

Contents

<i>List of Tables, Figures and Boxes</i>	viii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
1 Studying Migration and Mobility in the European Union	1
Migration and EU population	5
Key questions	6
The EU's role	7
The complexities of European migration politics and policy	15
Organization of the book	18
2 Migration and Migration Policy in Europe	21
Migration and refugee flows in Europe since World War II	23
Making sense of migration	28
Understanding the policy process: policy failure or securitization?	39
A framework for analysis of European migration politics	45
Summary	50
3 The EU Dimension of Migration and Asylum Policy	51
The multilevel setting of EU policy	54
Relocation, relocation, relocation	67
Analysing the effects of EU migration and asylum policy	71
Summary	75
4 Labour Migration	76
Explaining labour migration policy	77
Narratives	82
Political debate	88

vi *Contents*

Administrative practice and implementation	97
Conclusions	102
5 Family Migration	103
The centrality of family migration	103
The right to family migration?	105
Narratives	106
Political debate	112
Administrative practice and implementation	118
Conclusion	120
6 Irregular Immigration	122
The dark side of admissions policies?	123
Narratives	125
Terms and their consequences	128
Political debate	135
Administrative practice and implementation	143
Conclusions	149
7 Asylum	150
EU cooperation on asylum: key themes	151
Narratives	157
Political debate	161
Administrative practice and implementation	167
Conclusion	174
8 Mobility, Citizenship and EU Enlargement	176
The EU framework	177
Narratives	178
Political debate	190
Administrative practice and implementation	195
Conclusion	199
9 Immigrant Integration	201
Narratives	203
Political debate	209
Administrative practice and implementation	217
Conclusion	221

Contents vii

10	Conclusions	225
	Multilevel migration politics?	226
	Europeanization and convergence	232
	<i>Bibliography</i>	235
	<i>Index</i>	250

Chapter 1

Studying Migration and Mobility in the European Union

'It was filthy, we had nothing, no water, little food, but it was our only hope,' said one asylum-seeker from Afghanistan to describe his experiences in a makeshift camp close to the town of Sangatte on the coast of northern France. He spoke as the French government sent bulldozers to destroy the camps set up by people whose hope was to somehow enter the UK. *The Guardian* newspaper in the UK condemned the approach of the French and British governments by arguing that the governments acted first and only thought about the consequences of their actions later. It also condemned what it called 'buck-passing' between European Union (EU) member states seeking to offload immigration problems onto each other (*The Guardian* 2009).

What do these events and this newspaper story about them tell us about migration and mobility in the EU? First, they hint at some of the variation in the way different types of migrants are treated in politics and the media. In this case, the migrants in question were people seeking refuge. The story would have been different if the migrants concerned were high-skilled labour migrants or seeking to join family members. Second, asylum-seeking migration has an EU-wide resonance. The story recounted above suggests that this cooperation is actually quite weak as the French and British seem to prefer to offload problems rather than seek a Europe-wide framework. Third, by making a decision between what it calls 'thought' and 'action' when discussing the plight of these people, *The Guardian* alludes to different stages of the political process and to a fairly widespread consensus that migration policies fail because 'thought' and 'action' do not connect. By failure is meant that policies fail to achieve their objectives, or could actually make things worse.

These perspectives all offer fascinating ways of exploring the dynamics of migration and mobility in the EU: through thinking about different types of migration; exploring policy responses;

2 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*

analysing the EU framework within which national policies are now located; and considering the notion of policy failure. The challenge that we set for ourselves is to integrate these various elements into a coherent analytical approach that provides a framework for understanding the EU's impact on migration and mobility (and vice versa). Before we do that, however, there are two important issues that need to be dealt with.

First, we need to specify what we mean by migration. We define an international migrant as someone living outside their country of origin either regularly or irregularly for a period of 12 months or more (IOM 2008:2). We thus exclude tourism and short-term travel, for example for business purposes. Look beneath the surface of the 12-month definition and things get more complicated because there is real uncertainty about the meaning of international migration. Temporary and seasonal migration flows are clearly important, but may not fall within the framework of this 12-month definition that is commonly used by policymakers. Immediately, it becomes apparent that international migration can come in many shapes and forms and be simultaneously represented as a solution (to an ageing population, skills shortages), a problem (because of labour market competition or as a threat to national identity) and – perhaps more realistically – as a natural component of an interdependent and globalized international system.

Of the world's 6.7 billion people around 3 per cent are international migrants. So with 97 per cent of the population remaining immobile, international migration is in fact a rather unusual condition. One reason for the relative lack of mobility is the various social and psychological costs of migrating to another country. After all, it is risky to leave one's own country, family and friends and move to another. Another reason is that the countries that receive a lot of migrants – or 'receiving states' – have established elaborate schemes to regulate and control international migration. This is partly why population movement *within* the borders of one country is far more common than international migration. In most countries, such internal movement is subject to few or no restrictions. It is usually only where mobility involves movement between states that it is the object of attempts at control and restriction. It is these efforts to regulate cross-border movement into and between EU countries that are the focus of this book.

Second, as can be seen from this book's cover, we refer to migration *and* mobility. We need to be clear from the outset about the

Studying Migration and Mobility in the European Union 3

distinction that we make between these two types of population movement.

International migration refers to movement from outside the EU by people who are not nationals of a member state. This extra-EU migration is by non-EU or third country nationals (TCNs).

EU mobility refers to nationals of EU member states – exercising their rights of free movement as EU citizens.

The prevailing image for most people when ‘immigration’ is mentioned may well be movement from outside the EU by TCNs. The image then conjured is of the kind of scene we sketched in this book’s first paragraph describing the plight of Afghans living in a makeshift camp in northern France. This is not the whole picture; far from it, in fact. International migration is incredibly diverse, fluid and fast-changing.

The key point here is that there are important legal, social and political distinctions made at EU level between ‘migration’ by non-EU citizens and ‘mobility’ or ‘free movement’ by EU citizens. As we show, mobility rights for nationals of member states/EU citizens are a key feature of the Treaty of Rome (1957) and of subsequent treaties and legislation at EU level.

Extra-EU migration by TCNs is a relative newcomer on the EU policymaking scene, essentially since the Maastricht Treaty came into effect in 1993. And it is only since the Amsterdam Treaty (1999) that migration and asylum have been included in the EU’s main legal and political framework. For this reason, we focus in particular on the period since the Maastricht Treaty and show that there is something new and distinct about the post-cold-war context. We see:

- greater intensity of migration flows to and within the EU;
- more countries affected by immigration;
- a growing role for the EU; and
- ostensibly new manifestations of the immigration problem, for example growing concern about irregular flows, people-smuggling and human trafficking.

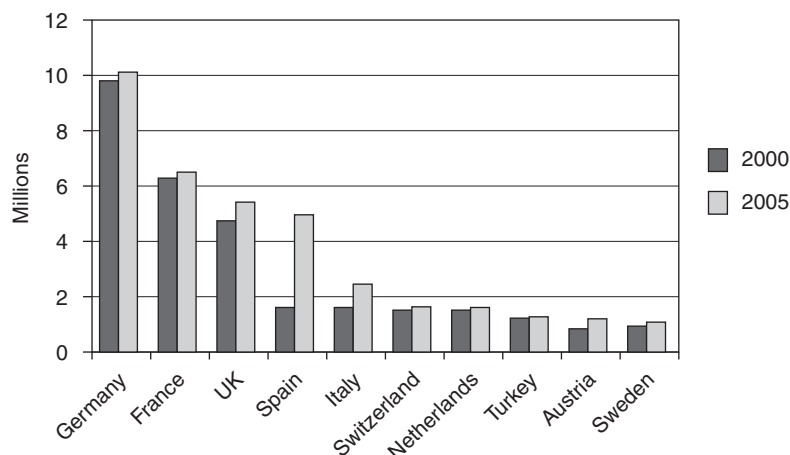
By analysing mobility, migration and asylum in this post-cold-war period, this book deals with a highly topical set of issues whose political salience seems unlikely to decline. In 2005, there were 44.1 million migrants living in western and central Europe. This includes the 27 EU member states, three European Economic Area

4 Migration and Mobility in the European Union

(EEA) states of Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, Switzerland and two EU candidate countries, Croatia and Turkey. Of these, around 30 per cent originated from other western or central European countries. In absolute terms, Germany was Europe's largest country of immigration, with 10.1 million migrants living on its territory in 2005. Next on the list was France with 6.5 million migrants, followed by the UK with 5.4 million, Spain with 4.8 million and Italy with 2.5 million. Figure 1.1 shows the migrant population in the 10 central and west European countries with the largest migrant populations, in absolute terms.

Spain and Italy are often referred to as 'new' countries of immigration, although migration to these countries accelerated at the end of the late 1980s and early 1990s so the novelty of immigration is waning. In both, there has been a rapid increase in the numbers of immigrants. Between 2000 and 2005, Spain's migrant population rose by a staggering 194.2 per cent (3.1 million immigrants) while in Italy during the same period the numbers of migrants increased by 54.1 per cent (884,000 immigrants). Both the Spanish and Italian government have been keen to see a stronger EU role in managing migration. In August 2009, the

Figure 1.1 *Growth in the immigrant population in the top ten immigration countries in central and western Europe, 2000–5*



Source: Data from IOM (2008:456).

Studying Migration and Mobility in the European Union 5

Italian foreign minister, Franco Frattini, called for solidarity among EU member states, by which he meant the proportional redistribution of migrants across the EU (*Corriere della Sera* 23 August 2009). In February 2010 rumblings of anti-immigration discontent were reported in Spain as the immigrant population had risen steeply from 2 to 12 per cent of the Spanish population (a total of 5.6 million people) in the first decade of the twenty-first century. This was at a time of economic recession and the level of unemployment approaching 4 million.

Newer member states that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 are also showing signs of becoming immigration countries. In 2005, there was a positive net migration balance (meaning that more people were entering than leaving) in Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia. That said, in Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania more people left than entered. Of these, however, many were moving to other EU member states – for example Poles moving to the UK benefiting from EU free-movement provisions, but with cheap and easy travel options – a ‘Ryanair effect’ – making return very feasible.

Migration and EU population

Migration has been, is and will continue to be an important factor in EU population change. EU-wide demographic data consistently show declining birth-rates and raise concern about the effects of an ageing population. This has led to discussion about the role that migration can play in offsetting the effects of an ageing population. In 2008, the EU population reached 495.4 million, with 4 people of working age (aged 15–64) for each person over the age of 65. By 2060, this ratio is projected to fall to 2:1, that is 2 people in work for every person retired. These changes are not evenly distributed. Poland and Slovakia are projected to see an increase in the median age of their population by 15 years between 2008 and 2060 whereas the increase in the median age is expected to be less than 5 years in Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Sweden and the UK.

Table 1.1 shows that migration is projected to remain an important driver of population growth in the EU. Immigration could be part of the solution to population ageing because it means importing younger people, but it is not a magic bullet – not least

6 Migration and Mobility in the European Union

Table 1.1 *Projections of population change in the EU, 2008–60 (millions)*

Estimated population, 1 January 2008	495.394
Cumulative births	250.897
Cumulative deaths	298.799
Natural change	-47.902
Cumulative net migration	58.227
Total change	10.324
Projected population, 2060	505.718

Source: Data from Eurostat (2008).

because migrants get old too. This means that high levels of immigration would need to be sustained, as the previous wave of migrants themselves would age. There are other possible solutions such as an increase in the retirement age or increased female participation in the labour market that can also help to address some of these problems. It also seems reasonable to suppose that high and sustained levels of immigration to EU member states would cause some political controversy.

Key questions

Thus far we have demonstrated the political salience and complexity of immigration, but to chart a path through them we identify three sets of questions central to our analysis:

- Given that international migration is highly diverse in terms of the forms it takes, how do we make sense of this diversity and relate it to the politics of migration? How can we distinguish, for example, between the ways in which issues such as asylum, high-skilled migration, illegal/irregular migration and intra-EU mobility become social and political issues?
- Given that the politics of migration are complex, how can we make sense of the ways in which migration is articulated as a concern in public debate, in decision-making and, then, in policy implementation?

Studying Migration and Mobility in the European Union 7

- Given that these are now issues with distinct EU competencies, how can we make sense of this EU role and understand what it means for the politics of immigration in Europe?

These three sets of questions concern themselves with different but closely related aspects of the politics of migration and mobility in Europe. They take seriously the distinctions between: different types of migration; different stages of the political process; and the multilevel context of EU politics.

The EU's role

There is a common EU migration and asylum policy, which has been further consolidated by the Lisbon Treaty after it finally limped to ratification in December 2009 (it was signed by national leaders in December 2007). EU policies do not cover all aspects of migration and asylum (admissions policy being a very notable exception), but they have had important effects on border controls, asylum and irregular migration. EU action has also played a key role in policy change and adaptation in southern European countries such as Greece, Italy and Spain and was a crucial component of adaptation by the 12 countries that joined the EU between 2004 and 2007 (10 of them in central and eastern Europe).

The EU Treaty framework established back in the 1950s for what we now know as the EU provided mobility rights for workers holding the nationality of a member state. This provision for free movement for workers has since been extended to a more general right of free movement (CEC 1997; Guild 2005; Favell 2007). Mobility rights for EU citizens are central to the framework for economic integration established back in the 1950s.

In contrast, migration from outside the EU by TCNs was not part of the founding Treaty and was not included until the Maastricht Treaty came into effect in 1993 and, even then, only in a loose, informal way that kept member states firmly in the driving seat. A key impetus for cooperation between EU governments at Maastricht was fear of large-scale migration in the aftermath of the cold war. Europe's post-1989 geopolitical shakeup played a key role in driving EU action on migration because the understanding of Europe changed, becoming wider – as too did the perception of migration potential from the south and east to the EU.

