

# **The Transformative Intersection of Anarchy and Migration in Fluid Geopolitical Realities**

**Draft Paper x 20<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Philosophy**

Leonardo Caffo

2025

# Contents

<b>Abstract</b> . . . . .	3
<b>1. Introduction</b> . . . . .	3
<b>2. Contextual Framework</b> . . . . .	4
<b>3. Migration and the Erosion of State Sovereignty</b> . . . . .	5
3.1 The New Barbarians and Liquid Borders . . . . .	5
3.2 Agamben's State of Exception and Bare Life . . . . .	6
<b>4. Anarchy as a Framework for Migration</b> . . . . .	6
4.1 Philosophical Foundations . . . . .	6
4.2 Migration as an Agent of Transformation . . . . .	7
<b>5. Towards a Borderless Geopolitical Order</b> . . . . .	8
5.1 Ethical and Practical Implications . . . . .	8
5.2 Challenges and Prospects . . . . .	8
<b>6. Expanding the Role of Lampedusa and Anarchist Ethics</b> . . . . .	9
<b>7. Conclusion</b> . . . . .	10
<b>Bibliography</b> . . . . .	10

## Abstract

This paper delves into the application of anarchist theory to the contemporary migration crisis, a phenomenon that is eroding the foundations of traditional nation-state frameworks and giving rise to unprecedented fluid geopolitical dynamics. Drawing inspiration from my recent work, “Anarchia: Il ritorno del pensiero selvaggio” (Caffo 2025), and integrating it with the analyses of Toni Negri in “Empire” and Giorgio Agamben’s conceptualization of the “state of exception,” I argue that migration is not a mere movement of populations, but a disruptive transformative force, capable of challenging state sovereignty and catalyzing the emergence of new and unprecedented forms of political organization. Migration, when viewed through the lens of anarchism, reveals itself not as a threat to be contained, but as a crucial opportunity to promote inclusive and cooperative global systems, oriented towards a borderless geopolitical order. This anarchist perspective, far from being a utopia, offers a pragmatic framework for rethinking global dynamics, proposing a vision in which human mobility is seen as a fundamental right and a driver of social change. The migration crisis, with its ethical and political implications, requires a radical rethinking of the traditional categories of belonging and citizenship, inviting us to build a world in which diversity is celebrated and artificial barriers are destined to fall. Anarchist analysis, in this context, proposes itself as a critical tool to unmask the contradictions of modern statehood, highlighting how restrictive migration policies are often the result of logics of power and control, rather than a real concern for human well-being.

## 1. Introduction

The intricate dance between migratory movements and anarchist philosophical constructs has increasingly become a central focus of my intellectual exploration. As the world witnesses unprecedented global migratory flows, these movements act as catalysts, disrupting the established geopolitical and social order, and fundamentally challenging the rigid, often arbitrary, boundaries erected by nation-states. This paper embarks on a comprehensive investigation of this dynamic interplay, weaving together a tapestry of key theoretical perspectives. This includes, but is not limited to, the provocative notion of “new barbarians,” a concept articulated by Negri and Hardt, which posits that migrants act as agents of change, eroding traditional power structures. Furthermore, the “liquid theory of borders,” which conceptualizes borders not as fixed entities but as fluid, constantly renegotiated constructs, is meticulously examined. Agamben’s profound conception of “bare life,” which highlights the precarious existence of those excluded from traditional legal protections, also plays a pivotal role. In addition to these established frameworks, I draw upon my recent exploration of “wild thought,” a philosophical approach that emphasizes the inherent value of decentralized, self-organized systems, and that illuminates the ethical and philosophical dimensions of an anarchic response to the complex phenomenon of migration (Caffo 2025, p. 6).

The central thesis of this paper asserts that the contemporary migration crisis, far from being a mere humanitarian or security issue, represents a profound and existential challenge to the very foundations of the modern state system. By adopting the lens of anarchist theory, we can expose the inherent contradictions and limitations of current approaches, and unlock new, previously unimagined possibilities for political organization and social transformation. This exploration

aims to move beyond conventional discourse, proposing a paradigm shift that recognizes the transformative potential of migration in creating a more just and equitable global order.

