had to pay for transport in advance [...] After the bus was full we left [...] I had no idea where we would end up, but what choice did I have."

This man made me realize that migration is hard-core economic business in some cases. He perceived no other way for leaving his country, and thus turned to a person who could arrange transport. A gamble it was, but as he stated: "what choice did I have" - *economic interdependence* seemed to be the order of the day - even though you could interpret it as one-sided financial traffic the Somalian needed a service and the transporter wanted to earn money for that service. Such notions of *economic interdependence* also became vivid for my mind through Schapendonk's (2010) *Turbulent Trajectories* in which he often elaborates on individual trajectories of migration that turn into financial transactions between transport suppliers and migrants. However the migrant was aware of his choice dilemma in this situation, and thus was aware of his *interdependence* status.

What I grasped upon from these people is the matter of balance between *inclusion* and *exclusion* - for these people seem bright minded and valuable from the point of view that I behold from our conversations - because they could achieve so much more in the outside world, were it not that they belong to a "constructed invisibility" as Felicity Lawrence (2001) wrote in her article *A war without witnesses* - which elaborates on the excluded media in terms of civilian casualties in the Afghan War (2001 -). Such an "constructed invisibility" is also present within the Kazerne to a certain extent, for not just anyone is allowed to document or record any audio or visual material according to visiting regulations and doctrine.²⁵ Once more I realized that the camp is a heritage of our time, and the *biopolitical* camp shows what it wants to show the outside world, and what it wants to keep inside stays inside. Thus *interdependency* is somewhat suppressed, but perhaps also created within the Kazerne.

"Most of the time things go well, some keep to themselves, and many [inhabitants] come together [...] We organize happenings, feasts."

²⁵ Visiting regulations COA. Source. [COA](#)

6.5 Ter Apel

Preparing for Ter Apel

Between December 26th and 29th, 2011 a group of 16 Somalians protested against their expulsion by setting up a camp at Ter Apel.²⁶ It was a short lived action, because their demand to be given another asylum request procedure was granted by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND).²⁷ On the 10th of May a group of approximate 50 Iraqis set up camp at Ter Apel to protest against their expulsion. On May 17th the camp consisted out of 225 Iraqis, 80 Somalians, 15 Iranians, 2 people from Eritrea, one person from Azerbadjan, and an unknown number of Afghans.²⁸ I realized that this unique movement was an opportunity not to be missed for this thesis. So I decided to visit Ter Apel at the first possibility.

Just before the storm

Thus I set out towards Ter Apel in a spur of the moment early in the morning on the 23rd of May. I arrived just at the end of the morning at the migrants camp of Ter Apel - after a journey of roughly four hours. I was able to speak to one of the Somalians who was very eager to talk:

“ We are here because there was no other way to be heard. Repeatedly we have expressed that it is dangerous to return to Somalia. But we have always been ignored. Hopefully being here together in this camp sends out a message, so that we can once more request asylum, in the hope of getting a permanent residency. And if not here in The Netherlands perhaps somewhere else in Europe. So long as it is not Somalia. I wonder if they [politicians, EU citizens] realize how dangerous it is over there. [...] We want what everyone wants, to be safe, have a nice home and a job.”

These words truly conveyed the notion of “Barça” (Schapendonk, 2010, p. 99) and the *inner mobility* this migrant aspires (Beck, 2000, p. 75). As he says “if not here in The Netherlands perhaps somewhere else in Europe. So long as it is not Somalia [...] We want what everyone wants, to be safe, have a nice home and a job”. He expressed to me that the formation of the camp is a last resort to convey a message. It is an interesting notion that these migrants acted within a *biopolitical* sphere - being the camp. “Hopefully being here together in this camp sends out a message” - ironically the migrants use their own *biopolitical* camp against the *biopolitics* within The Netherlands.

