

TRANSNATIONAL EUROPE: PROMISE, PARADOX, LIMITS

ABSTRACTS

PANEL 1:

TRANSNATIONALISM AS A CONCEPT IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES

This panel discusses the role that the concept of transnationalism has played, or could potentially play, in research and theorizing on European integration. Focusing on sociology, political science and historiography, the contributors analyze where research on transnationalism and EU studies have come into contact, and which potentials for mutual learning exist.

Chris Rumford (Royal Holloway, University of London)

TRANSNATIONALISM AND THE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY OF EUROPEAN TRANSFORMATION

This paper argues that transnationalism is an indispensable element of the study of European integration generally and a political sociology of European transformations more particularly. A focus on the transnational is to be welcomed, it is further argued, as the relationship between European integration and globalization has been hitherto poorly understood in EU studies. A study of transnational Europe offers the following benefits: a break with statist and supra-statist models of the EU, thereby allowing for an exploration of societal connectivity; consideration of the role of borders in the transformation of Europe under conditions of globalization; an alternative to notions of fixed geographical scales and 'levels' of integration; greater dialogue between European studies and EU studies. Transnationalism occupies an important place in a political sociology of European transformations and should no longer be thought of as the 'poor relation' of globalization.

Achim Hurrelmann (Carleton University)

TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EU POLITICS: EXPLORING A NEGLECTED FIELD IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION THEORY

This paper explores the role of transnationalism as a concept in European integration theory. While the classical theories of the 1950s and 1960s considered transnationalism a

defining characteristic of integration, more recent theorizing has increasingly marginalized the concept, defining integration exclusively in institutional terms. By contrast, some of the empirical literature on EU politics gives a far richer depiction of the issue. This literature can be systematized to generate a typology of activities and beliefs that help shape the societal environment in which EU institutions operate. The concept of transnationalism thus sheds light on the relationship between political and societal aspects of European integration, an important but often neglected research field. On the other hand, my analysis also reveals limitations and biases inherent in the concept: Due to its actor-centeredness, structural and non-intentional aspects of European society remain systematically underexposed. These problems can be overcome by drawing more explicitly on the sociological literature about various aspects and mechanisms of societal integration.

James Casteel (Carleton University)

HISTORICIZING THE NATION: TRANSNATIONAL APPROACHES TO THE RECENT EUROPEAN PAST

Historians of modern and contemporary Europe are currently engaged in a ‘transnational turn,’ an attempt to move beyond the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis. This move has served to expose the central role that nationhood has played and continues to play in the writing of modern European history. Since the founding of the discipline, professional historians have contributed to the construction of and perpetuation of national narratives and in many cases were active participants in nationalizing projects themselves. Even critical historians who challenged nationalist historiographies often invoked a methodological nationalism that neglected many topics that could not be encompassed by the national framework. This paper will assess the uses of transnationalism in recent historiography of modern and contemporary Europe and discuss its potential for producing novel interpretations of the recent European past. In particular, the paper will focus on the ways in which transnational approaches elucidate the dynamics of nationhood and nationalism in the European past and present, an essential theme for writing European historiography in the twenty-first century.

PANEL 2

TRANSNATIONALISM, HUMANITARIANISM, SECURITIZATION

This panel deals with the paradoxical impact transnational exchanges have had on individual rights in Europe: On the one hand, and for one part of the population, national borders have disappeared, allowing for unprecedented mobility, wider scopes of communication and participation, and new forms of solidarity and humanitarianism. On the other hand, and for another group of people, new borders have been erected and fortified, and transnational movements and activities have become heavily securitized.

Franck Düvell (Oxford University)

TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION CONTROL IN EUROPE

So far, Europe is still divided into the European Union and the non-EU Europe; another dividing line runs through the Mediterranean basin. Citizens of an EU country enjoy freedom of movement, paradoxically though they do not seem to take much advantage of this right. At least, geographic mobility within the European Union is low and businesses lack suitable workers. Whilst there is a demand for mobile and flexible low- and highly skilled migrant workers migration from non-EU countries is severely restricted. This creates a tension which results in large-scale irregular immigration. In response, an international migration control regime took shape that extends from the Schengen countries like shock waves and increasingly integrates non-EU countries. The external borders are fenced and militarized and a battle over access to the EU has flared up. This paper analyses the interaction of migrants and the European control regime.

