# Editorial

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Migration, the more or less (un-)controlled cross-border exchange of populations, touches, threatens and changes the foundations of the modern nation-state: the idea of a social order as a unity of territory, constitutive people and sovereign power (Jellinek 1900) whose cultural, economic, juridical, religious or social form must be maintained and perpetuated by the state (e.g. Bauman 1998; Beck 2004). As the paradigm of integration shows, the question of mobility is at the heart of this discourse. The population as constitutive people ("Staatsvolk") and representative centre of the nation state relies on boundaries and borders that were and are necessary not only for its creation but also for its documentation and thus its perpetuation through barriers to mobility. The long history of migration and its regulation by the state in Europe bears witness to this. To this day, for the government of migration this means that migration is only conceivable as immigration or emigration and that mobility can only be conceived of as either incorporating an endpoint – integration – , or as a process of arrival. However, these encodings of nation-state order and the threat of disorder through migration remain contested and re-encodings can be observed within these semantics (cf. Hess/Moser 2009).

Even countries that do not allow permanent immigration have not been able to stop the movement across their borders and (post-)migrant identities have never been fully resolved into the narrative of a national society free from signs of failing territorial sovereignty. Thus, while national
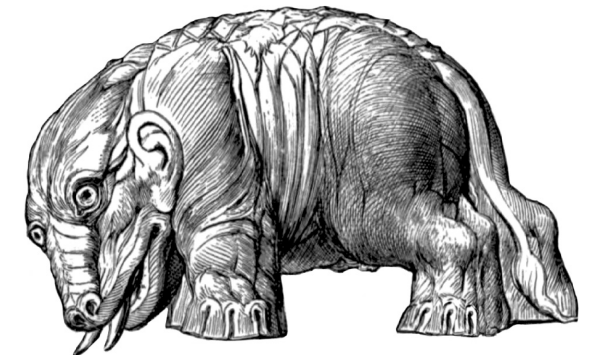
domestication efforts have been successful in reproducing a stable notion of the national form of the state, migration has been a challenge to theses foundations of the modern nation state all along – above all, to sovereign population control. This has been most vividly exemplified in the case of transmigration, which constantly challenges the supposed "normality" in which migration is an "anomaly". For some time now, scholars have described more or less permanent practices of transnational mobility that make migration thinkable and livable as transmigration without an (inevitable) end, without the dichotomy of departure and arrival, of entry and integration (e.g. Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Pries 2001). Consequently, signifiers for a planned and calculated form of mobility – with fixed points of departure and arrival – (e.g. "guest worker" or "refugee") are no longer appropriate names for the subjects of migration. Following Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of nomadology, transmigration in this sense can be conceptualised and described as a form of movement that does not proceed between two fixed points (cf. Deleuze/Guattari 2005, 380ff.). Even where movement is enforced as dislocation by war, economic, or social crises, it develops as an active appropriation of (social and territorial) space without necessarily leading to relocation (cf. Papadopoulos/Tsianos 2008). Migratory movements in this sense should therefore be conceptualised not as movement from point A to point B, but as a form of appropriation and re-formation of space. Thus, the transmigrant is not characterised by her travels through space and territory and beyond borders, but by her active participation in the dissolution of the dichotomy of departure and arrival. Her practices create a new space that already incorporates and embraces both places. In this space, arrival no longer takes place. Instead, arrival becomes a perpetual practice of appropriation of space.

Following this conceptual approach to transmigration, it becomes clear that transmigration is actually and factually undermining the logic of the national container state and thus the idea of nation state containment as such. From the perspective of the state, then, there seem to be two possible reactions to this challenge. One is to force transmigration into the old patterns of national belonging – an option that currently remains not only a valid, but also a very common one as the juridical categories dealing with migration include no notion of a transnational realm whatsoever. What we attempt to grasp in this volume is a second option: A tendency within the state to adapt transmigration and to use it as a vehicle for what Deleuze and Guattari call "deterritorialization". We believe that transmigration is itself becoming a point of reference for the government of migration.

One could argue that such a possibility has already been established on a different scale. In recent transformations of migration regulation in the European border regime, a deepening of zones of control can be observed: from military foreign policy to development co-operation, migration policies are becoming increasingly unbounded as regards content. They also seem territorially unbounded where, for example, the so-called third country rule contributes to the creation of a specifically migratory space of law that expands and extends far beyond conventional international law. This double expansion touches the nexus of law, sovereignty and population. While the old order claimed that migration regulations controlled the composition of the population as part of sovereign population control, the tendencies sketched above act as hinges for a demographic policy that loosens the sediment of the nation state, including the axioms connecting social rights to political rights of citizenship. The concept of "autonomy of migration" (see Moulier Boutang 2002. The concept has seen many adaptations and clarifications, among them most recently Bojadzijev/Karakayali 2010), taken seriously, further complicates matters. Viewed through this lens, policies designed to regulate migration are more aptly described as reactions to the migratory movements they pretend to shape. Is migration "ungovernable"? Or do strategies of government mimic, appropriate and incorporate strategies of migration? In this case, how does transmigration function as a logic of government?

The abovementioned changes in the European migration regime exemplify the development of a kind of mimetic migration policy – a migration policy that, under the label of migration management, follows migratory practices much more closely than before (see Hess/Tsianos 2007; Römhild 2009). We posit that these developments are not restricted to European (and national) external border policies, but that they concern the politics of border, identity and belonging in/to the nation-state in general.