## 2. Contextual Framework

Contemporary migration transcends the simplistic interpretation of population displacement, emerging as a profound and multifaceted challenge to the core tenets of state sovereignty. This phenomenon encapsulates a dynamic interplay of forces that reshape traditional political, social, and economic paradigms. Negri and Hardt, in their seminal work *Empire*, argue that the relentless forces of global capitalism are systematically dismantling the once rigid and impermeable boundaries of nation-states. Within this transformative framework, migration operates not merely as a passive byproduct but as a catalytic force, intensifying the erosion of sovereignty and hastening the reconfiguration of global power dynamics.

Migrants as “new barbarians” defy the traditional conception of passive displacement. Instead, they emerge as active disruptors of entrenched, exclusionary notions of citizenship and statehood. By their very movement and existence within these contested spaces, migrants challenge and destabilize the frameworks that underpin traditional political arrangements. This phenomenon paves the way for the potential emergence of alternative, more fluid, and inclusive models of political and social organization. As I have articulated in *Anarchia*, the dissolution of rigid power structures, a hallmark of traditional state systems, creates fertile ground for the flourishing of anarchist-inspired modes of governance. These decentralized and cooperative systems offer a pathway to more equitable and adaptable societal frameworks (Caffo 2025, p. 15).

The implications of migration extend beyond the tangible act of crossing borders; they compel a reevaluation of the foundational principles upon which modern states are constructed. The figure of the migrant, within this context, becomes a powerful symbol of resistance against the oppressive forces of categorization, control, and exclusion. By exposing the constructed and arbitrary nature of borders, migration challenges their presumed immutability, unveiling the complex and often exploitative power dynamics that uphold them. This critical examination aligns with my argument that borders are not natural or inevitable phenomena but rather artifacts of historical, political, and economic processes that serve specific interests (Caffo 2025, p. 18).

Globalization, with its unprecedented levels of interconnectedness and rapid technological advancements, has further intensified the mobility of people across national boundaries. This heightened mobility has catalyzed a profound increase in cultural and social exchanges, enabling the diffusion of ideas, practices, and values across diverse populations. These exchanges, in turn, have given rise to innovative forms of social and political organization. Migrant communities, often characterized by their resilience and adaptability, have forged intricate transnational networks that transcend the limitations of traditional state structures. These networks serve not only as mechanisms of survival but also as alternative models of social organization, embodying the possibility of a post-state world.

The rise of these transnational networks poses a direct challenge to the authority and coherence of the nation-state. By operating across and beyond borders, these communities undermine the state’s monopoly on organizing human activity and imagining collective identity. This phenomenon reflects a broader trend toward reimagining political arrangements in ways that prioritize collaboration, solidarity, and inclusivity over territoriality and exclusion. In this context,

migration becomes both a consequence of and a response to the failures of the state, offering a vision of a more interconnected and cooperative global society.

### **3. Migration and the Erosion of State Sovereignty**

#### **3.1 The New Barbarians and Liquid Borders**

Negri's evocative metaphor of the "new barbarians" brilliantly captures the profound transformative potential inherent in contemporary migration. Unlike the traditional image of external invaders storming the gates of civilization, these "barbarians" emerge from within the very fabric of the global system, acting as agents of change who relentlessly undermine the rigid distinctions of state sovereignty and destabilize established, often ossified, geopolitical norms. This fundamental reconfiguration of the global landscape is vividly illustrated by the "liquid theory of borders," which challenges the conventional understanding of boundaries as fixed and immutable. Instead, it posits that borders are inherently unstable, fluid, and perpetually subject to continuous renegotiation, reflecting the dynamic nature of global flows (Negri and Hardt 2000, p. 190). The Mediterranean island of Lampedusa, strategically positioned at the crossroads of Europe and Africa, serves as a poignant and powerful symbol of this very fluidity. Lampedusa epitomizes the inherent permeability of borders and the transitory nature of migrant identities, transforming the island's unique geography into a potent metaphor for the ever-shifting boundaries between inclusion and exclusion. As I explore in "Anarchia," Lampedusa vividly highlights the paradoxes inherent in modern statehood, functioning as a space simultaneously marked by hope and despair, openness and restriction (Caffo 2025, p. 39). The daily struggles of migrants on Lampedusa underscore the profound instability of conventional geopolitical divisions, revealing their fragility in the face of human mobility. Lampedusa's geographical location, coupled with its role as a primary entry point for migrants into Europe, epitomizes the inherent tension between the unstoppable force of global human mobility and the often restrictive, exclusionary policies of nation-states. The compelling stories that emerge from Lampedusa transcend the mere depiction of the physical struggles faced by migrants; they also illustrate the profound symbolic challenge these individuals pose to rigid geopolitical constructs.

