

BORDERS AND MIGRATIONS IN WIDER EUROPE

13-14 October 2011, Kiev

Europeanisation and its Ambiguities: A Case of Conflicting Geopolitical Identities?

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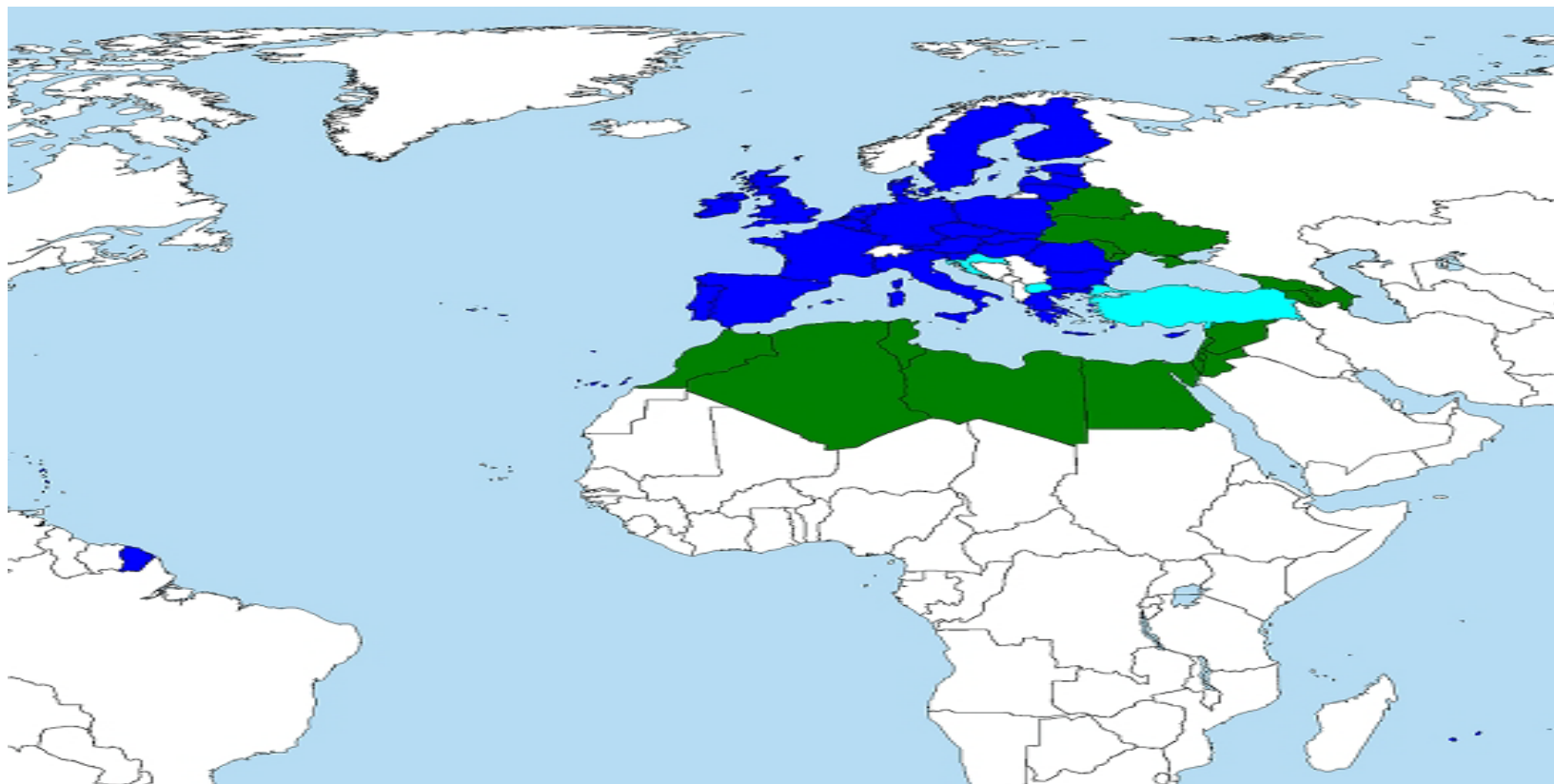