So far, states have regarded migratory practices mainly as disturbances to be repelled or integrated, to be excluded from the body politic or to be made permanent as part of it, in an absolute dichotomy of departure and arrival. Currently, however, signs of a paradigm shift towards governing migration as transmigration in the abovementioned sense are noticeable at all levels of state governance (from the EU to local authorities) and in areas of governance beyond the state. In fact, they question the semantics of integration that has been of fundamental importance to the nation-state so far – for example where concepts of "managing diversity" are operationalised in the context of local migration and order policies. This emerging paradigm's content and meaning for migration,

social and state theory remains to be determined.

The four articles collected in this special issue contribute to this effort by exploring how the relations between transnational "life" and social practice on the one hand, and norms and forms of regulation and governance on the other hand, are negotiated and accomplished in different cases.

Sabine Hess draws on and recombines ethnographic field studies conducted by the Transit Migration Research Group in Istanbul, Belgrade and the Greek Islands in order to make a point about border zones and precarity. In keeping with the method of Ethnographic Border Regime Analysis, the border is not a line, but a biopolitical assemblage (Walters 2002), a site of contestation and negotiation, where migration itself plays a constitutive part. Southeast Europe is constituted as a "migratory space". According to Hess, the government of migration reacts to its realities; examples cited are the EU Commission's "Migration routes" approach and the idea of circular migration. The EU's externalization politics transforms its margins into new zones of precarity. Camps – dotted along the margins of Europe – function as transformation machines, turning labour mobility into either refugee or illegal migration. Thus, the border regime doesn't put a stop to mobility. It does, however, regulate flows, distinguish between kinds of people and deny citizenship, thus creating precarity and informal sectors. Borders, which Hess views through a biopolitical lens, shift in appearance and function, producing fragmented citizenship (see also Ong, Cohen, and others) and spaces such as protectorates, airports etc.

joshua j. kurz departs from a similar starting point. In his contribution, kurz attempts to theorize transmigration through the Deleuzian concept of control. Concentrating on the cases of the United States of America, where he observes an internalization of control, and the European Union, where he focuses on externalization of control (or "remote control"), kurz argues that the border is no longer the primary site of migration policing. Nor is border enforcement simply replaced by population management. Rather, the emerging governance or policing of transmigration can be conceptualized as a modulation of flows, thereby fundamentally altering the relation between people, politics and place. For kurz, transmigration is directly connected to notions of precarity in different ways: on the one hand, migration works well for crisis narratives and can therefore be used to advance securitization. On the other hand, the precarization of transmigration and of transmigrants – who "enjoy" kinds of semi-citizenship (cf. Cohen 2009) – produces new (?) subjectivities.

The question of governance and biopolitics is also central to the third contribution. Sebastian Sierra Barra discusses the transformation of the governance of migration in combination with a posthumanist perspective. The idea of "autonomy" must be uncoupled from the idea of a unified subject. Sierra Barra argues this point by means of discussing the role of information and communication technology in the debate around border technology, drawing on arguments from actor-network theory and LeRoi-Gourhan's theory of co-evolution. The evolution of practices of control is linked to a "post-liberal sovereignty" (cf. Papadopoulos, Stephensen, Tsianos) that requires mobility. Cybernetics are cited as an instance of incorporation of deviation – that is, incorporation of mobility into practices of control – in a short genealogy. Border technology can be seen as a response to the "assemblage" of transnational migration under conditions of a global technosphere. Desires of control are no longer aimed at life itself (or on producing data on bodies), but at the production of a body of data.

In the final contribution, Mathias Rodatz takes a closer look at the urban governance of migration in Germany. After decades of desegregation policies, Rodatz suggests that a paradigm shift is taking place, encouraging cities to label themselves "Cities of Diversity". Instead of seeing areas with strong immigrant communities as dangerous "parallel societies" beyond governmental reach, there is a tendency to view them as potentially productive "migrant networks" to be governed in terms of risk and resources. Rodatz shows how ideas of "managing diversity" are played out in the city as a site of governance and boundary-making. He argues that these neoliberal policies dispense with an essentialising and pathologising concept of "foreigner" and that the city (or neighbourhood) becomes the focal point instead of the nation. "Foreigners" then become governable as "citizens" not of the nation-state, but of the city they inhabit, challenging the old paradigm which linked citizenship to nationality and social integration to cultural integration. Ethnicity becomes unproblematic and so does precarity.

While these contributions cover a wide variety of topics and trends, they are corresponding in that they consider migration's deterritorrializing effects not from the angle of their opposition to the state, control and society, but rather as something that is increasingly contained by these concepts. The common framing of migration as something external to society, and the corresponding role of the state acting in "defense of society" (Foucault 2003) against migration as a central force of disorder "flooding" or "invading" sovereign territory, seem to be losing momentum. While it is true that

"our cultures of the nation-state are lacking the mental resources for the lives of modern nomads", that there is an urgent need for "intellectual excavations" for such resources and that "Diaspora as a way of life" is a very promising terrain for such excavations (see Charim/Auer Borea 2012), we believe that the analyses presented here show how such resources have already become part of the way our present is controlled and will be central to future forms of state and non-state forms of governing. This should be kept in mind in search of alternative resources for living in a post-national world. The dynamics and velocity associated with transnational mobility are increasingly perceived as corresponding with rather than in opposition to the way society organizes itself. The perception of transmigration and its governance as a neoliberal project is probably strongly related to this fact. Control, here, is much more than the taming and prevention of disorder in the context of the paradigm of sovereignty criticized by Foucault, but rather resembles a form of laissez-faire aimed at harnessing the productivity of heterogeneous orders. Thus, the diagram of power is rendered relational. As such it allows for a totalizing and dystopian perspective, according to which there is nothing beyond these powers of control – but at the same time, it reveals how power always relies on potentially heterotopic practices.

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