Kemal Kirişci (Boğaziçi University Istanbul/Carleton University)

CONTROLLING EXTRA-EU TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AS A SOURCE OF INSECURITY BETWEEN THE EU AND TRANSIT MIGRATION COUNTRIES

The EU has been a massive engine of transnational mobility of people. However, part of this mobility coming in the form of immigration from outside the EU has been framed increasingly in security terms. Emphasis has been put on keeping out and stemming 'unwanted' migration. A whole 'external' dimension to the EU's 'common migration' policy has been devoted to stopping migration before it reaches the EU. The policy employs a discourse that advocates 'partnerships' and 'dialogue' with third countries, especially with transit migration countries. However, little attention has been paid to the impact that externalization is having on the target countries, to transnationalism in the neighbourhood of these target countries and to the human dimension. More often than not the EU's efforts to increase the 'security' of its own citizens and member states from unwanted migration are in turn causing insecurity for the officials of the target countries, the inhabitants of the region as well as the migrants themselves. The purpose of this paper is to explore the form and nature of this 'insecurity' provoked by the EU's 'externalization' of its immigration control policies as well as to highlight a less studied and less cheerful aspect of transnationalism associated with the EU.

Karolina Szmagalska-Follis (University of Pennsylvania)

THE CIRCULATION OF SUSPICION: EUROPEAN UNION ON BORDER BETWEEN POLAND AND UKRAINE

Between Ukrainian independence in 1991 and Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 the formerly impenetrable border between the two countries developed into a site of unprecedented economic exchange, cultural and political activities and civic initiatives. After decades of Soviet domination, Poles and Ukrainians came to define their neighborly relations on their own terms, reckoning in the process with their brutal history. The aim of this paper is to discuss the implications that the drawing of the new external EU boundary between Poland and Ukraine had for this vibrant field of traffic and activity. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in both countries, I will show that the endeavor of constructing the outer EU border relies heavily on the newly established cross-border trust even as it undermines it at the same time. Polish and EU officials need extensive cooperation of their counterparts in Ukraine to successfully reborder Europe. On the other hand they gaze towards Ukraine with suspicion, as a source and transit country for EU-bound illegal immigrants. I will argue that it's not the external EU border itself, but rather the circulation of suspicion through these new neighborly networks that threatens to undermine the post-Soviet effort of reconciliation and reckoning with the past in this part of Central Europe.

PANEL 3

TRANSNATIONAL PUBLICS, CITIZENSHIP, AND DEMOCRACY

Transnational exchanges have led to the emergence of new forms of political communication and contestation, while at the same time redefining the role of existing democratic institutions, both at the state and EU levels. This panel hence analyzes the impact transnationalism has had on democracy in Europe: How have patterns of political participation changed, and how have these changes affected democratic citizenship?

Karim Karim (Carleton University)

NATION AND DIASPORA: RETHINKING MULTICULTURALISM IN A TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT

Multiculturalism has redefined the nation as comprising a culturally pluralist population. However, the increased linkages between countries, produced by accelerated globalization, have also engendered intricate transnational networks between diasporas

residing in several states. The telephone, internet, satellite television and other media help construct a web of connections among these ‘transnations’ enabling them to maintain and enhance their cultural identities. Diasporas have creatively engaged with transnational media and are participating in a ‘globalization-from-below’. An increasingly cosmopolitan outlook has been fostered by the inter-continental links. But multiculturalism policies tend erroneously to continue viewing members of immigrant communities as having engaged in a one-way trajectory that breaks ties with their past. The current conceptualization of multiculturalism as fixed within the context of the nation-state does not allow for a well-considered response to the transnational contexts in which immigrants live out their lives. Some migrant-producing states have begun to address these circumstances, but those of immigrant-receiving governments have generally been reluctant to acknowledge them.

Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

UNDERSTANDING THE NEW ‘INTEGRATIONISM’ IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS:
BETWEEN TRANSNATIONAL EVENTS AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONTEXTS

Recently, Germany and the Netherlands have realigned their policies concerning immigrant integration. In Germany, the current SPD-CDU government ended a long period of federal state inaction in this policy area by introducing a ‘National Integration Plan’ and hosting a series of highly publicized ‘summits’ on immigrant integration and the place of Islam in Germany. In the Netherlands, integration policies which had oriented themselves around the norms and objectives of multiculturalism have given way to much more aggressively assimilationist approaches. It is argued that the meanings attached to events, including but not limited to the 9-11 attacks, the bombings in Madrid and London, and the immigrant riots which gripped Paris in 2005 helped bring integration policy-making to the top of Germany and the Netherlands’ political agendas. However, country-specific concerns structured by each state’s distinct political institutional context have led to significant variation in the aims, scope and content of their policies. Hence, integration policy in Germany has tended toward measures aimed at enhancing immigrants’ social integration, while in the Netherlands it has been oriented toward compelling immigrants to adopt distinctly Dutch value orientations.