8 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*

Box 1.1 A potted history of EU mobility, migration and asylum policy

Mobility rights

Free movement for workers was a key provision of the Treaty of Rome (1957). An EU-wide law introduced in 2004 replaced 10 previous pieces of legislation to create a common EU-wide framework specifying that all EU citizens have a right to move to another member state, to take family members with them and to become resident in that state, provided that they are able to support themselves.

Immigration and asylum policy

Cooperation on internal security developed in the 1970s, but there was particular acceleration in the 1980s linked to single market integration in the form of the Schengen Agreement (1985), initially between the Benelux countries, France and Germany, as well as looser forms of intergovernmental cooperation within the EC.

The Maastricht Treaty formalized cooperation by creating an intergovernmental ‘pillar’ dealing with Justice and Home Affairs. This pillar was intergovernmental because it was based on unanimous decision-making, largely precluding a role for supranational EU institutions such as the Commission, Parliament and Court of Justice.



By 2009 and the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty both migration by TCNs and mobility by EU citizens had become central components of EU action. They must be analysed together if we are to understand how national responses have developed and, moreover, how these national responses mesh with the developing EU framework. Box 1.1 provides a potted history of key EU developments before the Lisbon Treaty and introduces themes that will be covered in more detail in the chapters that follow. What is demonstrated generally is the intensification of EU action since the end of the 1990s.

The Lisbon Treaty was agreed in 2007, but was only finally ratified at the end of 2009. It was rejected in referenda in the Netherlands and Ireland and encountered strong opposition in other member states too. As Box 1.2 shows, the Lisbon provisions



The Amsterdam Treaty, which came into force in 1999, was important because it moved this intergovernmental cooperation by taking migration and asylum out of the JHA pillar and putting them alongside free movement in a new Title IV of the Treaty covering free movement, migration and asylum. This created a legal base for EU action on migration and asylum policy, as well as extended jurisdiction to the Commission, European Parliament and European Court. Articles 62-4 set out Community competencies in the area of internal and external border controls and conditions for the ability of TCNs to travel within the territory of the member states

In particular, article 63 set out Community competencies in the area of asylum and immigration policy:

- responsibility for assessing asylum claims;
- minimum standards on reception of asylum-seekers;
- minimum standards on qualification as refugees;
- procedures for granting or withdrawing refugee status; measures on temporary protection and displaced persons;
- conditions of entry and residence for TCNs
- procedures for issuing long-term visas;
- action against illegal immigration;
- defining the rights of legally resident TCNs.

The Nice Treaty (2001) made provision for use of QMV and co-decision in areas of migration and asylum.

mark a further development of the EU's common migration and asylum policy. They are consistent with the direction of travel established by the Amsterdam Treaty and have a strong focus on those forms of migration defined as unwanted by member states' policies, such as asylum and irregular immigration. Box 1.2 specifies Lisbon's key provisions.

All the various issues covered by the treaties specified in Boxes 1.1 and 1.2 are analysed more fully in the chapters that follow. It is not possible to account for the contemporary politics of migration in Europe without accounting for the EU dimension; but, likewise, this EU dimension cannot be accounted for without analysis of political responses in member states. The politics of migration and mobility in the EU are thus entwined, multilevel and multi-dimensional.

10 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*

Box 1.2 The Lisbon Treaty

The Lisbon Treaty marked the full incorporation of migration and asylum within the Treaty framework.

Migration and asylum would become ‘normal’ EU issues with qualified majority voting in the Council, co-decision with the European Parliament and a full role for the Court of Justice to consider annulment of legislation, to rule on failure to act on the part of EU institutions and in cases of infringement where member states have failed to fulfil their obligations.

Articles 77–80 set out provisions on borders, asylum and migration:

- Article 77 (1) provides for the absence of internal border controls, checks at external borders and an integrated approach to border management.
- Article 77 (2) provides for the following measures:
 - Common policy on visas and short-term residence permits;
 - Checks to which those crossing external borders are subject
 - Conditions under which TCNs are free to travel within the EU
 - Gradual establishment of an integrated management system for external borders
 - The absence of controls on those crossing internal borders
- Article 77 (3) provides that where it is necessary to facilitate mobility rights, the Council may adopt measures on passport, identity cards, residence permits and other such documents. The Council must act unanimously and consult the European Parliament (i.e. this is not covered by co-decision procedures, under which the Parliament has more powers).
- Article 78 deals with a common policy on asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary protection comprising:
 - A uniform status of asylum for TCNs valid throughout the EU;



Multilevel politics

We need to think about what ‘multilevelness’ might mean, how it is made manifest and its implications for understandings of immigration policy and politics that have often been seen as closely bound by the national contexts of particular European states. EU politics are multilevel, but this doesn’t get us far because all polit-



- A uniform status of subsidiary protection for TCNs;
- A common system of temporary protection for displaced persons in the event of a massive inflow;
- Common procedures for granting and withdrawing uniform asylum or subsidiary protection status;
- Criteria and mechanisms for allocating responsibility for asylum claims;
- Standards concerning reception of applications for asylum or subsidiary protection
- Partnership and cooperation with third countries to manage inflows of persons applying for asylum or subsidiary or temporary protection;
- Article 79 sets out a common immigration policy comprising:
 - Conditions for entry and residence and standards on the issue of long-term visas and residence permits;
 - Definition of the rights of TCNs legally residing in a member state including free movement and residence in other member states;
 - Illegal immigration and unauthorized residence;
 - Combating people trafficking.
- Article 79 (3) allows for the conclusion of readmission agreements between the EU and third countries.
- Article 79 (4) provides for the possibility of incentive measures to promote integration of legally resident TCNs.
- Article 79 (5) states that measures on immigration ‘do not affect the right of member states to determine volumes of admission of TCNs coming from third countries to their territory in order to seek work, whether employed or self-employed.’
- Article 80 provides for ‘solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility’ in the areas of migration and asylum.

ical systems are multilevel to some extent. To move beyond stating the obvious, we have to decipher particular aspects of multilevelness as they impinge on EU migration politics. This means looking at the distribution of power and authority in the EU across levels of governance, thinking about the actors involved in these processes and about interactions between levels and actors.

12 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*

The rise of the EU has been described as amounting to a ‘rebundling’ of authority (Ansell 2004) with important implications for borders, territory, territorial relationships and population control. This rebundling can help to generate some questions that specify key aspects of multilevel politics:

- How, why, when and in what form have EU governance structures emerged and developed?
- How do they impinge on policy areas that are closely associated with national sovereignty?
- Which actors have been empowered within this multilevel system?
- How does this multilevel distribution of power and authority play out across different types of migration policy, as in some areas there is a strong EU role (for example asylum) while in others the EU role (for example admissions policy) is less developed?
- How do EU member states seek to shape and influence EU policy, but, also, how has EU action affected policy in member states?

In addressing these questions, we show that the EU framework is partial, as it does not cover all aspects of migration and asylum policy, and differential, in that its effects are more pronounced on some member states than on others. We show significant variation by policy type and that this then helps us to better understand:

- relationships between member states and the EU;
- the partial nature of EU mobility, migration and asylum policy, with some areas more highly developed than others; and
- the differential effects of EU mobility, migration and asylum policy, with more impact on some member states than on others (and impact varying by policy type too).

The paradox of Europe’s borders

This focus on multilevelness also points to the paradox of Europe’s borders: the EU and its member states are simultaneously removing some borders, relocating others and building new ones. This paradox could actually be seen as an EU-level reflection of responses to population control and immigration that developed at

state level from the nineteenth century, as internal consolidation of territory associated with state-building was accompanied by moves to regulate access to that territory (Bade 2003). Such processes were integral to the establishment of sovereign authority (Krasner 1999). This is one fairly obvious reason why member states can get so worked up about immigration and its effects, as immigration goes to the very heart of their self-definition as states. Member states do not passively observe these developments; they are key players.

It is the borders of states that make international migration visible as a distinct social process. If there were no such things as state borders then there would be no such thing as international migration (Zolberg 1989). It is the categories and meanings attached to international migration at Europe's borders that are central to the analysis that follows. We need to understand how organizations and institutions 'make sense' of international migration (Weick 1995). One way they make sense of international migration is to put migrants into categories – high-skilled migrant, low-skilled migrant, family migrant, and the like – that each determine conditions of entry, residence and associated rights and entitlements. As Bowker and Leigh Star (1999:5) put it:

Each standard and each category valorizes some point of view and silences another. This is not inherently a bad thing – indeed it is inescapable. But it *is* an ethical choice, and as such it is dangerous – not bad, but dangerous.

Categorizations that occur at Europe's borders are central to the understanding of migration as a set of issues and concerns within the EU's multilevel system and to the constitution of a European political space. They can have a profound resonance that amounts to far more than just their representation as lines on maps. As Walker (2006:57) points out:

Almost all the hard questions of our time . . . converge on the status of borders; of boundaries, distinctions, discriminations, inclusions, exclusions, beginnings, endings, limitations and exceptions, and on their authorization by subjects who are always susceptible to inclusion or exclusion by the borders they are persuaded to authorize.

Similarly, Balibar (1998) writes of how Europe's borders have 'multiplied and reduced . . . thinned out and doubled'.

14 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*Table 1.2 *The EU's 'green' land borders in 2010*

<i>Border between</i>	<i>Length (km)</i>
Finland Russia	1,340
Estonia Russia	455
Latvia Russia	276
Lithuania Belarus	651
Lithuania Russia (Kaliningrad)	272
Poland Russia (Kaliningrad)	232
Poland Belarus	418
Poland Ukraine	535
Slovakia Ukraine	98
Hungary Ukraine	136
Romania Ukraine (east and west of Moldova)	649
Romania Moldova	681
Bulgaria Turkey	259
Greece Turkey	215
Greece Albania	282
Greece Macedonia	246
Bulgaria Macedonia	165
Bulgaria Serbia	341
Romania Serbia	546
Total	7,958

Source: Data from House of Lords (2009:16).

Where are the borders at which these categorizations occur? They are most obviously territorial (land, air and sea), but they can also be 'organizational' (governing access to, for example, the labour market and welfare state) and can be 'conceptual' (concerned with questions of identity and belonging) (Geddes 20056). In 2010 there were 1636 land, sea and air border crossing-points in the EU, but we can add to these social security offices, housing authorities, healthcare providers and a wide range of other organizations and institutions that give meaning to international migration by determining who can enter the territory of a state, on what basis, for what duration and, once they have entered, the rights, entitlements and responsibilities they will have.

In 2010 the 27 EU member states had external land borders of around 8000 km and sea borders of 80,000 km. The EU does not itself have external frontiers because it is not a state. Instead the

Table 1.3 *The EU's southern 'blue' maritime borders*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Length (km)</i>
Portugal (including Azores and Madeira)	2,555
Spain (including Canaries)	4,964
France	4,720
Slovenia	48
Italy	7,600
Greece (including over 3,000 islands)	13,676
Malta (including Gozo)	253
Cyprus	293
Total	34,109

Source: House of Lords (2009:17).

external frontiers of its southern and eastern member states have become the focus of much EU activity designed to strengthen and enhance border control capacity. Tables 1.2 and 1.3 show the extent of the EU external land ('green') and southern European sea ('blue') borders.

Borders are central to the analysis of migration, but they are not some natural and immutable presence in the global order. Borders as powerful social constructions govern access to resources and signify a powerful relationship between controllers and those who are controlled (Sack 1986). They tell us something about relations between 'us and them'. Borders are intrinsically and inescapably political and are our route to the analysis of migration and mobility in the EU.

The complexities of European migration politics and policy

Having just staked out how important all these issues are, we could immediately run aground as we hit a pretty serious problem. Migration and mobility are rather diverse and complex, debates play themselves out in different ways in various EU member states and it's all very 'multilevel'. Moreover, the nature and type of these debates may have changed over time. To make things even more complicated, the EU and its institutions are now heavily involved

16 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*

in this policy area, which means that we need not only to understand their role, but also to penetrate the sometimes rather peculiar and complex ways that the EU itself has of describing its activities (the issuance of ‘Directives’ and ‘Regulations’, the use of ‘qualified majority voting’ (QMV) and so on). If this wasn’t enough, we then need to think about how the EU connects with these domestic debates.

We think that it is important to create a framework that cuts through this complexity without being so simplistic that we lose analytical value. There are three possible ways to go about this:

- We could analyse how, why and when national responses to immigration have changed, but we choose not to do this because this would downplay the ability to look across these countries and pick out points of similarity and divergence.
- We could analyse the rapid development of EU policy and look at how, why and when these competencies have developed, but we choose not to do this because it would tend to separate the EU from the member state contexts that have been so central to the evolution and development of European integration.
- We could analyse migration types – labour, family, asylum, irregular, EU mobility as well as debates about immigrant integration – in order to look at how specific types of migration engender particular forms of political response and at how these play out at across the various levels of the EU’s multilevel system connecting subnational, national and supranational/EU levels.

We choose this third and last approach because it actually encompasses the other two by allowing analysis of variation by policy type, drawing from experiences in member states *and* accounting for the EU’s role.

We focus on migration types but recognize that there are powerful overlaps or linkages between migration categories. We also recognize that categories are fluid and that people move between them with different legal, political and social implications. Someone arriving to study may stay on to work and then be joined by family members. We explore these linkages because it allows us to also analyse the ways in which categories are contingent, conjunctural, interlinked and can change. By doing so, we go to the core of many policy dilemmas that EU states face. We also see that

Studying Migration and Mobility in the European Union 17

the term ‘immigration’ is too broad-brush and has very limited analytical usefulness.