As I argue, these dynamics represent a fundamental shift towards understanding migration as an inherently political act, one that actively destabilizes and reconfigures existing power structures (Caffo 2025, p. 43). Lampedusa, in my view, serves as a powerful testament to the idea that borders are not fixed constructs but rather dynamic processes, constantly shaped by the intricate interplay of human movement and geopolitical shifts. The island's significance extends far beyond its mere geographical location; it transforms into a crucial site of resistance against rigid state frameworks, embodying the fluidity of contemporary geopolitical realities (Caffo 2025, p. 41). Moreover, the concept of "liquid borders" effectively highlights the ways in which borders are not solely physical barriers, but also complex social and cultural constructs. Migrants frequently challenge these constructs by forging their own transnational networks and vibrant communities that effectively blur the lines between different countries and cultures, creating new forms of social and cultural interaction that defy traditional state control.

### **3.2 Agamben's State of Exception and Bare Life**

Giorgio Agamben's profound concept of the "state of exception" provides a crucial lens through which to understand and illuminate the precarious and often dehumanizing condition of migrants, who are frequently relegated to a state of "bare life," existing outside the protective framework of traditional legal protections. In these liminal spaces of exclusion, where established norms and rights are suspended, migrants embody a potent force for rethinking the very foundations of geography and sovereignty, challenging the limitations imposed by the traditional nation-state (Agamben 1998, p. 134). Migrants are not merely passive victims of circumstance; their very presence within these liminal zones serves as a stark exposure of the inherent flaws and contradictions of existing power structures, demanding the urgent creation of new, more inclusive, and ethically grounded political and legal frameworks (Caffo 2025, p. 89). Agamben's incisive analysis further compels us to critically reconsider the ethical obligations of societies towards those who are forced to occupy these states of exception. The systematic exclusion of migrants from the protections afforded by the state reveals the inherent contradictions and ethical failings of sovereignty, challenging the legitimacy of systems that prioritize the preservation of territorial integrity over the fundamental rights and dignity of human beings (Agamben 1998, p. 150).

This state of exception, as I comprehensively discuss in "Anarchia," offers a critical lens through which we can meticulously examine the broader implications of sovereignty in an increasingly interconnected and globalized world. It challenges the deeply ingrained notion that sovereignty is an immutable and static construct, instead presenting it as a malleable concept that must adapt and evolve to accommodate the complex realities of global migration (Caffo 2025, p. 95). The state of exception is frequently misused and abused to justify the suspension of basic human rights and the prolonged detention of migrants in inhumane and degrading conditions. This stark reality underscores the urgent and critical need for the development of new, ethically robust, and legally sound frameworks that can effectively protect the rights of migrants and ensure their humane treatment, regardless of their legal status or origin. It demands a new global approach that recognizes the human dignity of all people.

## **4. Anarchy as a Framework for Migration**

### **4.1 Philosophical Foundations**

Anarchist thought provides a radical and transformative departure from the conventional, state-centric solutions that dominate discussions surrounding migration. As I articulate in "Anarchia," the core philosophy of anarchism fundamentally challenges hierarchical power structures, advocating instead for the establishment of cooperative and egalitarian relationships that prioritize mutual respect and shared responsibility (Caffo 2025, p. 63). By resolutely rejecting the primacy of state authority, anarchism envisions the creation of societies where mutual aid and voluntary associations, driven by principles of solidarity and cooperation, replace the coercive governance that characterizes traditional state systems. This philosophical framework finds historical validation in the existence of stateless societies, such as those meticulously analyzed by the anthropologist Pierre Clastres. Through his groundbreaking anthropological studies, Clastres demonstrates how decentralized, egalitarian communities can thrive and flourish without

the need for centralized authority, relying instead on collective decision-making processes and shared responsibilities that foster a sense of community and belonging (Clastres 1989, p. 78).

