Beyond Fortress Europe? New responses to migration in Europe: Dual nationality, co-development and the effects of EU enlargement

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Outline

This workshop will address a clear need for a shift in research agendas on migration-related issues, in the face of continuing population movements in Europe and the long-standing presence of some 12-13 million resident third country nationals. Most current research on EU and member state policies on migration has consistently focused on its exclusionary and control-based content: for example, the political controversies surrounding member state immigration control or the intergovernmental Schengen agreement. These studies are invariably framed with ideological denunciations of an emerging 'Fortress Europe'. Such works hold that the dominant if not sole aim of immigration policy across Europe is the closing of borders to non-European migrants. Related to this, the predominantly normative work on European citizenship has often focused on how the Maastricht Treaty's definition of EU citizenship excludes third country nationals from the rights of citizenship, and is itself a further step towards the completion of the European Fortress.

Both of these approaches overlook other ways in which the EU and member states are developing policies designed to extend civil, social and political rights to third country nationals, and to face up pragmatically to continuing labour migration (permanent and temporary) from Europe's immediate neighbours. Scholars are often distracted by the xenophobic and exclusionary rhetoric of public political debates on the subject, and fail to recognise the very different constructive developments going on behind closed doors in legal and bureaucratic venues. These developments centre around two types of policy. First, all member states are adopting measures (formal and informal) which address the question of dual nationality, allowing the simultaneous retention of a migrant's home-state nationality with the acquisition of member state nationality. Although detailed empirical work is required to illuminate national variations, there is arguably a general trend towards the facilitation of dual nationality in Europe. The workshop will examine and compare contrasting approaches to dual nationality in Europe, and will look to account for trends towards its greater acceptance. Second, member states are developing a broader range of measures that accept continuing labour migration, and seek to regulate and manage it in a more pragmatic fashion. These measures are not always even formal policies on migration. Rather, they include ad hoc bi-lateral accords on temporary labour migration; development aid (sometimes to discourage migration) to Eastern Europe and the Southern Mediterranean, involving NGOs and transnational organisations; and the construction of special migration zones on the European frontier.
Despite the manifest importance of these developments, the dominance of the ‘Fortress Europe’ approach has discouraged a comparative, integrated approach to understanding and explaining these policies. To cite but one example, the Schengen accord is generally viewed as the ultimate step in the closing of Europe’s external borders. However, while the accord clearly has some restrictionist implications, it has at the same time forced both member states (especially in Southern Europe) and East European candidates for eventual EU membership to develop new policies and measures that bring them in line with the accord’s requirements. Such cross-national cooperation leads to a very different form of managing population movements, involving new legal, bureaucratic and policing techniques. These are often innovative, yet are poorly understood because they are taking place outside of the public political eye. In exploring these issues, then, we hope to open space for work which shows that migration policy in Europe is not only or necessarily reactive and ideological. This may enable a broader theoretical understanding of migration related issues in Europe (particularly a recognition of the fact that, for all the control rhetoric, migration is happening and will continue to happen); and allow a more accurate pinpointing of the restrictive or pathological tendencies of policy co-operation, within what IR scholars call the ‘emerging EU migration regime’.

The workshop will seek to attract a wide range of scholars working on empirical studies of these developments, explicitly appealing to scholars in a number of sub-disciplines that are not often brought together. This includes scholars working on the political economy and geography of labour migration; legal specialists on EU free movement accords; specialists of the EU’s relations with southern and eastern neighbours (including development and enlargement issues); and those working on EU third pillar politics. We are looking for both comparative work and single case studies of European countries, inviting work, for example, on cross-border labour accords between Germany and Poland; French development policy with its former colonies; Spanish links with Morocco and the evolution of pan-Mediterranean co-operation; or Italian relations with Eastern Europe. Similarly, scholars working on dual nationality in any of the EU countries - the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Austria and Denmark being important examples - are welcomed, as are those working on the effects of EU enlargement on cross-border relations in Eastern Europe. Finally, as many measures are now negotiated at the EU/intergovernmental level, papers focused on EU law and institutions will be invited, particularly those looking at the relationship between Schengen and EU enlargement, in the light of problems raised by Agenda 2000 over immigration control, visas and free movement.

It is our intention to attract a mix of established and younger scholars Western Europe and North America. In addition, we hope to identify and attract others scholars unknown to us - particularly East Europeans - who may be working on this subject in different sub-disciplines. It is our aim to see the development of an international network of European scholars, one that will continue well after the ECPR meeting. Following the conference, we will publish the results of the workshop, either in the form of an edited book published by a quality press (such as Routledge or OUP) or through a special issue of a peer-reviewed journal.