To sum up, we focus on different forms of migration for four reasons. First, these are precisely the categories that EU states have developed and use to make sense of international migration. Second, changing understandings of migration are made evident through the redefinition of categories. Third, the forms and types of politics can differ quite substantially by migration type – with, for example, the politics of high-skilled labour migration differing greatly from those for asylum. Finally, the EU uses these categories to make sense of its role in relation to migration and mobility policy.

In the chapters that follow, we will not seek to immerse the reader in all the various complexities of migration policy in all twenty-seven EU states across all main migration types. Nor will we launch into detailed paragraph-by-paragraph analysis of various EU missives (and there are a lot of them). Rather, our objectives are to:

- create a framework for analysis that distinguishes between: types of migration; aspects of the policy process; and the extent to which these aspects of the policy process and types of migration have become part of a wider EU framework for the management of migration and mobility;
- draw from examples from across the EU to show how these debates play out;
- assess how, why, when and with what effects the EU now plays a role in migration and mobility and the extent to which this changes the ways in which debate occurs, decisions are made and policies implemented.

Thus, by providing a map (through, for instance, empirical analysis of different forms of migration and associated forms of politics) and a method (the framework for analysis of migration policy-making and the multilevel EU setting that we develop in Chapters 2 and 3) we can help the reader negotiate and understand these important issues. What should also become clear is the extent to which we have moved from a *politics of migration in Europe* to a *European politics of migration* with some common elements and the EU as a source of pressure for some convergence; but without pretending that member states have somehow been swept helplessly along by the pressures of European integration.

Organization of the book

In Chapters 2 and 3 we set out a framework for analysing migration policy based on concepts drawn from public policy analysis. After laying the ground for our analysis of European policymaking, Chapters 4 to 9 address different areas of migration policy. Chapter 4 analyses one of the most important forms of immigration, and one that dominated European policy in the decades after World War II – labour migration, or migration for the purpose of paid employment. We show how approaches to labour migration have fluctuated over time and still vary widely between different European countries. While some governments have promoted labour migration as a means of addressing skills and labour shortages, many politicians and sections of the public remain concerned that labour migration can have adverse effects on the domestic population by displacing ‘native’ workers. The chapter also charts how the EU has attempted to increase its competence in this area, with somewhat limited results so far.

If labour migration can form part of a conscious recruitment drive on the part of governments or industry, Chapter 5 deals with a form of migration which tends not to be actively promoted: that of family migration. Family migration has actually often been seen by governments as an unwanted byproduct of labour migration, as immigrant workers bring their families or new spouses from abroad to settle in their country of residence. Often seen as a ‘back route’ for immigration, governments and the EU have had to grapple with conflicting considerations in developing policy in this area: the need to respect various international human rights and constitutional provisions on the rights of the family and their increased desire to ‘select’ migrants based on their perceived economic contribution. We show how attempts to introduce restrictive policies are often thwarted in practice and that we need to explore the form taken by the politics of family migration if we are to understand why this is the case, particularly the role played by courts as guarantors of rights.

European countries have found it difficult to enforce watertight control over immigration flows. Chapter 6 deals with the issue of irregular migration by those unable to enter European countries through legal channels. This can be seen as the ‘other side’ of legal migration flows because it is only by defining certain forms of migration as legal that others become defined as illegal. The EU is

strongly committed to what it calls ‘the fight against illegal immigration’(CEC 2006b). It is also a phenomenon that is difficult to observe and measure, which means that governments often have limited knowledge about these migratory dynamics. The OECD estimated that the irregular population was between 1 per cent and 4 per cent of the total population. On this basis, in 2005 the Netherlands estimated that it hosted between 125,000 and 230,000 irregular migrants, Spain estimated 690,000 while Italy calculated a figure of around 700,000 (figures cited in IOM 2008:467). Chapter 6 also analyses some of the assumptions made by policymakers about the causes and levels of irregular migration, and how they address it through various forms of border control and internal checks; sanctions on those transporting, smuggling or employing irregular migrants; and, more recently, cooperation with some of the non-EU countries from which irregular migrants originate or through which they travel.

Chapter 7 addresses another thorny area of migration: asylum and refugee policy. European countries have a long history of granting asylum to refugees, but in the 1980s and 1990s, as the number of asylum applicants in Europe increased, governments introduced a gamut of measures to try to restrict or deter such flows. Asylum came to be seen, along with family migration, as the ‘weak link’ in the national immigration control chain. This is an area in which EU cooperation is highly developed, so the chapter considers the complex interplay between national and EU policies, including how far the EU has influenced the nascent asylum policies of ‘new’ asylum recipients in southern and central Europe.

Chapter 8 analyses intra-EU mobility. EU nationals have the right to reside and work in other EU countries, an entitlement enshrined in the Treaty of Rome. Although originally a measure to ensure the more efficient operation of labour markets, mobility rights have been given a more political and civic spin, as the EU has developed since the Maastricht Treaty the concept of ‘EU citizenship’. The chapter explores the impact of these provisions on migration between EU countries and how they impact on immigrants from outside the EU. It also considers how, why and when mobility rights became controversial as new member states joined the EU in 2004 and 2007.

Turning away from different types of migration, Chapter 9 explores how EU states have sought to ‘integrate’ the migrants who settle on their territory. The background for this is the ‘crisis’ or

20 *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*

‘retreat’ of multiculturalism – or, at least, multicultural policies given that many EU member states are multicultural societies – and a renewed emphasis on socio-economic integration and linguistic adaptation by migrant newcomers. We examine the various frameworks that have developed and the resonance of various ‘national models’ in the face of convergence pressures (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). To tie in with the analysis in Chapter 8 we analyse how the EU now intervenes in these debates and how the promotion of EU mobility has also created some space for EU measures on the rights of long-term residents that are not EU citizens and to combat discrimination on grounds of race and ethnicity. We also consider the many variables that intervene in the relationship between ‘integration policy’ and ‘integration outcomes’. By doing so, we see that migration policy is not just about migration. By this we mean that the organization of welfare states and their interactions with labour markets are crucial variables. If we think about these broader factors that influence the organization of welfare and work we can see that migration is not just about the people that move to the EU; it’s also about how EU societies are organized, how they change and about self-understandings. If we don’t see this, then we don’t see the effects of migration (whoever ‘we’ are).

Chapter 10 is a concluding chapter that ties together some of the themes dealt with in earlier chapters to draw conclusions and consider the implications of our analysis both for the study of migration and for the development of the European politics of migration.

Index

Key: **bold** = extended discussion or term highlighted in the text; b = box; f = figure;
n = note; t = table.

- Abdulaziz, Cabales and Balkandali* case (ECHR, 1985) 114
- accountability 61, 62, 65
- acquis communautaire* 165, 232
- Action Plan for Free Movement of Workers (European Commission, 1997) 199
- Action Plan for Skills and Mobility (European Commission, 2002) 199
- Adam, C. 109, 235
- adaptation 71
- migrant newcomers and host society 201
- administrative practice and implementation 72, 73, 74–5, 229
- asylum 156, 167–73
- asylum (decoupling by changing categories) 170–2
- asylum (decoupling in welfare system) 172–3
- asylum (practical dilemmas) 170
- convergence (horizontal and vertical) 143, 145
- family migration 118–20
- immigrant integration 217–21, 222t, 223–9
- irregular migration 143–8
- labour migration policy 97–102
- mobility, citizenship, EU enlargement 196–200
- admissions policies 7, 12, 76–7, 78, 92–6, 100, 102, 103, 109, 115, 130, 135, 144, 230, 234
- ‘dark side’ 123–4
- Adriatic 124
- AENEAS Programme 140
- Afghanistan/Afghans 3, 124, 126, 159, 160t
- Africa 22t, 23, 24f, 35, 144, 159, 237
- age 37, 80b, 87b, 105, 107, 111, 116, 119, 196, 211, 217, 219, 221
- ageing population 2, 5, 79, 81
- dependency ratio 80b
- versus labour migration 80b
- agriculture 24, 27, 30, 85b, 86b, 92, 98, 139, 148, 193
- reliance on cheap labour 127
- aid/development aid 133, 142
- airlines 132
- Al Qaeda 37
- Albania 14t, 124, 166b
- Albanian migrants 124, 147
- Algeria 124, 166b
- Alleanza Nazionale* (AN) 136
- Almería 145
- America/s 23, 24f, 35b
- Amnesty International 161, 167
- Amsterdam Treaty (1997; effective 1999) 9, 34, 51–2, 56, 57, 61, 63, 65, 66, 94, 150, 151, 161, 162b, 167, 197, 212, 216, 228, 245
- ‘Article 13’ 211
- Articles 62–4 (border controls, TCNs) 9b
- citizenship 189
- incorporated Schengen provisions 58, 60t
- Title IV (free movement, migration, asylum) 9b
- UK opt-out 138
- Andalucía 145
- Andean Community 142
- ‘annual quota’ migration 192
- Ansell, C. 12, 235
- appeal rights 175
- Arango, J. 148n, 235
- ‘area of freedom, security, justice’ 189
- Argentines 197
- Asia 22t, 23, 24f, 35, 159
- Asian communities 111
- asylum 19, 34–6, 150–75; 6, 7, 9, 12, 16, 21, 35, 49, 50, 75, 140, 228, 229, 230, 231–2, 234, 241
- acquis* imposed on new EU member-states 165
- administrative practice and implementation 167–73
- ‘area of [EU] common interest’ 162b

- asylum – *continued*
 causes of flight 159
 common policy (Lisbon Treaty)
 10–11b
 common procedure 52b
 comparative studies (cross-national
 legal) 168
 concept 34
 core dilemma 36
 cross-references ('chapter seven') 34,
 46, 63, 88
 EU cooperation 150–1, 174–5
 EU cooperation (key developments)
 162–3b
 EU cooperation (themes) 151–7
 EU harmonization 155
 EU policy aims 154–7
 EU 'raised level of protection' 155–6
 EU Resolutions, Decisions, Joint
 Positions 162b
 'extensively Europeanized' 34
 harmonization 161
 impact of restrictive entry policies
 159, 161
 interactions between sending and
 receiving countries 159, 160–1
 legislation 156
 narratives 157–61
 policy-makers 'choose what sort of
 knowledge to embrace' 161
 political debate 161–6
 'post-Amsterdam framework' 151
 systematic data 170
 temporary 162b, 163b
 trends in protection-seeking (academic
 literature) 159
 asylum applications/claims 11b, 63
 common processing 53b
 processing 174
 asylum debate (polarization) 161
 asylum legislation 160
 asylum policy 19, 88, 144
 'complex interactions' 165
 EU dimension 51–75
 'external dimension' 154
 'first pillar' powers 162b, 163b
 harmonization 164, 165, 168, 169,
 245
 implementation 156
 potted history 8–9b
 asylum politics 46
 asylum procedure 42, 53b, 151, 162b,
 166b, 167
 EU legislation (2005) 164
 cooperation with third countries 152
 lowest-common-denominator policy-
 making 152
 minimum guarantees 162b
 Asylum Procedures Directive (2005) 151
 asylum statistics 156
 asylum status
 harmonization of procedures 63–4
 valid throughout EU (target) 167
 asylum-seekers 30, 33, 35b, 35, 106,
 109, 152, 153, 244
 Afghan 1
 countries of origin 49, 160t, 171
 destruction of documentation 171
 'disappearance' from the system
 171–2
 empirical evidence 158
 failed 144
 'non-genuine' applicants 154
 reception 174
 reception conditions (EU legislation,
 2003) 151, 164
 reception standards 162b, 163b, 164
 rejected 171–2
 restrictive measures 154
 schein (bogus) 157–8
 selection of those qualifying for
 protection (EU legislation, 2004)
 164
 'true sharing' of responsibility for
 hosting 53b
 Australia 25b, 26, 27f, 234
 Austria 25t, 29, 39, 60t, 61, 77, 115,
 117, 147, 150, 153t, 165, 171, 172,
 179, 180, 184, 191, 192, 209, 212,
 213, 216, 220t, 222t, 249
 immigration legislation 109
 number of migrants (2000–5) 4f
 Azores 15t

 Baganha, M. I. xiv, 235
 Bailey, A. 108, 235
 Baldwin-Edwards, M. 147, 148n, 235,
 247
 Bale, T. 209, 235
 Balibar, E. 13, 235
 Balkans 97, 139
 Belarus 14t
 Belgium 5, 25t, 61, 77, 87b, 100, 172,
 180t, 220t, 222t
 asylum-seekers 152, 153t
 guest workers 29
 intra-EU movement 177
 Benelux 8b, 58, 231
 Berlusconi, S. 27, 28, 92, 99, 136, 137,
 193