Clastres' seminal work powerfully underscores the viability and effectiveness of non-coercive systems of governance, highlighting the inherent potential for societies to function and prosper without the imposition of hierarchical structures. These profound insights resonate deeply with the core principles of anarchism, which prioritize individual autonomy and collective agency over the imposition of centralized control, recognizing the inherent value of self-determination and participatory governance (Clastres 1989, p. 85). Anarchist principles, as I argue, provide a transformative lens through which we can reimagine the governance of migration, moving beyond the limitations of traditional state-centric approaches. By focusing on the principles of decentralization, cooperation, and mutual aid, anarchist theory offers a robust framework for addressing the complex and multifaceted dynamics of global mobility without resorting to exclusionary practices that undermine human dignity and fundamental rights (Caffo 2025, p. 70). Furthermore, anarchism places a strong emphasis on the importance of direct democracy and participatory decision-making processes. This means that migrants, as individuals directly affected by migration policies, should have a meaningful and substantial say in the decisions that shape their lives, rather than being subjected to the dictates of state authorities that often disregard their perspectives and experiences. This approach ensures that migration policies are grounded in principles of justice, equity, and respect for human rights.

## **4.2 Migration as an Agent of Transformation**

The arduous journeys undertaken by migrants serve as a powerful and disruptive force, dismantling the long-held narrative of nation-states as static and monolithic entities. These journeys illuminate the undeniable interconnectedness and interdependence of global societies, revealing the intricate web of relationships that transcend national borders (Caffo 2025, p. 70). Migration, in its essence, fundamentally challenges the traditional, often exclusive, notion of citizenship, which is deeply rooted in the concept of belonging to a particular and defined nation-state. Migrants, in their lived experiences, often embody a complex tapestry of multiple identities and loyalties, rendering them incapable of being neatly categorized within the rigid and binary constructs of citizen and non-citizen. This fluidity of identity and belonging underscores the limitations of traditional citizenship models in a globalized world. Furthermore, the very act of migration itself can be interpreted as a profound and defiant form of resistance against oppressive state structures. By choosing to depart from their home countries, migrants are effectively rejecting the authority of those states and asserting their fundamental right to freedom of movement. This act of defiance challenges the state's power to control and restrict the movement of individuals, highlighting the inherent tension between state sovereignty and individual liberty. The migrant's journey becomes a testament to the human spirit's resilience and its unwavering pursuit of a better life, often in the face of overwhelming adversity. The constant movement of people highlights the artificiality of borders, and the importance of human rights above nationalistic interests. The global community must find ways to ensure that all people have the right to travel and live where they wish.

## **5. Towards a Borderless Geopolitical Order**

### **5.1 Ethical and Practical Implications**

The realization of a borderless world necessitates a profound and transformative shift in our fundamental political and ethical paradigms. Anarchism, with its emphasis on decentralization and self-governance, offers a compelling blueprint for this radical transformation, placing paramount importance on individual autonomy, mutual aid, and the establishment of horizontal structures of governance that prioritize collaboration over hierarchy. This approach directly challenges the inherently exclusionary practices of nation-states, which often prioritize national interests over human rights, advocating instead for the creation of inclusive systems that gracefully accommodate diverse identities and lived experiences (Caffo 2025, p. 145).

