

ABSTRACTS

Labor Migration, Mobility, and the Identity – Security Nexus

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Let the right one in? Sovereign borders and banal racism in the post-national nation-state

**A discourse analysis of the Swedish political debate on irregular immigration
Abstract**

This paper analyses the political discourse on irregular immigration in Sweden over a period of time marked by significant transformations of the territorial, social and cultural borders of European nation-states. Deconstructing the notion that irregular immigrants pose an economic, cultural or security threat to national societies sheds light on the responsibility of political actors in constructing and maintaining those assumptions. The Swedish case, selected because of its reputation as a humanitarian, tolerant and ‘anti-nationalist’ democratic welfare state, demonstrates how political actors are confronted with a set of ideological dilemmas when debating policies regarding irregular immigration. These tensions are between protecting national sovereignty and security of the state and accommodating neoliberal globalization; between safeguarding universal human rights and asserting the social boundaries of the welfare state; and between the commitment to international solidarity and the protection of the cultural, or even racial, boundaries of national identity. The empirical findings also suggest that even a ‘post-national’ national identity may be underpinned by structural discrimination, welfare chauvinism and ‘banal racism’ that not only justifies the exclusion of irregular immigrants, but also effectively prevents part of the citizenry from enjoying substantive membership. Furthermore, the paper hopes to expand the understanding of how the territorial, social and cultural borders that exclude members from non-members are proliferated throughout society, and of how these borders are justified.

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SECURING EUROPE with a Human Face

This paper problematizes the applicability of the concept of “external governance” and the Commission’s “wider Europe” perspective on the EU’s relations with Turkey as well as with the Southern and Eastern neighbourhood. The basic assumptions of the paper are: (i) Within the scope of recognition “that state security and broader human security are inextricably interlinked”; (ii) EU’s relationship with its direct neighbourhood is increasingly conceptualised within the ‘external governance’ approach, which is analysis of mechanisms and mode of interaction within the process of modification of boundaries between the EU and its direct proximity in terms of geopolitical, institutional/legal transactional and cultural what is called ‘politics of inclusion. This new mode of governance contains both ‘vertical (hard) and horizontal (soft) modes. While the former refers to existence of formal procedures, monitoring and sanctioning associated with conditionality, compliance or negotiations, the later usually produce less constraining instruments that are based on mutual agreement, coordination and competition and often prescribe procedural modes of interaction rather than final policy solutions.

However, the strategy of ‘external governance’ poses a number of problems such as salient examples of conflicts of interests which may seriously inhibit a strategy based on the uni-directional export of EU policies and templates, the lack of additional material resources to be invested in the near abroad, and the position of Russia as a second regional power in the East, and the continuity of intra- and inter-state conflicts in both regions (Lavanex 2004).

As a substitute, we advocate, ‘external governance’, as a security strategy, should entail an EU with of a more institutional flexibility; allowing to develop different scenarios in the EU-neighbouring relations, not least with the candidate countries; and targeting for a deeper cooperation on defence and security issues that mitigates dangers of spill-overs from the conflicts in the EU’s Eastern and Southern neighbourhood.

We argue that in an emerging geo-politics, external governance should therefore be understood more than the extension of parts of the Union’s *acquis communautaire* beyond the circle of member states towards their immediate neighbourhood implying

not only a shift in the territorial scope of EU governance, but also should signal a shift in the traditional understanding of security.

We consequently suggest the concept of human security as the complementary to the traditional territorial security, expanding the scope of protection to include a broader range of threats, including economic deprivation, political and personal security, environmental pollution, and health in an integrated way that requires increasing the efficiency and problem-solving capacity of the EU. Therefore, unlike rather 'one-way' understanding of the concept of external governance, we suggest that there is a need to reconsider the concepts of human security, democracy, human rights and development with a more pluralistic and more shared modus. This reconsideration should be pluralistic both in terms of actors, i.e. it should involve not only governments, but a broader participation of different actors, such as regional and international organizations, non-governmental organizations and local communities, and in terms of values that are shared (and not imposed) by the majority of participants with an aim of increasing the protection and promotion of human survival (freedom from fear), daily life (freedom from want), and the avoidance of indignities (life of dignity); in short, people's well-being.