252 *Index*

- Bersani, P. 28
 bilateral agreements (migrant labour)
 86b
 birth rates 5
 births (projected, 2008–60) 6t
 ‘Blue Card’ scheme (EU, 2009–) 95–6,
 102, 230
 Boeri, T. 183, 236
 Bolivia 24, 26f
 Bommes, M. xiii, 173, 236
 border controls 7, 19, 99, 123, 140,
 142, 149, 152, 174, 191
 border guards 146b
 borders 12–15, 132, 135, 227, 234
 air 60t, 124, 129
 ‘blue’ (maritime) 15t, 15, 24, 91, 123,
 124, 129, 133, 193, 230, 246
 external 10b, 14–15, 47, 52b
 ‘green’ (land) 14t, 14–15, 33, 61, 60t,
 123, 124, 129, 133, 230, 246
 internal 10b, 128
 organizational 14
 ‘social constructions’ 15
 erritorial 14
 Borjas, G. 85–6, 236
 Bosnia-Herzegovina 166b
 Bosnians 171
 Bossi, U. 136
 Bossi-Fini immigration law (Italy) (2002)
 137
 Boswell, C. xiii–xiv, 43, 45, 173, 185,
 191, 229, 236
 ‘boundary build-up’ (Purcell and Nevins)
 134
 Bourdieu, P. 125
 Bowker, G. 13, 236
 Boyle, P. 108, 235
 brain drain 47–8, 196
 Brazil 124, 141
 Brazilians 197
 Brindley, P. 241
 ‘British jobs for British workers’ (Brown)
 186b, 209
 British National Party (BNP) 67, 209,
 210
 British Nationality Act (1948) 29
 Brown, J. G. 186b, 209
 Brubaker, R. 202, 236
 Bruecker, H. 183, 236
 Brunsson, N. 45–7, 237
 Brussels 55, 56, 66, 189, 190
 ‘brute logic’ (economic) 108–9
 budget line B7–667 97
 Bulgaria 5, 14t, 25t, 60t, 147, 153t, 195
 Bulgarians (in Spain) 192–3
 Bundestag 89
 burden-sharing 150, 162b, 164, 165,
 174
 bureaucracies
 division of competence 99
 and labour migration 98–102
 ‘officials’/‘civil servants’ 55, 61, 64,
 68–9, 70, 74, 81, 189
 see also decision-making
 bureaucratic practice 72, 73–4
 ‘bus stop’ principle 135, 138
 Bush, G. W. 134
 business interests 81, 82, 84, 90, 98, 190
 Caldwell, C. 37, 237
 Canada 22t, 126
 Canary Islands 15t, 145
 ‘capacity bargains’ 54, 228
 Cape Verde 97
 capitalism 35
 Capoferri, C. 134, 245
 Card, D. 86, 237
 CARDS 139
 care/care sectors 26, 27, 137
 Carling, J. 144, 145, 237
 Carrera, S. 142, 237
 carriers’ liability 132
Casa delle Libertà 136
 Catalonia 92
 Caucasus countries 97
 centre–periphery differences 100
 CEPOL 146b
 ‘certain margin of appreciation’ 117
 Ceuta 24
 ‘chain migration’ 101
 Chaloff, J. 77, 78, 238
 Chavez, H. 141
 cheap labour 33, 127, 231
 Chechnya 159
 Checkel, J. 69, 238
 Chen, Mrs 176, 198
 child support 196
 children 32, 78, 105, 106, 107, 110,
 116–17, 119, 130, 141b, 198
 China 124, 138, 166b, 176
 Christian Democrats 89, 90, 210
 Church of England 111
 churches (organizations) 90, 137, 158
 circular migration 96–7
 citizens (non-EU) 25t
 citizenship 35, 37, 38, 73, 170, 176–7,
 178, 180, 187–90, 201, 203, 215,
 230, 248
 European project ‘dismal failure’ 190
 political rights 188

- citizenship provisions, used to secure free-movement rights 197
 civic integration 207, 208, 219, 221, 223
 Civic Integration Examination Abroad 202
 civil liberties 61, 163
 civil rights 101
 civil war 171
 climate 192, 193, 194b
 co-decision 9b, 10b, 55, 58, 65, 66, 140b, 141, 228, 229
 coalition governments 27, 46, 88, 92, 99, 136–7, 212
 cohabitation 107
colf and *badanti* (domestic work and care) 137
 Colombia 24, 26f
 colonies/colonization 21, 29
Comité Interministériel de Contrôle de l'Immigration (France) 109
 Common Agricultural Policy 183b
 Common European Asylum System (prospective, 2012) 52b, 163b, 167–8, 169
 Common Fisheries Policy 183b
 Common Foreign and Security Policy 183b
 Common Trade Policy 183b
 Commonwealth 26, 27f, 29
Communication on a Community Immigration Policy (CEC, 2000) 94, 237
 ‘Communications’ (European Commission) 64, 167
 communism 21, 33, 35
 see also political spectrum
 Community Immigration Policy 94
 ‘competence creep’ 96
 competitiveness 180
 compromise 44
 Confindustria (Italy) 137
 Conservative Party 67, 89, 138, 186–7
 constitutions (national) 32, 34, 41, 42, 104
 construction sector 26, 27, 30, 86b, 86, 92, 123, 192, 193, 204
 cheap labour 127
 convergence 70–1, 232–4, 244
 definition (Knill) 233
 not same as ‘Europeanization’ 232–3
 Copenhagen School 162–3
 Correa, R. 141–2
 Council Directions (2004, 2005), 95
 Council of Europe 161, 194
 Council (of Ministers) 55, 56, 66, 141b, 156, 167
 ‘Council’ 57, 58, 65, 116, 140b, 142, 168
 not same as ‘European Council’ (1974–) 55
 QMV 51
 courts 57, 101, 112, 113, 114, 120, 172–3
 guarantors of rights 18
 crime 61, 144, 193–4
 crimes against humanity 35b
 Croatia 4, 23, 25t, 142, 232
 cultural adaptation 206, 207
 cultural biases 120
 cultural capital 84
 cultural diversity 90
 ‘source of innovation’ 84
 culture 38
 norms ‘deeply contested’ 206
 customs checks 190
 Customs Union 183b
 Cyprus, 5, 15t, 25t, 30, 129t, 147, 153t, 220t, 222t
 Czech Republic 3, 5, 25t, 30, 60t, 90, 147, 153t, 165, 220t, 222t

 Dam, D. 241
 Danish People’s Party 110
 data deficiencies 25t, 77, 148t, 172, 204, 219, 220t, 222t
 databases 42, 58, 61
 ‘dawn raids’ 172
 Dawson, R. 69, 239
 de Haas, H. 133, 239
 deaths (projected, 2008–60) 6t
 decision-making 118, 162, 223, 233, 248
 behind ‘gilded doors’ (Guiraudon) 113
 bureaucratic 75, 113
 public-administrative 73–4
 venues 104
 decision-making processes 233
 tensions, ambiguities, contradictions 149
 decision-making venues 114, 155, 164, 210, 229
 ‘decisions’ 56
 declaratory politics 65
 ‘decoupling’ 46–7, 74, 76–7, 81, 92–3, 98–9, 101, 151, 156, 174–5
 by changing categories 170–2
 in welfare system 172–3
 see also rhetoric

254 *Index*

- 'deliberate malintegration' (Hall) 47–8, 50, 72, 76–7, 99, 102, 137, 156, 169, 225, 230
- demography 5–6, 94, 195
- 'demography as destiny' 37
- denizens/denizenship 203, 215, 216
- Denmark 25t, 60t, 77, 95, 104, 114, 115, 119, 153t, 180t, 209, 216, 220t, 222t
- family reunion laws 110
- marriage tests 111
- deportation 139–43, 172
- see also* Returns Directive
- detention centres 170, 172
- developing countries 48
- 'less-developed countries' 120, 127
- Devillard, A. 109, 235
- Directive on Family Reunion (2003) 32, 103, 105–6, 107–8, 110, 114, 115–17, 217, 231, 241
- Articles 4(1), 4(6), and 8 116
- Article 7(2) 119
- negotiating process 115
- problems 116
- Directive on Long-Term Residents (2003) 182, 197, 204, 213–14, 214–17, 221, 231
- Articles 5(2) and 15(3) 216
- Directive on rights of legally resident TCNs (2003) 202–3
- Directives 16, 53b, 56–7, 70, 95
- asylum 231
- asylum (2001–4) **163b**
- equal treatment (1976) 178
- presented and rejected 94
- Directive 2004/38/EC (mobility consolidation directive) 177–8
- disability 211
- 'discarded solutions' (fished out) 49
- discourse *see* rhetoric
- discrimination/anti-discrimination 38, 52b, 111, 119–20, 157, 178, 194, 196, 202, 203, 211–12, 213, 223, 224
- Directives 57, 201, 216
- displacement effects 86, 90
- divorce 107
- DNA testing 61, 110
- domestic employment 24, 26, 27, 86b, 86, 92, 137, 147
- see also* employment
- drivers of change 70–1
- Dronkers, J. 221, 240
- Dublin Convention 162b
- Dublin II 'Regulation' (2003) 151, 162b, 163b
- Düvell, F. 127, 239
- Duncan, F. 210, 239
- economic activity 178, 188, 197
- economic crises
- (1973) 30
- (2007–) 5, 24, 68, 76, 91, 186b, 200
- economic development 142
- global 82
- versus migration 82
- economic growth 83, 101, 182, 204
- economic integration 54, 205, 209, 212, 215, 228
- economic participation 107
- economic performance 208
- economic prosperity 30
- Economic and Social Research Council xiii
- economics
- labour migration 82
- supply-side 83–4
- economists 182, 190
- Ecuador 141
- Edinburgh University xiii
- education 33–4, 38, 78, 95, 107, 115–16, 173, 196, 197, 201, 217, 218
- educational attainment 77, 120, 206
- Egypt 124
- election times 136
- electoral campaigns (Italy) 149
- electorates 46, 47, 62, 73, 88, 92, 155, 172, 173, 188
- Eleventh of September (2001) 42, 163, 214, 236
- elites 164, 190
- emigration countries 42, 91, 183–4, 232
- conversion into host nations 30
- empiricism 17, 50
- employers 40, 86, 87b, 92, 137, 199, 231
- agents of immigration control
- authorities (resentment) 143
- of irregular migrants (proposed sanctions) 142
- recruitment of people they need 181
- employment 38, 76, 83–4, 128, 137, 157–8, 176, 191, 196–202, 206, 208, 213, 217, 218, 219
- high-skilled 95
- illegal 132
- irregular 127
- unlawful practices 86–7
- see also* full employment
- employment benefits 86

- employment contracts 31
 employment rates 219, 220t, 222t
 employment status
 regular versus irregular 129, 130
 employment-based programmes,
 recruitment of migrant labour 86–7b
 empowerment 12
 engineering 31, 86b
 entire family migration 106
 environment 194b
 Equal Treatment Directives
 (1976) 212
 (2000) 202, 213
 equal treatment principle 178
 equality 41
 Eritrea 124, 160t
 Esping-Andersen, G. 219, 239
 Estonia 5, 14t, 25t, 60t, 90, 153t, 220t,
 222t
 ethics 13, 48
 ethnic minorities 38, 82, 211, 212
 see also Roma
 ethnicity 20, 21, 157, 173, 203, 204,
 208, 211, 213
 Euro (currency) 190
 Eurocities 190
 Europe 21–2, 35b, 160t
 borders (paradox) 12–15
 geopolitical shake-up (1989) 7
 loss of self-confidence 37
 migrant population (2010) 22t
 migration ‘puzzle’ 112
 migration and refugee flows (1945–)
 23–8
 Europe: A8 countries 90–1, 159, 180,
 180t, 185, 193, 195–6
 Europe: central 3–4, 7, 19, 30, 68, 98,
 110, 159, 166b, 179, 182–3, 184,
 192, 195, 247
 Europe: eastern 7, 30, 33, 68, 98, 110,
 144, 159, 166b, 179, 182–3, 184,
 192, 195, 247
 labour mobility 89
 Europe: non-EU 23, 24f
 Europe: north-west 83
 Europe: northern 143, 184
 Europe: southern 19, 33, 50, 54, 68,
 110, 122–3, 152, 153t, 230
 welfare-state type (Ferrera) 219, 240
 Europe: western 3–4, 32, 34, 35
 European Asylum Support Office 151
 European asylum system (target date
 2012) 151
 European border surveillance system
 (EUROSUR) 123
 European Commission/Commission of
 European Communities (CEC)
 8–9b, 54, 55, 57, 58, 66, 76, 79,
 115, 123, 139, 142, 151, 156, 163b,
 167, 169, 181, 189, 190, 194, 195,
 198, 211, 212–13, 215, 216, 230,
 237–8
 attempt to expand involvement in
 labour migration policy 102
 ‘constantly pushing pace of reform’
 168
 forays (labour migration policy)
 94–6
 ‘greater role’ foreseen 229
 harmonization of national labour-
 migration policies 94
 institutional status 62
 involvement in labour migration
 ‘paradoxical’ 93–4
 legitimation 64
 ‘multi-organization’ 229
 new thinking on migration and mobility
 96–7
 power and responsibility 228
 responsibility for management and
 implementation of policy 56
 rights of initiative 65
 role 61–4
 ‘sole right of initiative’ 63
 treaty-guardian role 63
 worker mobility 199
 European Commission: Directorates-
 General (DGs) 61–2, 63, 229
 Employment (DG EMP) 62
 Foreign Affairs (DG RELEX) 62
 Justice and Home Affairs (DG JHA,
 1999–) 61–4,
 Justice, Liberty and Security (DG JLS)
 61–2, 63, 64
 European Commissioners 62, 73
 European Community (EC) 63
 European Conservatives and Reformists
 Group 67
 European Convention on Human Rights
 (ECHR) (1953) 105, 111, 113–14,
 172
 ‘Articles 8 and 14’ 116
 European Council [heads of
 state/government, 1974–] 10b, 55,
 56, 65–6, 167, 168, 181
 follow-ups ‘can be disappointing’ 66
 meetings (2003, 2004) 94
 presidencies 65, 73, 156, 168, 169
 European Council Conclusions 66, 168,
 190