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Research Background

- “Regional Stability, Borders and Migration”: funded by the Finnish Foreign Ministry
- EUDIMENSIONS: FP 6 project 2006-2009
www.eudimensions.eu
- EUBORDERREGIONS: FP 7 project 2011-2015
www.euborderregions.eu

ENP: New regional co-operation and zonation(?) between the EU and neighbours



Arguments

- EU is a major force for social transformation within and outside its borders
- But the “end of enlargement” poses the EU with a dilemma, an identity crisis – ENP is a response
- ENP reflects question of geopolitical identity and territoriality of the EU - a means to consolidate political community but also to “organise” a wider regional space
- This affects the development of CBC between the EU and neighbouring states in the Post-Cold War context

Europeanisation and CBC

- Europeanisation can be understood as a process through which EU values, norms and policy concerns are diffused within *and* beyond its borders (see Jones and Clark 2008, Radelli 2004).
- “Europeanisation” takes off as research issue with the EU’s post-1989 enlargement - conditions for EU membership establish mechanisms of institutional and social convergence to EU norms
- ENP: The formal and informal dissemination of “European” values across nations and cultures; The emergence of a geopolitical space of action dominated by the European Union



EU Geopolitical Identity – Idealist with Conditions Attached

- ENP clearly a “soft” power mechanism with which to enhance EU influence
- EU model of regional co-operation is *partnership*: includes economic, social, cultural and environmental agendas
- EU offers co-ownership of its incipient foreign policy
- EU addresses mutual regional concerns rather than particular state-like interests
- Civil society seen by EU as a major player in cbc
- But there are clear rules and conditions attached to partnership



EU Geopolitical Identity – Traditional Realism and Civilisational Fetishes Have Not Yet Vanished

- EU's cooperation and security-oriented agendas and compete with each other for geopolitical influence
- Regional war against drugs, illegal migration, terrorism and crime
- Redoubled focus on reproducing “EU-European values” through conditionality rather than through deeper societal engagement



Europeanisation: How is it unfolding within Processes of CBC?

- Selective political socialisation
 - Approximation to EU agendas, values, national minority policies appeals to and privileges certain groups
- Conditionality: incentives for institutional change in EU image
 - Civil society opportunities for issue-advocacy
 - Domestic Agenda Setting
- Securitisation: border management regimes, visas
- Institutional tutelage
 - Professionalisation (public servants, civil society)
 - Appropriation of EU discourses



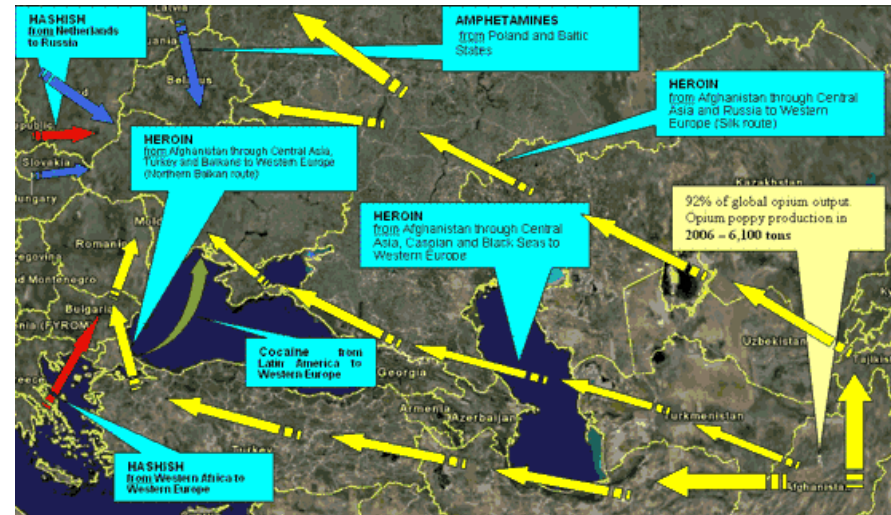
Impacts on Neighbouring Borders

- Consolidation of the Schengen Regime
- New border regimes between Post-Soviet states
 - Ukrainian borders now demarcated with RF and Belarus
 - New border controls being put in place
- Extension of the EU's border security perimeter
 - Compliance with EU standards in documentation, border management
 - Regional war on drugs
 - Re-admission agreements with the EU
 - Assistance in treatment of undocumented migrants <...
 - Expertise in management of troublesome borders outside the EU (e.g. Transnistria) BOMOLUK