²⁶ Somalische vluchtelingen zetten tentenkamp op bij Ter Apel. Source. [NRC](#)

²⁷ Somaliërs gaan toch in op aanbod IND, kamp Ter Apel opgebroken. Source. [NRC](#)

²⁸ Tentenkamp Ter Apel blijft groeien – nu 325 kamperende vluchtelingen. Source. [NRC](#)

It is like Shakespeare (1595) expresses in *King John*:

Be stirring as the time; be fire with fire
Threaten the threatener and outface the brow
Of bragging horror. (Act 5, Scene 1)

Meaning that when we “fight fire with fire” we are most likely to employ more extreme methods than we would normally do. True the Somalian conveyed a strong sense of *interdependence* with the words “being here together in this camp” profiling a sense of *cosmopolitanization*, but the usage of *biopolitics* being the camp, formulates this *duality* in which he and his fellow migrants reside. For the people in the camp truly conveyed this sense of *interdependence* through being together in the camp, trying to free themselves from the *political life* that wants to evict them from the Netherlands, however in attempting to achieve a statement, the migrants had to use the *(bio)political life* to exact a message that would draw any attention. Thus they balanced between the choice of *bare life* and *political life*. That balance shows parallels with the migrants attempting to enter the European Union, and whom exist as *homo sacer* (Agamben, 1998) as in Roman divine law - the people who cannot be sacrificed but are sometimes killed through impunity²⁹ - even if by an accidental intervention by a coastal patrol.³⁰ On a personal note I would state that migrants aspire “Barça” through their journey, but are often caught within a *biopolitical* sphere, and the usage of *biopolitics* themselves in attempts to achieve “Barça” when they arrive somewhere in the European Union.

Starting in the afternoon the police forces and riot control unit blocked off the camp. Forming a shield around it with their vans, thus making the scene virtually invisible. It was possible to see some forms of movement between the vans. The riot control unit moved into the abandoned camp and broke down the tents with force - not in the normal fashion in which the tents would be packed up for usage. Both sides showed forms of resistance that were not to be taken lightly.³¹ The migrants, mostly Somalians, were being searched one by one, and taken into custody.³² It was a bizarre setting, these migrants had three choices, they could either take up the offer of the Minister for Immigration, Integration and Asylum Affairs Gerd Leers, who would allow all migrants to stay until half of June 2012, and provide shelter in an asylum centre.³³ Second the migrants could enter a bus which would

²⁹ UNITED for Intercultural Action, European network against nationalism, racism, fascism and in support of migrants and refugees. Source. www.unitedagainstracism.org/list-of-documented-deaths

³⁰ Levos call against Frontex. Source. www.allincluded.nl

³¹ NOS video. Ontruiming tentenkamp Ter Apel bijna voltooid. Source. [NOS](#)

³² NOS audio. 'Asielzoekers werden stuk voor stuk aangehouden'. Source. [NOS](#)

³³ NOS audio. Ontruiming Ter Apel volop aan de gang. Source. [NOS](#)

take them to an asylum centre, where they would once more be able to convey their story. And as a third option the migrants could remain at the camp, and be taken into custody at a police station. The only group of migrants who had something to gain from Leers' deal were the Iraqis, because by half of June 2012 the Minister of Migration from Iraq Dindar Najman Shafiq Duski will come to the Netherlands to discuss a possible return of the migrants - even though the migrants themselves hope for another result.³⁴

Leers stated on 22 May 2012:

My fellow colleague immediately accepted this invitation. A date has been set for June 15th. I consider this as an important step to get out of this impasse. With this a good chance has been created to enforce a short term return to Iraq. This development also ensures that I will take care of shelter for the inhabitants of the camp at Ter Apel until the dialogue with minister Shafiq Duski has taken place in June. This form of shelter is not without engagement, but aimed at return. As I have indicated before the camp is superfluous.³⁵

If the camp at Ter Apel was superfluous, how superfluous are the asylum centers in the Netherlands and the European Union I wonder. To me this statement comes as a contradiction, that shows how unaware one can be of its own *biopolitics*. A day after the camp was broken up the judge in Groningen pronounced that the clearing of the camp at Ter Apel transpired out of proportions and was not justified through legislation. The migrants that were arrested and after released wanted to return to the site to build up the camp again. However the COA and/or municipality placed a fence around the site as of May 25th, making such an act impossible. The migrants were left with one choice, they "travelled", meaning that they were dispersed over a few asylums across the Netherlands. Once more the macro-border (The Netherlands) overruled the micro-border (the migrants). The lines between the *included* and the *excluded* were quite vague in this situation. At first the migrants seemed to have a notion of control through *political life* by using the camp as their *biopolitics*. However the fact that the "Dutch state" is planning to expel these migrants - eventually removes them from the *political life* and makes them the *excluded*, the migrants without *political life* in *bare life*, making them once more the "*inclusive exclusion*" (Agamben, 1998, p. 12).