256 *Index*

- European Council for Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) 161, 167
- European Court of Justice 8–9b, 55–6, 57, 63–4, 106, 116–17, 156, 163b, 176, 196, 198, 228, 229
- European Economic Area (EEA) 3–4, 86b, 88, 92, 94, 182, 183b, 190, 191
- European Employment Strategy 132
- European Free Trade Area (EFTA) x, 183b
- European integration 17, 62, 63, 66, 68–9, 71, 75, 162, 168, 169, 228, 231, 233, 241
- definition (Radaelli) 70, 232
- economic impetus 227
- effects 70
- ‘ontological’ dimension 69
- see also* harmonization
- European Integration Fund 140
- European migration politics: framework for analysis 45–50
- deliberate mal-integration 47–8, 50
- policy stream 48–50
- ‘talk’, ‘decision’, ‘action’ (Brunsson) 45–7, 50, 237
- European Parliament (EP) 8–9b, 10b, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 65, 66–7, 116, 140b, 141, 141b, 142, 163b, 167, 188, 194, 209, 210, 211, 228, 229–30
- centre-left and centre-right federations 210
- elections (June 2009) 67
- MEPs 66, 73
- ‘multi-site’ problem 66
- European Parliament: Civil Liberties Committee 66
- European People’s Party 67
- European politics of migration 17
- European Refugee Fund 140
- European Single Market 183b, 205, 211, 216, 218
- see also* Single European Act
- European treaties 190
- European Union 21–2, 44, 160t
- accession process 133
- ‘added value’ to citizens 189
- area of freedom, justice, security 140b
- aspirations (economic versus political-cultural) 188–9
- budget 56
- candidate countries 142, 144, 174, 232; *see also* Croatia, Macedonia, Turkey
- common migration and asylum policy 7, 52b, 227–8; *see also* European Union asylum policy
- ‘convenient scapegoat’ 155–6
- cooperation on asylum (key developments) 162–3b
- cooperation outside treaty framework 61
- core economic objectives 36, 223
- creation of area of freedom, security, justice (budget, 1998–2013) 140
- differential impact 34, 231
- governance structures 12, 227–9
- hybridity 56
- issue of return 139–43
- ‘key role’ 234
- legal outputs 69, 70
- limited role in labour migration policy 93–4
- meaning contested 229
- migration and mobility (new thinking) 96–7
- migration policy (temporal shifts) 68
- ministerial meetings 51
- mobility, migration, asylum policy (potted history) 8–9b
- multilevel policy setting 54–67, 75
- multilevel system 82
- ‘pendulum-like’ policy-oscillation 66
- politics 212
- population 5–6, 6t, 24f
- ‘raised level of protection’ for asylum-seekers 155–6
- role in irregular migration 122–3
- social relocation 68–9
- spatial relocations of competence and capacity to act 67, 68
- treaties 57
- ‘treaty-based organization’ 55
- Turkish membership (prospective) 179
- voluntary system for sharing responsibility for refugees 163b
- European Union: EU-15 159, 212
- European Union: EU-25 220t, 222t
- European Union: EU-27 25t, 75, 129t, 152, 153t, 178, 205, 225, 233
- European Union: member-states 12–13, 16, 17, 23, 24f, 31, 54, 57, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 95, 102, 115, 116–17, 120, 122–3, 127, 141b, 142, 164, 168, 169, 174, 175, 201, 203, 205, 217, 218, 219, 224, 229, 230, 241
- ‘collective suicide pact’ notion 227–8

- European Union: member-states – *continued*
- constraints (family migration policy)
 - 114
 - discretion in regulation of family migration 118–19
 - ‘shape policy’ versus ‘shaped by policy’ 231
 - shaped by EU context 232
 - European Union asylum policy
 - castigated 161–2
 - divergent perspectives 167
 - good-cop, bad-cop labels 156
 - institutional conflict 156
 - institutional interests and constraints 169
 - European Union citizens 203
 - ‘EU nationals’ (relocation to another EU country) 196
 - European Union citizenship 19
 - European Union competencies 7, 40, 52, 57–8, 67, 68, 69, 76, 96, 117, 204, 211, 215, 227
 - asylum 9b, 34
 - immigration 9b
 - European Union enlargement 54, 62, 68, 75, 93, 138, 177, 191, 236, 247, 248
 - (1980s, southern Europe) 179
 - (2004) 89, 90, 195
 - (2004, 2007) 19, 33, 58, 159, 179, 180, 182–3, 183b, 193, 197, 232
 - European Union framework 17
 - differences across policy types 230–1
 - partial 12
 - European Union institutions 54–5, 55–8
 - European Union migration and asylum policy 17, 18, 50, 51–75, 182, 229
 - ‘external’ dimension 52b
 - five-year work plans 52
 - key role 53
 - European Union migration and asylum policy: analysis of effects 71–5
 - implementation 74–5
 - narratives and ideas 72–3
 - politics and political mobilization 73
 - public-administrative decision-making 73–4
 - European Union series i–ii
 - European Union system
 - ‘new actors’ 229–30
 - ‘rebundling’ of authority 228
 - Europeanization 51, 69–71, 247
 - and convergence 226, 232–4
 - definition (Radaelli) 70
 - driver (differential and partial) of domestic change 70–1
 - five key questions 70–1
 - EUROPOL 146b
 - Euroscepticism 67, 164, 191–2
 - Eurostat 24–7n, 170, 219, 220t, 222t, 240
 - everyday life 201
 - executive branch 57, 101, 103, 112, 113, 118, 120
 - experience 73
 - expert knowledge 73, 229, 236
 - exploitation 27
 - external security 133
 - failed states 159
 - family 1, 2, 8b, 13, 16, 87b, 95, 101, 141b, 176, 178, 179, 196, 219
 - ‘decision-making unit’ 114
 - definition 107–9
 - ‘different’ norms 104
 - extended 109, 119
 - ‘gender-based inequalities’ 108
 - power of definition 119
 - restrictive definition 105
 - see also* nuclear family
 - family care services 123–4
 - family life 105, 112, 116, 117
 - family migration 18, 32–3, 103–21; 19, 30, 31, 34, 53b, 75, 229, 235, 247
 - administrative practice and implementation 118–20
 - age profile 107
 - centrality 103–5
 - cross-references 78, 102, 217
 - core dilemma 33
 - demand 109–12
 - EU’s role 114–15
 - forbidden 30
 - narratives 106–12
 - ‘no positive right’ 105–6
 - political debate 112–17
 - types 106
 - ‘unproductive’ 110
 - see also* illegal immigration
 - family reunification 106, 109, 118, 188, 203, 231, 243
 - conditions 116
 - rights 115–16
 - waiting periods 105
 - see also* Directive on Family Reunion
 - fascism 21
 - Favell, A. xii, 200, 208, 240

258 *Index*

- Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees (Germany) 99
- federalism 190
- Fernhout, R. 241
- Ferrera, M. 219, 240
- fertility rates 37, 80b
- 'fight against illegal immigration' 131, 132–5, 139, 152, 230, 238
- fingerprints 61
- Fini, G. 136, 137
- Finland 5, 14t, 25t, 60t, 153t, 180t, 220t, 222t
- Finotelli, C. 148n, 235
- 'fire-fighting' 44
- Fleischmann, F. 221, 240
- Follini, M. 136
- forestry 139
- 'fortress Europe' 40, 66, 161, 162, 237, 241
- idea contested 151
- Foucault, M. 42, 164, 240
- France 1, 5, 8b, 25t, 58, 61, 87b, 104, 113, 116, 118, 119, 124, 129t, 146, 150, 179, 180t, 186, 192, 202, 204, 210, 212, 220t, 221, 222t, 231, 240, 241, 242, 243
- ageing population 80b
- asylum-seekers 152, 153t
- ethnic origin data 213
- family migration 32, 109–10
- guest workers 29
- immigration legislation (2006, 2007) 110
- labour migration strategy 78
- maritime borders 15t
- migrant population (2010) 22t
- Muslim integration 38
- nationality laws 208
- number of migrants (2000–5) 4, 4f
- 'republican approach' (migrant integration) 208
- Roma people 194–5
- Frattini, F. 5, 238
- free market 180, 181
- free movement 3, 57, 58, 78, 84, 90, 93, 105, 134, 177, 181–5, 227
- costs 85
- 'expansionist dynamic' 198
- general right (2004–) 7, 8b
- long-term/short-term 197
- low proportion of EU population exercising the right 179
- restrictions 180
- use of citizenship provisions 197
- see also* mobility
- free trade 181
- Freedom Party (Austria) 212, 213
- Freeman, G. xiii, 70, 240
- French Republicanism 38
- friends 2, 101
- Front National* (France) 67, 209, 210
- FRONTEX (2005–) 124, 129n, 145, 149, 246
- full title xi, 122
- roles 146b
- FRONTEX: Common Core Curriculum 146b
- full employment 84b
- see also* labour
- gangmasters 138–9
- Gangmasters Licensing Authority (GLA) 139, 241
- GDP 184
- Geddes, A. xiii–xiv, 45, 63, 140, 173, 188, 213, 236, 240–1
- Geddes, A., *et al.* (2007) 139, 241
- Brindley, P. 241
- Nielsen, K. 241
- Scott, S. 241
- gender 103, 110, 111, 119, 165, 203, 212, 217, 219
- General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) 230
- general public 18
- Geneva Convention on Status of Refugees (1951) 34, 35b, 106, 167, 170
- 'Article 31' 166b
- Georgia 97, 160t
- Germany/West Germany 5, 8b, 25t, 31, 36, 39, 50, 58, 61, 68, 77, 100, 104, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 147, 150, 157, 164, 171, 172, 179, 180, 184, 186, 192, 194b, 202, 204, 210, 214, 216, 220t, 221, 222t, 231, 242
- ageing population 80b
- asylum policy 154
- asylum-seekers 152, 153t
- bureaucracies (division of competence) 99
- case for labour migration 88–91
- constitutional court rulings (1970s, 1980s) 101
- constitutional reform (1993) 165
- family migration 32
- guest workers 29
- immigration commission 88–9
- intra-EU movement 177
- labour migration strategy 78–9

- Germany/West Germany – *continued*
 mechanisms for recruiting labour
 migrants 86b
 migrant integration 208
 migrant population (2010) 22t
 number of migrants (2000–5) 4, 4f
 recruitment ban (1973) 98–9
 ‘two-level game’ 165
 upper house 90
 welfare state type (Esping-Andersen)
 219
- Gibney, M. 109, 241
 Givens, T. 210, 241
 global inequality 131
 globalization 2, 21, 180
 ‘good practice’ 155
 government agencies 47, 62, 99
 ‘governmentality’ 42, 240
 governments 18–19, 30, 31–2, 43–4, 49,
 54, 57, 64, 66, 67, 72, 73, 76, 79, 80,
 83, 89, 91, 92, 110, 112, 114, 115,
 120, 122, 155, 156–7, 158, 161,
 168–9, 170, 172, 173, 175, 179,
 187b, 191–2, 196
 active in shaping debates and ideas 81
 business-friendly 100
 conflicting interests (mollification)
 101
 diversity of interests 98
 judicial constraints 118
 policy failure 39–41
 responsiveness to business interests 81
see also coalition governments
- Gozo 15t
 Granada 145
 Greece 7, 25t, 29, 77, 87b, 122, 124,
 129t, 143, 145, 147, 158–9, 180t,
 192, 220t, 222t, 232, 235
 accession to EC (1981) 183–4
 asylum-seekers 152, 153t
 borders 14t, 15t
 regularizations 136, 147–8, 148t,
 235
- ‘Green Card’
 Germany 86b, 88, 100, 112
 Greece 147
 SA 88
- Green Papers (European Commission)
 64, 95
- Green Party (Germany) 88
 Groenendijk, K., *et al.* (2007) 120, 241
 Dam, D. 241
 Fernhout, R. 241
 Oers, R. 241
- Guardian* 1
- guest workers 29, 39, 98, 107, 113
 ‘becoming permanent residents’
 29–30
- Guild, E. 142, 199, 237, 241
 Guiraudon, V. xiii, 45, 47, 113, 115,
 210, 213, 241–2
- Hague Programme (2005–9) 52, 52–3b,
 55, 140b, 151, 163b, 239
- Hall, P. 47–8, 242
- Hamburg 85b
- Hammar, T. 203, 242
- Hansen, R. xii, 38, 242
- harmonization 63–4, 94, 102, 118, 155,
 161, 164, 165, 168, 169, 245
see also European integration
- heads of state/government 55
see also European Council
- health 38, 78, 80b, 173, 201
 health insurance 178, 188
 health professionals 48
 health and safety 87
 health services 33–4, 194b
 healthcare 14, 107, 204, 217
- Heckmann, F. 131–2, 145, 242
- Herman, E. 131, 242
- High Court (UK) 111
- High-Level Panel on Free Movement of
 Persons 199
- Highly-Skilled Migrants Programme
 (HSMP/UK) 89
- Hollifield, J. xii, 64, 112–13, 116, 243
- Holocaust 21
- Hong Kong 166b
- Honohan, I. 109, 243
- ‘host third country’ (concept) 166b
- hotels (and catering) sector 30, 31, 86b,
 98
- housing 14, 38, 78, 106, 107, 188,
 194b, 198, 201, 217, 218
 ‘accommodation’ 33, 185
- human capital 84
- human rights 18, 37, 41, 42, 63–4, 103,
 115, 142, 158, 159, 160, 167, 169,
 171, 175, 194, 241
- human-trafficking 11b, 39–40, 52b,
 123, 125–6, 131–2, 135, 144, 243,
 244, 247
 UN definition 130
 versus people-smuggling 130
- humanitarian assistance 167
- Hungary 5, 14t, 25t, 30, 60t, 90, 153t,
 165, 220t, 222t
- Iceland 4, 60t, 183b