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Ukrainian female labor migrants in Poland

Ukrainian citizens represent most numerous groups of migrants (both registered and irregular) in Poland. Impact of the Ukrainian female labor migrants on the Polish job market has been studied mostly from demographic perspective. Psychological approach has been adopted very rarely. Current research conducted in 2013, attempts to fill this gap. Twenty irregular Ukrainian female labor migrants (aged 28-65) residing in Poland have been interviewed. All of them were employed in family-related services (for instance as caretakers, house cleaners). Semi-structured interviews have been conducted in Polish or in Ukrainian subject of language proficiency among respondents). The results were analyzed according to *Relative Acculturation Extended Model*. Eight areas of psychological functioning of migrants were analyzed according to acculturation strategies, (assimilation, integration, marginalization, separation), adopted by respondents in each of them. Specific gender related problems were discovered which mediated successful vs. unsuccessful cultural adaptation of both host and guest population. Attitudes towards Ukrainian migrants of both Polish employers specifically, and Polish society in general, as well as provisions of legal mainstream politic, will create a background for analysis of the research results.

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Comparing Immigration Policy: German and Russian Experience

Russia and Germany have the world's largest immigrant populations after the USA. Both countries need migrants in order to be able to meet their social obligations and maintain the demographic balance, because their own population ageing and shrinking in size. Due to those facts, the geographical review of immigration policies in Germany and Russia has an essential issue.

The current paper aims an analysis of different stages in the development of the immigration legislation; compares the immigration law's application and evaluates the abstruseness and patchiness regarding migrants' rights and welfare benefits in both countries. The paper's findings summarizes the good practices and scenarios which both aforementioned countries could learnt from each other by exchanging ideas and law enforcement strategies.

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From Refugees to Terrorists:

Emerging Transnational Challenges from Syria to the European Union and Turkey

The growing numbers of Syrian refugees in Turkey, and resulting transnational challenges ranging from trafficking (e.g. human, arms, drugs) to terrorist infiltration and radicalization puts forward the need to timely discuss the available policy options for Turkey and the European Union (EU). Can we talk about policy convergence or divergence? How should both parties approach to the deteriorating situation in Syria to prevent the humanitarian tragedy in Syria, and its spill-over to the neighboring countries? These are among the key questions this article explores in light of the comparative analysis of Turkish and European policies toward Syria. Accordingly, this article concentrates on Turkish and European policies toward Syrian refugees and the policy implications of their actions (or inaction) for the potential of multilateral cooperation between the EU and Turkey in critical areas such as humanitarian intervention/aid, crisis management, border security, and counterterrorism.

KEY WORDS: European Union (EU) and Turkey: Policy Convergence/Divergence, Counterterrorism Cooperation; Syria: Refugees, International Humanitarian Intervention/Aid

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Turkey as an Emerging Destination Country for Immigration: Transformation of Migration and Asylum Policies in Turkey

Turkey is a multiethnic, multicultural and multid denominational country, home to approximately 50 different Muslim and/or non-Muslim ethnic groups, including Sunni Turks, Alevi Turks, Sunni Kurds, Alevi Kurds, Circassians, Lazis, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, Greeks, Arabs and Assyrians. However, despite the last decade of democratizing reforms, the Turkish state has not given full official recognition to the ethnically and culturally diverse nature of Turkish society since the republic's foundation in 1923. The country's ethno-cultural and denominational heterogeneity results from diverse waves of migration that have swept across Anatolia throughout its history. New migratory flows have again turned modern Turkey into a destination country for immigration. This paper discusses the state of contemporary immigration flows to Turkey as well as the challenges and opportunities they present. The paper will trace the origins and development of the Europeanization process of Turkey's migration and asylum policy. While laws and regulations pertaining to Turkey's immigration regime mainly stemmed from the early years of the Republic, they have come increasingly under scrutiny. In an effort to keep up with the transformation of Turkey from a country of emigration to a country of immigration and, at the same time, to align Turkish laws with the EU's *acquis communautaire*, a reform process started in the late 1990's and is still going on today. The process to transform Turkey's migration and asylum policy along with the *acquis communautaire* has culminated in a new and comprehensive law in April 2013, which acknowledges the need to structure the emergence of an integration sector. The paper draws special attention to the dynamics of the Europeanization process as well as to the fact that Turkey is now becoming a country of immigration.

Gülay Sahin

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Rural Turkey in Copenhagen and Istanbul

Is the distance between a Scandinavian, and a Turkish city the same, when departure is from a rural Turkish village anno 1960?