³⁴ Irakese minister van Migratie komt naar Nederland. Source. [NOS](#)

³⁵ Kamerbrief Terugkeer naar Irak. Source. [Rijksoverheid](#)

VII

Conclusions

All caught in duality between colonization and cosmopolitanization

Answering the statement

As a statement this thesis cannot be answered with success, due to the fact that it is a generalization based upon an individual: the - or rather - a modern day migrant is more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, but has also shown that he can exact *colonizing* and *biopolitical* practicalities - e. g. Ter Apel.

By comparing the facets of the incision genealogy and the little narratives I can however answer the thesis:

“How can the - or rather - a migrant be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life than the European Union, and what does this say about the European Union itself and its institutionalizing policies?”

The keywords as to how the migrant can be more cosmopolitan in natural bare life are *interdependence*, intertwined with “Barça” and the journey towards a destination that is perceived as borderless integrated space (Schapendonk, 2010, p. 99) that gives the individual a strong “inner mobility” (Beck, 2000, p. 75). Migrants who perceive Europe or the European Union as such conflict in their discourse with the Eurocratic discourse of the European Union that is caught in a web of contrast and duality between colonization and cosmopolitanization due to the *interdependence* (p. 51 - 52) that exists between the colonial past of Europe and the formulation of an *interdependent* cosmopolitan Europe through the institutions of the EU (Beck, 2005). Neglecting Europe’s “ignored proto-colonial inheritance” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 194) is precisely where the EU is breaking its *interdependence* with its colonial past, but also with its potential to be cosmopolitan. For to be *cosmopolitan* one must recognize its own *interdependence*, thus also the links between (colonial) past, present and future are no longer to be beheld as “lazy separations” in time and space (Gregory, 2004, p. 7).

The narratives of migrants within the biopolitical sphere (e. g. The Prins Hendrikkazerne and Ter Apel) are a mirror for The Netherlands and the EU. Especially the case of Ter Apel shows how migrants are intertwined with biopolitics by using the camp as a means to attempt achieving "Barça". In that sense the migrants adopted the biopolitics of the camp exacted by the Dutch state to convey their own message in their search for "Barça" - thus bringing them in a state of duality between colonization and cosmopolitanization as well. However, perhaps that is exactly what is needed, to communicate with a [supra]national organ (e. g. the Dutch state, the European Union) that exists in the same state of duality. In contrast there is this notion that the journey of a migrant can exact an awareness of individual cosmopolitan *interdependence* (p. 68). Maybe the EU can reflect upon such exactions of little narratives, to adept its institutions, laws and reason - so that they conform to a more prominent (migratory) European Neighbourhood Policy of an *interdependent* nature that considers its colonial past and intertwines it with cosmopolitan rituals and symbols (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, p. 8). For if one thing is certain, it is that migrants will always aspire "Barça":

The doors may be locked; but the problem won't go away, however tight the locks. Locks do nothing to tame or weaken the forces that cause displacement and make humans into refugees. The locks may help to keep the problem out of sight and out of mind, but not to force it out of existence."

(Bauman, 2002, p. 85)

Critique

Metaphorically I will once more reflect upon my own work by saying that this thesis is not so much formulated through migrants as a mirror for the European Union, but migrants as a shard for the European Union. Especially considering the limitations of this thesis' fieldwork that only transpired within national boundaries, even though both narratives took place near borders, and belong to so called Euregions. Therefor I somewhat neglect the plea for a cosmopolitan scientific paradigm that is conveyed by Beck and Sznaider (2006), except for the incision genealogy. But I do convey that the stipulations and reformulations within this thesis invite others to perform fieldwork for a longer period, picking up the shards and slowly creating the mirror that is so desperately needed.

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