

Migration and European Integration

Seminar coordinated by Dr Paolo Ruspini

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Aims and Objectives

Purpose of the seminar is to explore the link between the migratory phenomena currently underway in the European Union and the difficult setting up of a common EU immigration and asylum policy. After providing an overview of the different stages of the European immigration history, the discussion will focus on the interplay of the national and supranational level in the EU policy-making and the emerging European migration space being reshaped by the EU enlargement process(es). Even though the East-West differences are unquestionable, the evidence from historical experiences seems to indicate future European convergence in migratory phenomena. The seminar aims at demonstrating the need for ‘diversity of harmonisation’ of the EU immigration policy, while at the same time advocating for an adequate multilateral migration management inclusive of all the actors in the migration policy field, either from old, new State members or the EU neighbouring countries.

The programme will be articulated in four sessions of one or more lectures as follows: (1) Short *excursus* in the European immigration history since the Post-Second World War era; (2) Before and after Tampere (1999-): from the intergovernmental cooperation to the communitarisation of immigration policies; (3) East-West migration and the EU neighbourhood policies: the Pre- and Post- Enlargement scenario; (4) The quest for a common EU framework on immigrant integration.

At the end, students will be able to demonstrate a basic understanding of European immigration and the interrelation between migratory flows and policies in the new European space; of the way European integration processes and globalization affect migration; of the national and supranational governance in the migration policy field; of the EU Enlargement process(es) and the challenges of the EU ‘neighbourhood’; and finally, of different models of immigrant inclusion adopted in the EU countries and the quest for a common European framework.

Outline: A common immigration policy for the enlarged European Union (1999-)

International mobility and everyday contact with immigrants’ rich variety of cultures is the reality for millions of European citizens. Foreign visitors, workers and residents have become a permanent element of the European Union’s societies. As well, it is widely understood that Europe needs and will continue to need immigrants due to the alarmingly low fertility rates of most European countries. However, the accession to the European Union by Central and Eastern European countries was preceded by anxiety about the future of East-West European migration. The most pessimistic scenarios foretell the destabilization of the European migration system and a flood of Central and Eastern Europeans into the West upon the opening of the Union’s borders and labour markets. Such predictions were unquestionably exaggerated; however, the EU’s eastward enlargement accelerated ongoing movements, in particular East-West mobility.

The enlargement of the European Union entails the eastward expansion of its migration space, as demarcated by the Schengen borders. The common European migration space is, *ipso facto*, a result of European integration and globalization processes. This is so because integration implies closer links among European countries, thereby stimulating migration, whereas globalization, with its concurrent technological developments and related changes in economic and socio-demographic performance, is diminishing geographical distances between countries. Remarkable for its freedom of international human mobility and dismantlement of barriers to economic cooperation, the European migration space emerged despite the existence of regional differences, attributable to divergent historical experiences and dissimilar economic development. Nonetheless, the inclusion of Central and Eastern European countries in this space has been perceived as particularly challenging given the real and perceived differences between the East and West of Europe. This perception has shaped discussions about the future of Europe and consequently of the European migration space.

The future of the European migration space is directly related to the process of European policy integration; EU migration policy has been under formation since the Tampere meeting of the European Council in October 1999. Integration requires the interaction and attentive co-ordination of different levels of governance. The balance between three levels - *regional*, *national* and *European* - represents the basis of the European polity and the realization of the careful and progressive design of its Founder Fathers. The obligation to satisfy European (that is EU) prerogatives is most apparent in the case of the accession countries, which had to fulfil all the necessary *acquis communautaire* to be admitted to the Union. The European level of governance influences, however, the national policies of all member countries. This has led to the problem of determining and ensuring a degree of state sovereignty that would enable national governments to satisfactorily address country-specific aspects of both immigration and emigration. Finding such a balance between the European and nation-state levels is to be accomplished through discussions and negotiations involving actors from all present and prospective member States.

The widest ever enlargement of the European Union in 2004 (and the subsequent 2007 expansion to Bulgaria and Romania) have been viewed as a challenge to the formation of a common EU immigration policy. This perception is due to two considerations. Firstly, as with any endeavour, the more stakeholders, the more difficult it is to reach a consensus; the EU is now faced with the task of creating a policy framework applicable and befitting for the 27 member countries of the enlarged Union. Secondly, the Union needs to enact particular policy measures for new State members, at least in the short-term perspective. It can be argued, however, that the 2004 enlargement of the Union has sped up work on forming EU migration policy, since effort has had to be made to anticipate difficulties in incorporating the new State members into the European migration system and provide them with appropriate policy recommendations to smooth the way for their implementation of the *acquis communautaire* in migration matters. Thus, the two political processes - enlargement and formation of a common European migration policy - are simultaneous and interrelated and any careful analysis must acknowledge their close relationship.