260 *Index*

- identity 179, 201, 208, 219
 collective 42
 national 2, 37, 70, 90, 103
- identity cards 145, 178
- illegal immigration 6, 9b, 9, 11b, 28, 52b, 61, 86–7, 242
 terminology 128
see also immigration
- immigrant integration *see* migrant integration
- immigration 179
 ‘back route’ 18
 ‘displacement effect’ 83
 economic benefits 236
 entry and settlement programmes 30–1
 ‘goes to heart of self-definition of states’ 13
 host countries (old versus new) 91
 irregular 16
 ‘liberalization by stealth’ 32
 ‘limited analytical usefulness’ 17
 ‘new focus for insecurity’ 163
 ‘not a panacea’ for ageing population 80b
 positive impact 83
 ‘public resistance’ 31–2
 timing 144
 ‘wanted’ versus ‘unwanted’ forms 113, 134, 230
see also irregular migration
- Immigration Act (Spain, 2000) 92
- Immigration Act (Spain, 2005) 93
 amendment (2009) 100
- immigration controls
 enforcement costs 126
- immigration countries
 ‘newer’ 50, 69, 110, 152, 153t, 159, 221, 232
 ‘older’ 50, 221, 225
- immigration hotspots 24
- Immigration Law (Germany, 2004) 99
- Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND/UK) 161
- immigration policy
 potted history (EU) 8–9b
- Immigration Reform and Control Act (USA, 1986) 134
- immigration status 30–1
 ‘immigration stop’ (early 1970s) 103, 111, 112, 120
- income tax 182
- India 22t, 26, 27f
- Indian sub-continent 29
- inflationary pressures 83
- informal economy 91, 130, 132, 136, 144, 230–1
- information deficits (labour mismatch) 85b
- information exchange 132
- information technology 31, 86b
 ICT specialists 88
- information-sharing 58, 61
- innovation 84
- ‘institutional sectors’ 46, 124, 143
- institutionalization
 EU legal and political framework 69
- institutions 38, 80
 liberal-democratic 40–1
 social and political 37, 38–9
- Integrated System of External Vigilance (SIVE, Spain) 145
- integration 33, 201, 214
 basic questions 206
 core dilemma 37–9
 national approaches 37
 term ‘widely used, deeply contested’ 206
see also migrant integration
- integration handbook 201
- ‘integration measures’ 216
 versus ‘integration conditions’ 110, 115, 119
- ‘integration outcomes’ 20
- ‘integration policy’ 20
- ‘intensive transgovernmentalism’ (Wallace) 54–5
- inter-ethnic relations 43
- inter-state negotiation 69
- interest groups 47, 62, 72
- intergovernmentalism 54–5, 56, 61, 168, 169
- interior ministries 44, 99, 133, 156, 171
 ‘cautious about publicizing compromising data’ 172
 officials 64, 68–9
see also ministries
- internal security 35b, 36, 48, 83, 97, 128, 133, 135, 227, 231, 232
 ‘global approach’ 133
- International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) 154
- international criminal organizations 144
- International Labour Organization (ILO) 85
- international law 32, 55, 57, 104, 105, 141b
 refugees 63–4

- international migration, could not exist
without state borders 13
- International Organization for Migration
(IOM) 4n, 21, 22t, 146b, 154, 243,
244
- international organizations 65, 79
- intra-company transfers (migrant labour)
87b
- Iran 160t
- Iraq 159, 160t
- Iraqi migrants 124
- Ireland 25t, 30, 60t, 77, 89, 95, 101,
114, 115, 153t, 180, 184, 196, 216,
220t, 222t
citizenship 176–7, 198
intra-EU movement 177
- IREM 186–7b
- irregular migrants 152, 173, 193
deaths 122, 124
exploitation 135
expulsion 58
interception costs 145
sanctions on employers (proposed)
142
- irregular migration 18–19, 33–4,
122–49; 6, 7, 40, 46–7, 52b, 75, 82,
99, 101, 158, 174, 229, 234, 237,
239, 245, 246
‘absence of clear definition’ 125
administrative practice and
implementation 143–8
convergence between law and practice
(five factors) 144–5
core dilemma 34
cross-references 27, 32, 58, 86
deaths (USA-Mexico border) 134
detections of illegal entry (2007)
129t
economic drivers 131
empirical evidence 144
enforcement-evasion spiral 134
epiphenomenal 127
‘epistemological uncertainty’ 143
EU role 145, 149
expulsion (policy option) 135
forms 130
internal checks 19
issue-definition contest 126–7
narratives 125–8
‘notoriously difficult to measure’ 34
policy options 135–6
political debate 135–43
‘pull’ factors 134, 144, 146
‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors 123
push factors 127
- regularization (policy option) 135,
136
- terminology 129, 131
- terms and their consequences
128–35
- toleration (policy option) 135
- UK 138–9
see also labour migration
- Islamophobia 202
- isomorphism 233
- issue linkages 142
- issue-definition 125–6
contest 126–7
- Italians (in UK) 186b
- Italy 7, 19, 25t, 29, 30, 36, 60t, 87b,
97, 104, 122, 123, 124, 129t, 133,
143, 145, 147, 150, 158, 180t, 191,
192, 197, 204, 209, 220t, 232, 240,
248
asylum-seekers 152, 153t
deliberate malintegration 99
electoral campaigns 136, 149
family migration 32
immigration hotspot 27–8, 28f
irregular migration (ambiguities of
policy responses) 136–7
irregular migration (court files) 144,
246
key issues 27
maritime borders 15t
new immigration country 91–3
number of migrants (2000–5) 4, 4f
regularizations 136, 137, 148t, 247
Roma (people) 193–4
- Jacobin state 38, 242
- Jenkins, R. 207
- Job Mobility Action Plan (2007–10)
199
- Johnson, B. 138
- Joppke, C. 37–8, 41, 113, 114, 243
- Jordan, B. 127, 239
- judicial branch/judiciary 41, 57, 103,
104, 112, 113, 118
- judicial cooperation 60t
- judicial decisions 138
- Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) 63,
183b, 189–90
cooperation 152, 154, 162b
‘external dimension’ 154
inter-governmental pillar 8–9b
‘structural fatalists’ versus ‘naive
separatists’ (Walker) 169
‘third pillar’ of Maastricht Treaty
162b, 228

262 *Index*

- Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Council (EU) 56, 64–5, 163b, 168
- K-4 Committee 64–5
- Kaliningrad 14t
- Kelly, L. 125, 243
- Kingdon, J. 48, 244
- Knill, C. 233, 244
- knowledge-based economy 81, 83–4, 181–2, 216
- Kofman, E. 111, 244
- Koser, K. 126, 244
- Kosovo 150
- labour/workers 16, 44, 188
 casual 87
 illegal 40
 indigenous/‘native’ 18 86–7, 126
 low-skilled 76, 77, 86, 91, 126, 193
 mobility rights 7, 8b
 preferences mismatch 85b
 seasonal 85b, 86b, 92, 96, 148, 192, 230
 semi-skilled 91
 skilled 1, 6, 46, 48, 68, 75, 76, 77;
see also professionals
 supply and demand 84–5b, 182
 temporary 86b, 87
 unskilled 85b
see also labour migrants
- Labour Government (UK) 89, 93, 138
- labour laws 36
- labour market
 efficiency 180
 inspection 142–3
 needs 93, 94–5, 99
 policies 99
 segmentation 85, 107
 shortages 36
 structures 144
 test 86b
 trends 75
- labour markets 14, 19, 20, 33–4, 38, 47, 53b, 173, 181, 188, 195, 200, 204, 206, 208, 218, 219, 220t, 221, 222t, 223, 234, 240
- flexible 87
- gendered 107
- migration-driver 134
- pull factors 135, 137, 138
- skill range 77
- labour migrants/migrant labour 76, 98, 107
- recruitment mechanisms 84, 86–7b
see also self-employment
- labour migration 18, 28–31, 76–102;
 34, 47–8, 68, 75, 107, 118, 127, 158, 170, 186, 192, 245
- academic studies 82–3
- versus ageing population 80b
- beneficial forms 43
- bureaucracies 98–102
- common admission procedure (proposed, 2005) 94–5, 237–8
- core dilemma 31–2
- costs and benefits ‘unevenly distributed’ 82
- duration 77
- economic arguments 82–3, 83–7, 89–90
- global approach 97
- information and advice centres 97
- liberal approaches 98
- liberal economic interests 40–1
- narratives 82–7
- negative consequences (for immigrants and ethnic minority groups) 85
- negative consequences (for indigenous population) 85–7
- negative social impacts 91
- new thinking (EU) 96–7
- notion of ‘skill’ 120
- political debate 88–97
- productive’ 110
- public debate based on academic research 90
- seasonal 97
- sector specificity 77
- selective 89
- spatial specificity 78
see also migration
- labour migration policy 77–82
- administrative practice and implementation 97–102
- determinants 80–1
- dilemmas 77–8
- EU’s ‘limited role’ 93–4
- forays by European Commission 94–6
- harmonization 102
- rhetoric decoupled from practice 79, 81
- strategies 78–9
- labour mobility
- new thinking (EU) 96–7
- labour recruitment 86–7b, 181
- bilateral agreements 193
see also recruitment programmes
- labour shortages 30, 31, 79, 80b, 84, 84–5b, 86b, 89, 94, 98, 185
- coexistence with unemployment 85b

- labour shortages – *continued*
 complex causes 100
- Laczko, F. 125, 244
- land borders *see* borders
- language 78, 87b, 106, 110, 111, 119, 148, 161, 193, 196, 198, 202, 206, 214
- Latin America 22t, 35–6, 159
- Latvia 5, 14t, 25t, 60t, 90, 147, 153t, 220t
- Lavenex, S. 97, 244–5
- law 33, 57, 104, 105, 115, 116, 118, 120, 132, 195, 203, 212, 225, 227, 235
see also international law
- Lega Nord* (LN) 136
- legal aid 141b
- legal expertise 211
- legal status 173
- legislation 32, 34, 47, 49, 66, 75, 156, 164, 174
- legislative branch 57
- legislative proposals 66
- legitimacy/legitimation 44, 45–6, 64
- Leigh Star, S. 13, 236
- Lellouche, P. 194–5
- Lemaitre, G. 77, 78, 238
- level-playing field 164, 165
- Levy, C. 168, 245
- ‘liberal constraint’ 41
- liberal democracy 37, 113, 114, 234, 240, 241
- liberal economic goals 48
- Libya 122, 123, 133, 145, 152
- Liechtenstein 4, 183b
- life expectancy 80b
- ‘Life in UK’ website 202
- Lin Liang Ren 138–9
- Lindsey Oil Refinery 186–7b
- linguistic adaptation 20
see also language
- Lisbon Strategy/Agenda (2000–) 95, 181–2, 216, 239
- Lisbon Treaty (signed 2007, ratified 2009)
 7, 51, 56, 57, 58, 65, 66, 150, 156, 228
 Article 77(1) (absence of internal border controls) 10b
 Article 77(2) (external borders) 10b
 Article 77(3) (mobility rights) 10b
 Article 78 (common policy on asylum) 10–11b
 Article 79 (common immigration policy) 11b
 Article 79(3) (re-admission agreements) 11b
- Article 79(4) (TCN-integration measures) 11b
- Article 79(5) (TCN-admission) 11b
 76
- Article 80 (responsibility-sharing) 11b
- ‘encountered strong opposition’ 8
 provisions 9, 10–11b
 rejected in referenda 8
- Lithuania 5, 14t, 25t, 90, 153t, 220t
- lobby groups 211, 213
- local authorities 78, 83, 172–3, 185
- local government 100
- London 138, 163, 190
- longevity 194b
- long-term care 80b
- long-term residents 197, 204, 223, 231
see also Directive on Long-Term Residents
- long-termism 62
- losses in translation 75
- Luedtke, A. 210, 241
- Lula da Silva, L. I. 141
- Luxembourg 5, 25t, 61, 66, 77, 153t, 180t, 220t, 222t
- Luxembourg [City] 55
- Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on European Union, 1992) 7, 8b, 19, 63, 64, 152, 227
 Article 17(1) 187
 ‘Articles 18–21’ 188
 effective (1993–) 3
 JHA pillar 162b, 228
- Macao 166b
- Macedonia (FYR) 14t, 23, 25t, 142, 166b, 232
- MacFadden, P. 187b
- Madeira 15t
- Madrid 92, 163
- Maghreb 239
- Malta 5, 15t, 25t, 60t, 122, 123, 129t, 147, 153t, 220t
- ‘managed migration’ 68, 135
- Maroni, R. 28
- marriage 32, 113
 ‘arranged’, ‘forced’ 111
- marriage migration/family formation 106
- Martelli Law (Italy, 1990) 158
- Martin, P. 219, 245
- Massey, D. 134, 245
- ‘maximalism’ 231
- MEDA 139