The Study gives voice to the migration narratives of two groups of low skilled Turkish men, who simultaneously migrated from rural Turkey to geographically different but demographically similar destinations: Urban Istanbul and Copenhagen.

Through interviews with a homogenous group of migrants in Istanbul and Copenhagen, the reasons, joys and challenges of migration is analyzed. By comparing the results of the interviews in each city, "the narrative of rural Turkey", is illuminated.

Furthermore the comparisons determine, if the dominant contemporary conceptions of failed integration of Turkish migrants in Danish society, is due to religio- cultural clashes as often claimed, or a clash between urban and rural life.

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Informal economies and alternative systems of belonging among Central Asian migrants in Russia

Labour migration and increased mobility in general became pressing issues not only in the field of migration politics but also in social sciences to reconsider basic understanding of social and economic construction of changing societies. Labour mobility became both a positive and negative development for both receiving and sending countries. Restricting policies to control mobility (*propiska*, visa regulations, work permits) led to the flourishing of underground economies and black labour all over the world. This of course also promoted alternative structures of belonging and strengthened religious, ethnic and kinship ties. Economic non-integration of labour migrants in Russia creates space for illegal economies structured by non-state systems of belonging, which serves in turn the main basis for collective identification by migrants. Religious identity is another important element of this puzzle to consider when looking at migrants in Russia. Based on my previous research on migration and identity in Uzbekistan I would like to present some of the preliminary thoughts about the link between informal economies and collective identification among migrants in Russia.

Jacob Lindgaard

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Glocal Islamic Calvinists: The Gülen Network in Denmark

The so-called “17 December” (2013) graft probe in Turkey brought the Gülen network into the center of media attention. Who is Gülen? What is the nature of his network? Why did it fall out with Erdoğan’s AKP government? And, being able to take on Erdoğan, how powerful is it?

Part of the answer to these questions is to be found in the fact that the Gülen network has been very apt at maneuvering the economic and political opportunity structures in Turkey, but perhaps more importantly within the other-national, transnational and global dynamics that Turkish migrants in Europe and the US are exposed to.

In this paper, I will present my work in progress on the Gülen network in Denmark as a case study of how the Gülen network mobilizes to further its interests, both locally, globally and in relation to Turkey. The paper will stay neutral on the heated debate on whether these interests are dialogue, peace building, and ‘Islamic Enlightenment’, as proponents suggest, or exclusionary power, Turkish nationalism, and a conservative form of Islam, as the sceptics claim.

Thus, the paper merely aims to illustrate how Turkish migrants affiliated to the Gülen network in Denmark maneuver the Danish national and global, economic and political opportunity structures to support and develop the group’s interests (whatever they are).

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Dilemmas and opportunities of dual citizens: The Euro Turkish experience

Until a couple of decades ago, being a citizen in only one state was the rule. However, dual citizenship has increased dramatically in recent decades. This dual legal status is still a puzzling trend for political theory because citizenship and political loyalty to sovereign states were thought to be indivisible until recently. The proliferation of dual citizens and the acceptance of it call into question the assumption that overlapping membership violates the principle of popular sovereignty and that multiple ties and loyalties of citizens in transnational spaces contradict state sovereignty. There are also less academic objections regarding the integration of immigrants into the “receiving” country and an alarmist security perspective considering the risks of double allegiances and interests of people in different countries, and, most of all, to different cultural and political systems.

Nowadays, the large majority of European countries accept dual citizenship. Such legal arrangements make possible for immigrants to retain the citizenship of their country of birth and pass it on to their children. For immigrants’ descendants dual citizenship entails opportunities and dilemmas. The double legal status might be regarded as a source of political inclusion in two countries but also as a blurred identity and as divided political allegiances. When analyzing the experiences of young people with Turkish ancestry in Sweden and in France, this paper shows that dual citizenship might not necessarily promote divided allegiances. It could actually act in an unexpected way reinforcing their sense of belonging with their country of birth. The results of this study show that despite the large number of dual citizens among young people with Turkish ancestry, their civic behavior is oriented towards only one of the countries where they are citizenships. There is also a symbolic window of opportunity to exercise the rights and duties from an old-fashion perspective of citizenship in Turkey. However, some of the consequences of acquiring or inheriting Turkish citizenship can benefit their integration in Europe and re-affirm their allegiances with their own country of birth.