The seminar aims to demonstrate the scope of differences and similarities between East and West in terms of migration and related policy developments. Differences between new and old State members, while sizeable and unquestionable, are overstated in the light of the pre-existing differences among 'old' State members. The

division between core and periphery in Europe is one that cuts across state borders and across the East-West divide. Furthermore, the focus on the East-West division should not allow us to forget the salience of the long-standing North-South divide in Western Europe, which has not disappeared with the enlargements.

This mapping of differences and similarities between East and West Europe in migration and migration-related policy, in the light of existing already European diversity, indicates that the key task in forming a common EU immigration policy is to find an appropriate level of harmonization. Enlargement did indeed complicate this task but does not redefine the general framework of the problem. In order to deal with this aspect, a *two-level* - national and European - *mode of analysis* will be adopted. The prerogatives of immigration policy are usually formulated at these two levels, although the importance of the regional level is increasing in the overall policy-making process.

Due to the diversity of European migration, common European migration guidelines should, generally speaking, leave enough leeway for states to deal with migratory phenomena particular to themselves. At the same time, there is no satisfactory alternative to a common approach in the field of European migration policy. European integration is proceeding slowly but steadily and the management of migratory flows towards and within the European Union requires appropriate coordination among all the actors in the migration policy field, either from old, new State members or the EU neighbouring countries.

Contents of the single sessions

1. Short *excursus* in the European immigration history since the Post-Second World War Era

Post-war migration into the western societies since the 1950s was central to the economic reconstruction of these countries and was structured by the development of the European economy that generated demand for migrant workers. The post-war economic boom in Western Europe was sustained by migrants from other European countries and beyond. There was, however, the assumption that this labour migration was temporary and that migrants would return to their countries of origin when economic conditions changed. By the late 1970s it was clear that supposed temporary migration had turned into permanent settlement. The session will provide an overview of three main periods of the European immigration history: (1) Labour migration between the 1950s and 1973-4 driven to a great extent by the exigencies of west European economic reconstruction; (2) Family migration from the 1970s onwards once labour recruitment was terminated; (3) The 'third wave' of migration developed in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War in 1989 with emphasis on asylum seeking migration and migration defined by state policies as illegal.

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2. Before and after Tampere (1999-): from the intergovernmental cooperation to the communitarisation of immigration policies

Why have European countries moved into the ‘communitarisation of migration’ and the ‘supranational integration’ areas? Purpose of this session is to investigate the developments in setting up a common EU immigration and asylum policy from the ‘intergovernmental cooperation’ in the period 1986-99 to the ongoing process of ‘communitarisation’ of the immigration and asylum policies begun with the entry in force of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1st May 1999). The turning point of our analysis is the special European Council gathered in Tampere in October 1999 with the aim to make the EU into ‘an area of freedom, security and justice’. One of the priorities of the Tampere Council was the invitation to the EU member States to elaborate a common policy on asylum and immigration. In spite of the efforts at harmonizing, the discussion will point out that the progress in this area is still the result of the combination of intergovernmental and supranational political decisions.

References

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¹ Commission of the European Communities

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3. East-West migration and the EU neighbourhood policies: the Pre- and Post-Enlargement scenario

This session attempts at investigating the link between the new European migration space and the ongoing process of the forming of a common EU immigration policy. The main subject discussed here centres around a series of juxtapositions which are the result of an interrelation between the national and supranational levels of EU policymaking: ‘enlargement(s) and restrictions’, ‘visible and invisible borders’, ‘pendulum and pillar’ defining the area of Justice, Freedom and Security, implemented since the meeting of the European Council in Tampere. The conclusive argument advances the idea that the EU should involve all the qualified actors either from old or new member States or neighbouring countries in an effective ‘open method of coordination’, aimed at harmonizing immigration and asylum policy.

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4. The quest for a common EU framework on immigrant integration

This session addresses the issue of the models of immigrant inclusion adopted by different EU countries. The discussion centres around the absence of a uniform definition of integration in the EU member States. The definition and scope of integration can be found in the June 2003 starting off Communication from the European Commission (CEC, 2003). Hereby integration has been understood “as a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third country nationals and the host society which provides for full participation of the immigrant.” The need for a EU integration framework has been brought forward and discussed by European migration experts and stakeholders. The shape of this framework and its legal or political nature still remain an open issue for debate.

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