264 *Index*

- media/mass media 32, 40, 44, 47, 62,
73, 83, 89, 90, 98, 102, 161, 164,
171, 184, 185, 193, 194b, 226
‘press coverage’ 65
- median age 5
- medical sector 191
- Mediterranean 122–4, 132, 139
- Meetoo, V. 111, 244
- Melilla 24
- men 26, 78, 107, 110, 130, 221
- Meyer, J. 46, 248
- Middle East 35b, 36, 159
- migrant integration/immigrant integration
19–20, 201–24; 16, 53b, 73, 82,
106, 110, 111–12, 115, 117, 230,
240
administrative practice and
implementation 217–21, 222t,
223
‘component of broader debate’ 219
context (social and institutional)
201
cross-references 182, 197
EU action (multi-causal bundle of
concerns) 205
EU level debate 208–9
EU measures (member-state priorities)
201
EU rights-based framework 218
family members 104
versus ‘immigration-control’ 119–20
‘intervening variables’ 206, 217
levels and dimensions 204–9
lowest-common-denominator policy
(averted) 212
meaning ‘not clear’ 217
‘means different things in different
places at different times’ 207
narratives 203–9
organizational context 217
philosophies 208, 240
policy outputs and outcomes (gap)
217
political debate 209–17
political debate (EU dimension)
210–14
‘reframing of debate’ 222–3
socio-economic 202
terminological disputes 206
two-way process 201
see also integration
- migrant integration sites 218
- migrant labour *see* labour migrants
- migrants
categories 13
cheap labour 33
economic 157
entry (regular versus irregular) 129,
130
‘expatriate communities’ 194b
favoured destinations (2010) 22t
by geographic region (2010) 22t
high-skilled 78–9, 83, 89, 106, 107,
112, 181, 203, 229, 230
‘individuals’ versus ‘family units’ 104,
108
integration capacity 214
lower-skilled 78, 79, 85, 107, 203,
229
networks 101
numbers 3–4
pre-entry tests 202
productiveness (differential approach)
112
quota systems 117
returning to country of origin 25t
seasonal 2, 30, 98
selected 18
skilled 31, 32, 77, 81, 99, 192, 196
temporary 2, 30, 98, 113, 245
temporary (transition to permanent
settlement) 40, 82
tests 208
treatment variations 1
young 196
see also regularizations
- migration 232, 234
analytical approaches 39
‘cumulative causation’ 108
decision-making venues 112, 117,
118
differentiated from ‘mobility’ 3
dilemmas 31–9
driver of population growth 5–6, 6t
versus ‘economic development’ 82
economic rationale 42
internal 2
intra-European 24
intra-EU versus extra-EU 57
literature 39
misunderstanding of phenomenon by
policy-makers 40
versus ‘mobility’ 23, 36, 54
narrative constructions 118
paradigms 181
permanent-type 103–4
policy responses 1
post-cold-war context 3
‘primary’ versus ‘secondary’ 107, 110,
113

- migration – *continued*
 productive' versus 'supposedly unproductive' 104
 'productive' versus 'unproductive' 110
 return of people to country of origin 23
 'rheterical construction' 39
 'threatening' (versus 'beneficial' intra-European mobility) 180–1
 'twelve-month' definition 2
 types 6–7, 28–37, 50
 'unwanted' 134, 230
 see also sunset migration
- migration categories 16–17
 fluidity 16
 re-definition 17
- 'migration industry' 123, 131–2, 135, 247
 'migration business' 134, 144
- migration management
 global approach 149
- Migration and Mobility in European Union*
 analytical framework 1–20, 225–6
 approach 54
 conclusions 20, 225–34
 focus 2
 key questions 6–7
 'mobility' aspect 2–3
 objectives 17
 organization 18–20
- migration policy 21–50
 complexities 15–17
 cross-references 17, 18, 71–2, 81, 88, 143, 205, 223, 228
 economic logic 164
 EU dimension 51–75
 external dimension 132–3
 making and operation (temporal shifts) 68
 shaping and reshaping 231–2
- 'Migration Policy and Narratives of Societal Steering' (seminar series, 2007–9) xiii
- migration policy-making 43–4
 face value 43
- migration politics
 complexities 15–17
 illiberal tendencies 121
- migration type 225
- minimum wage 86, 109
- ministers 55, 62
- ministries of
 development 48
 economic affairs 44, 99, 100
 foreign affairs 44, 48, 99, 133
 health 148
 justice 44, 148
 labour 44, 99, 100
 public order 148
 see also interior ministries
- mobility 2–3, 51, 75, 76, 79, 204, 214, 224, 228, 229, 234
 'beneficial' (versus 'threatening' migration by TCNs) 180–1
 costs 85
 differentiated from 'international migration' 3
 EU framework 177–8
 higher-skilled 190
 low-skilled, semi-skilled 181
 narratives 178–90
 obstacles 198
 problems 186–7
 rhetoric versus practice 177
 see also free movement
- mobility, citizenship, and EU enlargement 19, 176–200
 administrative practice and implementation 196–200
 core dilemma 36–7
 cross-references 20, 36, 93, 204
 free movement of workers 181–5
 political debate 190–6
- mobility partnerships 96–7, 246
- mobility rights 230
 potted history 8b
 transition arrangements 179, 180, 184, 192, 195
- mobility versus migration 23, 36
- 'Mode 4' liberalization 230
- modernising agenda 89
- Moldova 14t, 97, 166b
- Montenegro 166b
- Monzini, P. 246
- Morecambe Bay (2004) 138–9
- 'Moroccan mafias' 144
- Moroccans 124, 193
- Morocco 24, 26f, 29, 97, 124, 133, 145, 166b, 215
- multiculturalism 20, 37, 38, 202, 205–6, 207–8, 210, 214, 222, 223, 226
- multilevel governance 131, 177
- multilevel migration politics 226–32
 'differences across policy types' 230–1

266 *Index*

- multilevel policy setting 54–67
 multilevel politics 10–12, 234
 definition 226–7
 multilevel system 16
 multinational companies 96
 intra-company transfers 98
 ‘multiple adjustments’ 38, 201
 Muslims 37–9, 202, 203, 223, 243
 ‘mutual recognition’ principle (asylum-seekers) 53, 53b
 Myrdal, G. 108, 246
 ‘myth of invasion’ 34, 122, 239
- narratives xiii
 asylum 157–61
 family migration 106–12
 and ideas 72–3
 immigrant integration 203–9
 irregular migration 125–8, 135
 labour migration 82–7
 mobility, citizenship, EU enlargement 178–90
 ‘technocratic’ 73
 nation-state 54–5, 180
 core functions 41
 ‘power-maximizing agents’ 41–2
 ‘national colours’ 233
 National Institute of Employment (Spain) 100
 national insurance 129
 national interests 190
 national sovereignty 12, 41, 94, 117, 168, 176
 ceded to EU 179, 200
 nationality 35b, 173, 178, 201, 203, 211, 212
 transfer to subsequent generations 197
 nationality laws 215
 Neal, A. 145, 246
 necessary malintegration 120–1
 neo-liberalism (challenged) 85
 Netherlands 19, 25t, 29, 39, 50, 61, 104, 106, 113, 115, 118, 119, 153t, 180t, 191, 194b, 204, 208, 210–14, 216, 220t, 221, 222t, 242
 asylum policy 154
 immigrant integration 201–2
 labour migration strategy 78
 ‘minorities policy’ 207
 number of migrants (2000–5) 4f
 networks 67, 101, 131, 135, 161
 Nevins, J. 134, 247
 ‘New Commonwealth’ 29
 new institutionalism 248
- New World 21
 New York Protocol (1967) 35b
 NGOs 65, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 194, 212
 Nice Treaty (2001) 9b, 58, 65, 66, 116, 150, 163b, 228
 Nielsen, K. 241
 Nigeria 160t
 non-refoulement principle 35b, 141b, 166b, 174
 non-state actors 165
 Nordic free movement area 60t
 North Africa 29
 North America 22t, 23
 North American Free Trade Agreement 145
 North Lincolnshire 186–7b, 187
 Northern Ireland 176
 Norway 4, 60t, 183b, 220t, 222t
 nuclear family 105, 106–7, 119
- Oceania 22t, 23, 24f
 OECD 19, 32, 62, 80b, 85, 103–4, 246
 Oers, R. 241
 oil price crisis (1973) 30
 Ombudsman 188
 ‘open method of coordination’ (OMC) 94, 237
 ‘opinions’ 56
 opt-outs 95, 114, 115, 216
 organizational memory 73
 organizations 74
 organized crime 28
 overstay 40, 122, 128, 130, 193
- Pakistan 124, 126, 160t, 166b
 Pakistani people 147
 Palestine 124
 Paris 190
 Parkes, R. 97, 246
Partito Democratico 28
 party politics 40, 73, 74, 102, 185, 209, 229
 declaratory types 72
 dynamics 72
 see also political parties
 passports 178, 190
 Pastore, F., *et al.* (2006) 144, 246
 Monzini, P. 246
 Sciortino, G. 246
patera (wooden boats) 124
 pensioners 179
 see also sunset migration
 pensions 80b, 95, 137, 196, 198, 199, 204

- people-smuggling 11b, 19, 40, 52b, 123,
 124, 126, 128, 131–2, 135, 138–9,
 144, 244, 246
 versus ‘human-trafficking’ 130
 permanent residence 35, 79, 170–1, 178
 permanent settlement 31, 32, 40, 82,
 97, 113
 persecution 21, 34, 35b, 35, 157, 159
 ‘well-grounded fear’ 165
 Pew world values survey (2004) 38
Pinar E (cargo ship) 122
Plan Greco (Spain, 2000) 104
 points systems 31, 78, 87b
 Poland 5, 14t, 25t, 26, 27f, 60t, 77, 90,
 153t, 159, 165, 180t, 185t, 195–6,
 220t
 intra-EU movement 177
 loss of labour skills 196
 migration to UK and Ireland (2004–)
 101
 police 60t, 61, 189
 policy convergence *see* convergence
 policy cycle 43, 49
 policy dilemmas 31–9, 50, 77–8,
 147–8, 170
 policy failure 2, 27, 39–41, 48, 81–2,
 99, 101, 112, 120, 137, 169, 207,
 218, 219, 221, 225, 231
 reasons 40–1
 ‘simplistic’ thesis 43
 policy outputs 74–5
 policy pragmatism 144, 145
*Policy Priorities in Fight against Illegal
 Immigration* (CEC, 2006) 132,
 238
 policy process 17, 71–2
 outcomes 45, 46, 74–5, 231
 ‘policy failure’ versus ‘securitization’
 39–44
 policy stream 48–50, 72
 policy types 230–1
 policy-making
 ambiguity 50
 credit-seeking 49
 discourse versus practice 72
 ‘evidence-based’ 125
 multi-level and multi-dimensional 71
 ‘opaque process’ 45
 problems versus solutions 72
 relocation (spatial, temporal, social)
 69
 simplistic 40
 political debate
 asylum 161–6
 family migration 112–17
 immigrant integration 209–17
 irregular migration 135–43
 labour migration 88–97
 mobility, citizenship, EU enlargement
 190–6
 political mobilization 72, 73, 75
 political opinion 34, 35b
 political participation 218
 political parties 84, 87
 business-friendly 88, 89
 incumbent versus opposition 72, 73,
 88, 89, 90, 164, 172, 191
 mainstream 209–10
 protectionist, welfare-oriented 88
see also party politics
 political process 1, 6–7, 70
 political sociology 44, 242
 political spectrum 39
 left-wing 87, 88, 158, 209
 centre-left 28, 89, 92–3, 100, 136,
 209–10
 centre-right 27, 90, 92, 93, 99,
 136–7, 158, 191, 209–10, 235,
 239, 240
 right-wing 87, 88, 90, 191–2, 193,
 209, 210
 extreme right 67, 209–10, 212
see also communism
 politicians 49, 69
 anti-immigration, anti-EU 230
 liberal 190
 politics 6–7, 9, 21, 70, 71, 73, 78, 233
 constitutional and judicial 113
 ‘high’ versus ‘low’ 227
 national 69
 rights-based 64
 territorial basis 227
 politics of migration in Europe 17
Popolo della Libertà coalition (Italy)
 92
 Popular Party (Spain) 92
 population control 12–13
 population registration 145
 populism 40, 62, 73, 83, 90, 136, 184,
 209
 ‘populist gap’ 191
 Portugal 15t, 25t, 29, 30, 60t, 87b, 104,
 153t, 180t, 192, 220t, 222t, 232
 accession to EC (1986) 183–4
 family migration 32
 Portuguese 186b, 204
 post-Cold War era 7, 34, 68, 227–8
 post-imperial era 39
 post-war era (1945–) 18, 21, 29, 34, 39,
 83, 84b, 247

268 *Index*

- post-war era – *continued*
 migration and refugee flows in Europe
 23–8
 posted workers 186–7b
 Posted Workers Directive (1996) 186,
 187b, 192
 poverty ('push factor') 123
 power (legal, social, political) 209
 preferences mismatch (labour) 85b
 Prewitt, K. 69, 239
 productivity 83–4, 101, 182, 188
 professional footballers
 professionals/professions 77, 87b, 197
 skills shortages 86b
see also 'labour/skilled'
 proportional representation 210
 'proposals' 64
 protectionism (EU-level) 190
 Prüm Treaty (2005) 61
 public administration 73–4
 public debate 39, 62, 113
 public health 178
 public opinion 44, 48, 62, 81, 89, 90,
 161, 193
 public policy 18, 39, 44, 71–2
 public services 156, 182
 Puglia (Italy) 124
 pupil exchange 95
 Purcell, M. 134, 247
- qualifications, recognition 95, 198
 Qualifications Directive (2004) 152
 qualifications mismatch (labour) 84b
 qualified majority voting (QMV) 9b,
 10b, 16, 51, 58, 63, 65, 163b
 quality of life 192
- race 20, 34, 35b, 203, 208
 Race Equality Directive (2000) 202,
 213
 race relations 38
 racial harassment 193
 racism/xenophobia 27, 28, 141, 205,
 206, 209, 211, 213
 Radaelli, C. 70, 232, 247
 rape 193
 rapid border intervention teams (RABITs)
 146
 readmission agreements 166b, 171, 174
 'rebundling' of authority (Ansell) 12,
 228, 235
 'reception capacity' 116
 reception centres 49
 'recommendations' 56
 recruitment programmes 101
 recruitment quotas 100
see also labour recruitment
 Reding, V. 195
 referenda 8, 183b
 reforms
 'easy to initiate, hard to achieve'
 48–9
 refugee
 concept 34, 165
 definition 35b
 joint EU position (1996) 162b
 refugee camps 49
 refugee flows 34–6
 causes 159
 core dilemma 36
 refugee groups 175
 refugee recognition 162b
 refugee resettlement 99
 refugee status 9b, 34–5, 170–1, 174,
 175
 refugees 19, 32, 163b
 protection in 'regions of origin' 49
see also asylum
 regional development 227
 regional mismatch (labour) 85b
 regional protection programmes 53b
 regionalism 100
 regularizations (of migrants) 27, 87b,
 92, 93, 99, 130, 134, 135, 137, 138,
 143, 145–7, 158, 193, 235, 247,
 249
 implementation (and dilemmas in
 practice) 147–8
 member-state policy-spectrum 146–7
 number of people involved
 (1996–2008) 136
 'pull' factor 146
see also third-country nationals
 Regulations 16, 51, 56–7, 70, 177
 asylum 231
 religion 34, 35b, 111, 211
 relocation: types 67–71
 remittances 231
 repatriation 171
 research projects (EU-funded) 70
 residence permits 11b, 119, 199
 residence rights, for more than six months
 (conditions) 178
 residence status, regular versus irregular
 129, 130
 residents
 long-term 198
 long-term (non-EU citizens) 20
 retirement 5, 24, 80b
 return (deportation) issue 139–43