My exploration of post-humanist (Caffo 2022) and Mediterranean philosophies further enriches this visionary framework, highlighting the intricate and undeniable interconnectedness of human and non-human actors in the collective endeavor to shape a more sustainable and equitable world. By wholeheartedly embracing the inherent fluidity of borders and identities, anarchist thought fosters the emergence of a global order firmly rooted in the principles of shared humanity and ecological harmony, recognizing the intrinsic value of all living beings (Caffo 2025, p. 185). The transition to a borderless world would also necessitate the development of a fundamentally new approach to global governance, one that is firmly grounded in the principles of cooperation and mutual respect, rather than the destructive forces of competition and conflict. This paradigm shift would involve the creation of innovative institutions and mechanisms designed to effectively address pressing global challenges, such as the existential threat of climate change, the pervasive scourge of poverty, and the deeply entrenched inequalities that plague our world. This new governance framework would need to be adaptable, responsive, and grounded in the consent of the governed. It would need to be able to address issues of global concern with a sense of urgency, and with a focus on the needs of the most vulnerable. It would also need to be able to foster a sense of shared responsibility for the planet and its inhabitants.

### **5.2 Challenges and Prospects**

The anarchist vision of a borderless world, while undeniably compelling and deeply resonant with aspirations for global justice, confronts a formidable array of significant obstacles that cannot be overlooked. These obstacles include the deeply entrenched power of nation-states, which often prioritize their own sovereignty and interests above the needs of humanity; the stark and pervasive economic disparities that fuel migration and create divisions between nations; and the pervasive cultural resistance that arises from deeply ingrained nationalistic and xenophobic sentiments. Addressing these multifaceted challenges necessitates a comprehensive and multifaceted approach that seamlessly integrates theoretical insights derived from anarchist philosophy with practical strategies for fostering cooperation and solidarity across diverse communities and nations. Historical precedents, such as the remarkable anarchist communes that flourished in Spain during the 1930s, provide compelling evidence of the viability and effectiveness of decentralized governance and collective decision-making. These historical examples, despite their eventual suppression, offer invaluable lessons for navigating the complex and often turbulent landscape of contemporary migration and geopolitics (Bookchin 1994, p. 220). The challenges that confront



the anarchist vision of a borderless world are undoubtedly significant and complex, but they are far from insurmountable.

By fostering a global movement that emphasizes education, dialogue, and direct action, we can work to dismantle the barriers that prevent us from achieving a more just and equitable world for all. This requires building bridges between different cultures and communities, and challenging the narratives of fear and division that are often used to justify restrictive migration policies. It requires a commitment to building a world where everyone has the right to live with dignity and security, regardless of their origin or status. It also requires a long-term perspective, and a willingness to persevere in the face of setbacks and challenges. The creation of a borderless world will not happen overnight, but it is a goal that is worth striving for.

## **6. Expanding the Role of Lampedusa and Anarchist Ethics**

Expanding upon this discourse, the profound geographical and political significance of Lampedusa becomes strikingly evident. The island's inherent liminality, its position as a threshold between continents, serves as a powerful challenge to static and ossified notions of nationhood and identity, vividly exemplifying the transformative potential of anarchist ethics in shaping a more just and equitable world. Drawing from my in-depth analysis presented in "Anarchia," I argue that Lampedusa transcends its physical boundaries to become a site of radical possibility—a dynamic space where migrants and locals alike engage in complex and often fraught negotiations, forging new and innovative forms of coexistence that actively undermine the authoritarian impulses inherent in state-centric policies (Caffo 2025, p. 145). These negotiations, while often characterized by tension and conflict, reveal crucial pathways toward the realization of the decentralized, cooperative systems that anarchism advocates. Migrants in Lampedusa are not merely passive recipients of charity or victims of circumstance; they are active agents who are reshaping the island's social and political fabric, challenging entrenched hierarchies, and offering a compelling vision of collective resilience and adaptability (Caffo 2025, p. 185).

The poignant stories that emerge from Lampedusa encapsulate the very essence of anarchist thought: the creation of vibrant communities grounded in mutual respect, shared responsibility, and an unwavering commitment to dismantling oppressive structures that perpetuate inequality and injustice. These principles, as I argue, are indispensable for effectively addressing the complex and multifaceted challenges of migration in the twenty-first century (Caffo 2025, p. 200). Furthermore, Lampedusa serves as a stark and sobering reminder of the devastating human cost associated with restrictive and inhumane migration policies. The island has tragically become a poignant symbol of the immense suffering and needless death that result from the criminalization of migration, highlighting the urgent need for a more compassionate and humane approach to global mobility. The island's role as a frontline in the migration crisis demonstrates the need to reframe the debate on migration, moving away from a security-focused approach, and toward a human rights-based approach. The stories of those who arrive on Lampedusa highlight the urgent need for a global system of migration that prioritizes the dignity and rights of all people.