Targeted Assistance Programmes – EU funded, implemented with International Organisations

- European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM)
- Border management improvement in Ukraine and Moldova: (€ 6.6M, RAP 2005).
- The GUMIRA project (Mainstreaming readmission and treatment of illegal immigrants) (With ILO)
- European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) (UNDP implemented)
- Enhancing Border Management at the Moldovan – Ukrainian State Border (BOMOLUK)

BUMAD: Belarus Ukraine Moldova Assistance in the Fight Against Drugs Traffic



BOMOLUK...and Transnistria

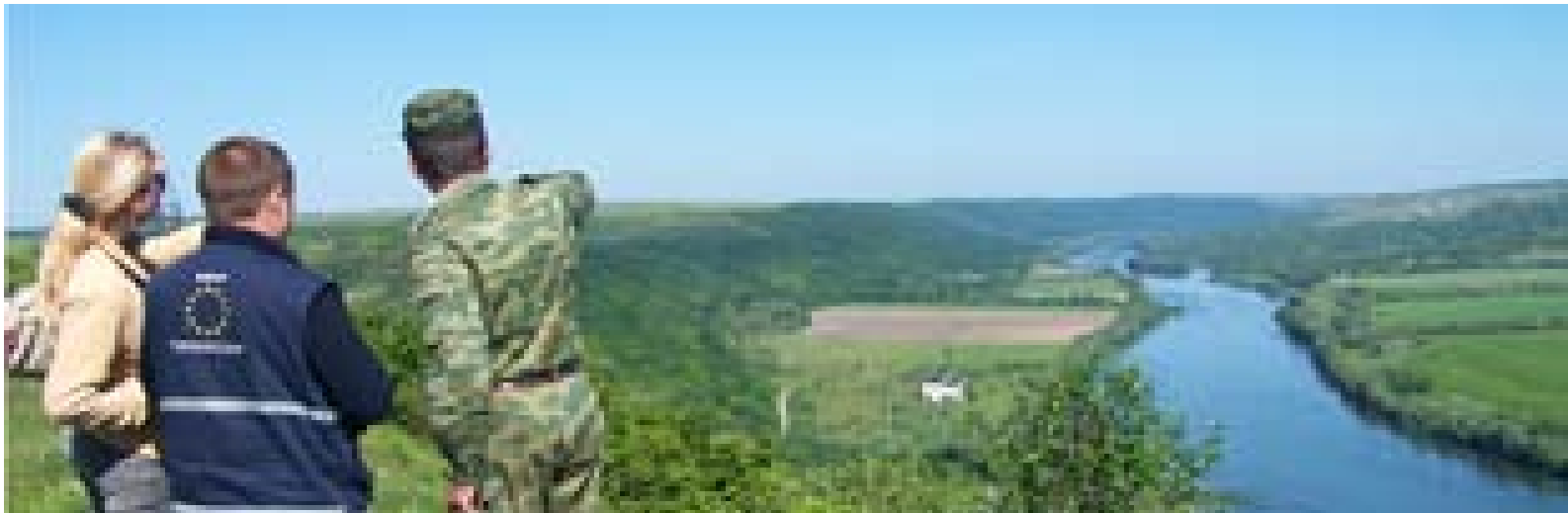


Excellent Border Crossing Points

- <http://www.eubam.org/en/multimedia/photos/esseys/BCPs>

EUBAM International Youth Camp

- <http://www.eubam.org/en/multimedia/photos/events/7>



Institutional Impacts of Europeanisation Remain Ambivalent

- EU bureaucratises and centralises due to its focus on management, control
- Highly technical/managerial focus of policies
- CSO elites and international organisations in capital cities privileged
- Local, regional civil society groups often marginalised; rarely included in Technical Assistance Programmes
- Lack of deeper societal engagement

Critical Questions of ENP and Border Issues Need Scrutiny

- Selective access that discriminates against many sectors of the population in neighbouring states (visas, work)
- The use of borders to create categories of cultural, ethnic, geographical distinctions
- Policy convergence and conditionality: is making the neighbours more like the EU the goal?
- Exaggerated focus on security skews co-operation agendas?
- Possible changes with the ENP's “New Response”?

Thank you for your kind attention



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