- ‘return to assimilation’ (Brubaker) 202, 236
- Returns Directive (EU, 2008) 58, 66, 132, **140–1b**, 141, 143, 145
- ‘Article 15’ 141b
- ‘Article 36’ 127
- issue linkages 142
- see also* safe countries
- rhetoric 44, 45, 46, 72, 74, 76, 79, 106, 143, 189–90, 213, 217
- ‘securitarian’ 42
- rhetoric versus practice 72, 81, 151, 155–6, 170, 174–5, 191–2
- EU mobility provisions 177
- Spain and Italy 92–3
- West Germany 98–9
- rhetoric versus reality 104, 123–4, 136–7, 200
- see also* ‘talk, decision, action’
- rights framework 208–9, 224
- rights-based politics 103, 112, 229
- Rodríguez Zapatero, J. L. 93
- Roma (people) 193–5
- Romania 5, 14t, 24, 25t, 26f, 60t, 101, 147, 153t, 194–5
- Romanians (in Spain) 192–3
- rombo dei cannoni* 136–7
- Rome 193
- Rosarno (Reggio Calabria) 27–8
- Ruggie, J. 112–13, 247
- rural areas 78
- Ruspini, P. 148n, 247
- Russian Federation 14t, 22t, 160t, 166b
- ‘Ryanair effect’ 5, 190
- safe areas 49
- ‘safe (third) countries’ 162b, 165, **166b**, 174
- EU Resolution (1992) 166b
- see also* deportation
- Salt, J. 132, 247
- same-sex partnerships 107
- Sanctions Directive (proposed, 2007–) 142–3, 237
- ‘sanctity of law’ 144
- Sangatte 1, 3, 165
- SAP 139
- Sarkozy, N. 109
- Saudi Arabia 22t
- Schengen Agreement (1985) 8b, 58, 60t, 63, 197, 231
- Schengen area xiv, 58, 59(map), 59, 190, 193, 246
- history (1990–2008) 60t
- Schengen Borders Code (2006)
- ‘Article 5’ 127–8
- Schengen Convention (1990) 58–61
- effective (1995–) 58, 60t
- signed (1990) to implement ‘Schengen Agreement’ 60t
- single external border 58, 60t
- Schengen Information System (SIS) 59, 60t, 128
- central system (C.SIS) versus national system (N.SIS) 61
- SIS second-generation (SIS II) 61
- Schengen system 123, 133, 138
- Schroeder, G. 90
- science and technology 99
- scientific research 73, 95
- Sciortino, G. 142–3, 246, 248
- scoreboards 66
- Scotland 85b
- Scott, S. xiii, 241
- Scott, W. 46, 248
- sea borders *see* borders
- sector specificity 78
- sector-based programmes (recruitment of migrant labour) **86b**
- sectors (of economy) 87b, 95, 96, 138–9
- skills shortages 86b
- secularism 119
- securitization 41–3, 162–4, 174, 236
- ‘simplistic’ thesis 43
- security officials 61
- self-employment 76, 178, 179, 188, 197
- see also* unemployment
- Senegal 97
- Serbia 14t, 124, 160t, 166b
- service sector 92, 107
- sex discrimination 114
- sex workers 130
- sexual orientation 211
- Shaw, J. 188–9, 248
- Sheffield University xiii
- Single European Act (1986) 63, 68
- see also* European Single Market
- Sinn, H.-W. 184, 248
- skill shortages 2, 79, 84, **84–5b**, 86b, 89, 93, 94
- skills (vocational) 77
- skills-based programmes (recruitment of migrant labour) **87b**
- Slovak Republic/Slovakia 5, 25t, 30, 60t, 90, 153t, 220t
- Slovakians (in UK) 185
- Slovenia 5, 15t, 25t, 30, 60t, 90, 147, 153t, 220t
- social citizenship 208

270 *Index*

- social cohesion 42, 90, 109, 182, 227
 Social Democrat Party (Germany) 88
 'social dumping' 186, 191, 192, 200
 social group 34, 35b
 social inclusion 211, 215
 social relocation
 effects on migration and mobility in EU
 68–9
 social security 14, 33, 95, 185, 188,
 199, 202
 social services 82–3
 Socialist Party (France) 213
 Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) 93
 socialization 69, 70, 74, 238
 societal sectors 46, 248
 'Solidarity and Management of External
 Migration Flows' 140
 Somalia 124, 159, 160t
 South Africa 26, 27f
 'sovereignty bargains' 54, 106, 228
 Soviet Union 139
 Spain 7, 19, 29, 30, 31, 36, 60t, 61, 77,
 87b, 97, 100, 119, 122, 123, 124,
 129t, 143, 144, 145, 147, 153t, 180t,
 192, 220t, 222t, 232, 237
 accession (1986) 183–4
 immigrants (country of origin) 26f
 immigration hotspot 24–6
 maritime borders 15t
 migrant population (2010) 22t
 new immigration country 91–3
 number of migrants (2000–10) 4f,
 4–5
 property market collapse (2008–) 24
 regularizations 136, 148t, 235
 Romanian migration 101
 sunset migration 194b
 spatial relocations (of competence) 67,
 68, 96, 223–4, 228
 spatial specificity 78
 'special agricultural workers' (USA) 134
 spouses 105, 106, 110, 112, 113, 119,
 198
 Sri Lanka 166b
 standard of living 157
 state controls (ineffectiveness) 40–1
 state cooperation 54
 state interests (complexity) 45
 state power 127, 249
 state role 37
 state sovereignty 227
 state-building 13
 state-centricity 64
 Stein, J. 132, 247
 stigma 160
 Stockholm Programme (2010–14) 52,
 53b, 55, 76, 150–1, 163b
 Stone, D. 125, 248
 Strasbourg 55, 66
 Strategic Committee on Immigration,
 Frontiers, and Asylum (SCIFA) 51,
 56
 Straubhaar, T. 182–3, 248
 'street-level bureaucrats' 148
 strikes 186b
 students 179
 foreign/international 78, 87b
 sub-Saharan Africa 132, 133
 subsidiarity principle 204
 sunset migration 192, 193, 194b
 see also family migration
 supermarket power 139
 supranationalism 54–5, 56, 67
 surveillance 42, 44
 Sweden 5, 25t, 60t, 77, 89, 153t,
 164, 180, 184, 196, 207, 220t, 221,
 222t
 asylum-seekers 152, 153t
 number of migrants (2000–5) 4f
 welfare state type (Esping-Andersen)
 219
 Switzerland 4, 4f, 29, 39, 60t, 220t,
 222t
 bilateral agreements with EU 183b
 symbolical accords 47
 TACIS 139
 'talk', 'decision', 'action' (Brunsson)
 45–7, 50, 71, 72, 73, 105, 118,
 149, 173, 221, 223, 225, 230–1,
 237
 irregular migration 126
 see also 'decoupling'
 Tampere action plan (1999–2004) 52,
 52b, 55, 151, 163b
 Tampere European Council (1999)
 163b, 167, 216, 239
 Tampere 'Scoreboard' 167
 taxation 80b, 129, 188
 technocratic debate 89–90, 91
 'temporary leave to remain' 171
 'temporary protection' 171
 terminology
 and consequences (irregular migration)
 128–35
 irregular migration 125
 territoriality 227
 terrorism 42, 61, 214
 'theory effect' (Bourdieu) 125
 think tanks 211, 212, 213

- third-country nationals (TCNs) 3, 7, 8,
9b, 10–11b, 23, 24, 37, 76, 94, 102,
113, 118, 120, 127, 142, 177, 179,
200, 202, 204, 211, 223, 224, 227
Council Directions (2004, 2005) 95
employment rates 219, 220t, 222t
EU parlance 203
EU's role 'relatively weak' 32–3
fair treatment 52b
free-movement provisions 196–7
'incomplete membership' status 205
long-term residents 215–16
mobility 182
mobility rights (policy options)
214–15
'not subject of EU legislation' 31
rights acquired by residence rather than
nationality 216
rights framework 205
'stronger labour-market exclusion'
221
unemployment rates 221, 222t
see also migrants
- Tichenor, D. 134, 248
- Tier 1 migrants (UK) 112
- time 68
- top-down projects 189
- torture 166b
- Total (oil company) 186–7b
- tourism 2, 24, 91, 190, 193
- trade 142
- trade talks 141–2
- trade unions 90, 186, 187b, 199
- training 95, 115–16, 146b, 178, 188,
196, 197, 217, 218
- transgovernmentalism 67
- transit 130, 164–5, 166b
- transit countries 159
terminology 'value-laden' 133
- transit migration 133
- transparency/openness 97, 101
- travel documents 128, 132, 164–5, 175
- treaties (international) 41
- Treaty of Rome (1957) 3, 8b, 19, 178,
183b, 203, 212, 227
'Article 3' 181
Title III 181
see also Maastricht Treaty
- Treaty on European Union *see*
Maastricht Treaty
- trust 38
- Trusczyński, J. 195
- Tunisia 29, 97
- Turkey 4, 4f, 14t, 29, 124, 157, 166b,
179, 184, 192, 215, 232
- Turks (in Germany) 113
- Ukraine 14t, 22t, 166b
- underclass 85
- 'undocumented migration', terminology
128
unemployment 5, 30, 90, 107, 182,
186–7b, 196, 221
coexistence with labour shortages
85b
sectors 181
see also domestic employment
- Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di
Centro* (UDC) 136, 137
- United Kingdom 1, 5, 26f, 36, 39, 49,
50, 68, 95, 99, 104, 113–14, 115,
119, 126, 150, 164, 165, 168–9, 180,
184, 191, 194b, 196, 198, 202, 204,
207, 208, 210, 211, 212–13, 216,
220t, 222t, 231, 240, 241
ageing population 80b
asylum policy 154
asylum-seekers 152, 153t, 172–3
case for labour migration 88–91
emigrants to Spain 24
family migration 32
full market access for A8 nationals
(2004–) 185
gangmasters and irregular migrants
138–9
government citizenship survey (2008)
38
immigrants 29
immigration hotspot 25t, 26, 27f
immigration legislation (1962–71) 26,
29, 147
intra-EU migration 78, 79
labour migration strategy 78
'limits of integration' 37–8, 243
migrant population (2010) 22t
migrants (professional status) 77
number of migrants (2000–5) 4, 4f
open door to East European labour
90–1
points system 31
Polish immigration (2004–) 101
regularizations 146–7
secures partial participation in
Schengen system (2000) 60t
welfare state type (Esping-Andersen)
219
- United Kingdom: Department for Trade
and Industry 100
- United Kingdom: Department for Work
and Pensions 100

272 *Index*

- United Kingdom: Home Office 99, 111, 138, 176, 185, 185n, 249
 United Kingdom: PMO (Performance and Innovation Unit) 100
 United Nations 80b
 UN Commissioner for Human Rights 194
 UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 122, 146b, 154, 160n, 161, 167, 170, 249
 United States 85–6, 126, 219, 234, 236, 237, 248
 migrant population (2010) 22t, 23
 US–Mexico border 134, 145, 245
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) 105
 unsafe countries 141b
 urban areas 78
urbanizaciones (Spain) 194b
 ‘us and them’ 15

 Van Hecke, S. 210, 239
 vehicle registration 61
 Veil, S. 199
 Venezuela 141
 Vietnam 171
 violence 159, 202
 visa policy 52b
 visas 9b, 11b, 37, 57, 59, 123, 128, 157–8, 175, 190, 193
 vocational training 178, 197
 voluntary service 95

 wage rates 196, 200
 under-cutting 186b, 186, 204
 wages 83, 85b, 86–7, 191
 waiting periods 110, 113, 116–17, 119
 Walker, N. 169, 249
 Walker, R. 13, 249

 Wallace, H. 54–5, 249
 ‘ways of doing things’ 232, 233
 welfare 44, 81, 93, 149, 159, 160, 175, 200, 217
 welfare agencies 99
 welfare burden 190
 welfare rules 36–7
 welfare services 82–3, 176, 194b
 ‘welfare shopping’ 184
 welfare states 14, 20, 34, 38, 107, 184, 208, 218, 223, 234, 236, 248
 types 219, 221, 239, 240
 welfare systems 157–8, 204
 decoupling (rhetoric versus practice) 172–3
 West Africa 29, 239
 West Indies 29
 White Card (provisional residence, Greece) 147
 Willen, S. 127, 249
 Wöger, A. 134, 249
 women 26, 78, 108–9, 110, 130, 137, 193, 221, 247
 guest-worker era 107
 work (paid and unpaid) 111
 work permits 92, 199
 Worker Registration Scheme (WRS/UK) applications (2004–8) 185, 185t
 workers *see* labour
 working population 5
 World Bank 62, 85
 World Trade Organization (WTO) 84–5
 World War II 21

 Year of Workers’ Mobility (2006) 199
 youth 196, 221, 223
 Yugoslavia 29, 139, 150, 171
 Yugoslavs (in Germany) 113

 ‘zero-immigration’ policies 30, 79