## 7. Conclusion

Migration, when viewed through the critical lens of anarchist theory, emerges as a potent and transformative force, possessing the inherent potential to fundamentally reshape the very foundations of global systems. By directly challenging the rigid and often oppressive structures of nation-states and passionately advocating for the creation of inclusive and cooperative societies, anarchism offers a radical yet surprisingly pragmatic framework for effectively addressing the complex and multifaceted migration crisis. This visionary approach calls for a profound and comprehensive reevaluation of deeply ingrained concepts such as borders, sovereignty, and identity, paving the way for the establishment of a more equitable and sustainable geopolitical order that prioritizes human dignity and global well-being (Caffo 2025, p. 63). In fully embracing the transformative power inherent in migration, anarchist thought transcends the narrow and divisive politics of exclusion, envisioning a world where the fundamental human rights of movement and freedom are not only recognized but actively celebrated as cornerstones of a just and equitable society.

I conclude that the meaningful integration of anarchist principles into migration policy and practice is not merely desirable or advantageous; it is an essential and indispensable prerequisite for building a future that is truly defined by inclusivity, genuine collaboration, and a shared existence that honors the inherent dignity of all people. The anarchist vision of a world without borders, far from being a utopian dream or an impractical ideal, is a practical and achievable goal that can be realized through the collective action of individuals and communities around the world. This requires a shift in consciousness, a move away from the fear and division that currently characterize the migration debate, and toward a recognition of our shared humanity. It requires building bridges between different cultures and communities, and working to dismantle the systems of power that perpetuate inequality and injustice. It requires a commitment to building a world where everyone has the right to live with dignity and security, regardless of their origin or status.

The path towards a borderless world may be challenging, but it is a path that we must take if we are to create a future that is worthy of our shared humanity.

## Bibliography

- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford University Press.
- Bookchin, Murray. 1994. *To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936*. AK Press.
- Caffo, Leonardo. 2025. *Anarchia: Il ritorno del pensiero selvaggio* [Anarchy: The Return of Wild Thought]. Cortina.
- Caffo, Leonardo. 2022. *The Contemporary Posthuman*, Ethics Press.
- Clastres, Pierre. 1989. *Society Against the State*. Zone Books.
- De Poncins, Gontran. 2023. *Kabloon*. Adelphi.
- Fisher, Mark. 2019. *Capitalist Realism*. Nero.
- Foucault, Michel. 2017. *The Militant Philosopher*.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Harvard University Press.

- La Boétie, Étienne de. 2014. *Discourse on Voluntary Servitude*.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. 1981. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*.
- Negri, Antonio. 2005. *The Italian Difference*.
- Negri, Antonio. 2011. *Political Descartes or Reasonable Ideology*.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1986. *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and None*.
- Thoreau, Henry David. 2018. *Civil Disobedience*.
- Vattimo, Gianni, and Pier Aldo Rovatti. 1998. *Weak Thought*.
- Ward, Colin. 2008. *Anarchy: A Very Short Introduction*.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1975. *Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough*.
- Wolff, Robert Paul. 2020. *In Defense of Anarchism: A Critique of Representative Democracy*.
- Zerzan, John. 2004. *Running on Emptiness: The Pathology of Civilization*.

The Anarchist Library  
Anti-Copyright



Leonardo Caffo

The Transformative Intersection of Anarchy and Migration in Fluid Geopolitical Realities

Draft Paper x 20<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Philosophy

2025

<https://www.academia.edu/129434481/>

The\_Transformative\_Intersection\_of\_Anarchy\_and\_Migration\_in\_Fluid\_Geopolitical\_Realities\_

**[theanarchistlibrary.org](https://theanarchistlibrary.org)**