Robert Gould (Carleton University)

SPEAKING IMMIGRATION – ESTABLISHING (TRANS)NATIONAL IDENTITIES: EUROPEAN
MINISTERS TALKING ABOUT IMMIGRATION

This paper will first examine the speech given by Commissioner Franco Frattini on 23 September 2007 to the High Level Lisbon Conference on Legal Immigration as an

example of the EU discourse on immigration and integration. It will show the incorporation of globalisation rhetoric into the process of persuading member-state governments to implement the ongoing Commission proposals. The paper will then turn to recent speeches and statements by ministers responsible for immigration and / or integration in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom to examine the ways in which themes articulated at the EU level are handled publicly on the member-state level. It will show the processes whereby ministers enact their own identity and that of their country.

PANEL 4
**THE TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF MARKETS AND ITS SOCIAL
CONSEQUENCES**

One of the most visible aspects of transnationalism in Europe is increased capital and labour mobility between the EU member states, as well as between the EU and third countries. This panel discusses how this economic transnationalization has affected the functioning of European economies: Do transnational markets contribute to an increased convergence of once distinctive capitalist regimes? Which economic problems and social conflicts result from transnational labour mobility, and how have they been addressed by public policy in various European states?

Daniel Preece (University of Alberta)

CREATING AND DISMANTLING SOCIAL EUROPE: THE TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

This paper traces the development of Social Europe. The social policy environment currently established within the European Union is oriented toward the market and the ideology of neo-liberalism. This paper argues that this policy regime was not created in any systematic manner; rather the lack of legislative responsibility has slowly eroded the capacity of the member states to exercise exclusive sovereignty and autonomy over welfare policy. Competing transnational social forces have sought to entrench policies reflecting their rival ideals within the legislative framework of the EU, but the contestation between them has often resulted in minimal policy development at the European level. When counter-hegemonic actors have been successful in introducing social democratic ideals within the European policy regime, such as the European Employment Strategy or the debate over social inclusion, the ideological content of these initiatives have become diluted by the demand for national variation. These initiatives still pose a constraint on national policy, but the social purpose of the programs become open to contestation and vulnerable to being reinterpreted by another historic bloc.

Nathan Lillie (University of Groningen)

THE FINNISH MODEL OF UNIONISM AND TRANSNATIONAL WORK IN CONSTRUCTION

This paper argues, through an analysis of industrial relations and subcontracting in the construction of the new Olkiluoto 3 nuclear power plant in Finland, that national trade unionism is inappropriately structured to represent the transnational construction workforce. Olkiluoto 3 is being built by a French/German consortium employing mostly posted migrant labor via transnational subcontractors from around Europe. Despite the power of the Finnish union movement, contractors have evaded the overheads associated with Finland's coordinated market economy by contesting the right of Finnish actors to regulate the site, placing themselves in a de-regulated 'space of exception' falling between national systems.

Jessica Allina-Pisano (University of Ottawa)

TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE EASTERN BORDERLANDS OF THE EUROPE UNION

The eastward expansion of the European Union has created borderland micro-economies in post-socialist Europe, profoundly shaping politics and society for those living in the European Union's shadow. While some scholars and many of those living just beyond EU boundaries describe or experience outer Schengen border regimes as a "wall around the west," goods and people nonetheless continue to traverse the border between the European Union and other states. In southwestern Ukraine, rural and urban populations alike depend upon transnational arbitrage capitalism for their livelihoods. This paper examines economic and social changes that have unfolded in this part of Ukraine as a consequence of changing border regimes. The paper focuses on three distinct geographical areas within this region, analyzing transnational labor and trade regimes along Ukraine's frontier with three of its European Union neighbors: Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania. The paper is based upon local press coverage in three languages and on participant observation research conducted in villages and border crossings in 2004, 2007 and 2008.

PANEL 5

TRANSNATIONALIZING EUROPEAN DISPARITIES

This panel discusses which parts of the population, and which regions in Europe, can be identified as winners and which as losers of transnational exchange. The panel considers social and territorial inequalities both within and across EU member states, new disparities between EU insiders and eastern outsiders, as well as popular reactions to these developments.

George Petrakos (University of Thessaly)

REGIONAL INEQUALITIES AND REGIONAL GROWTH IN EUROPE

The evolution of regional inequalities in the European Union is often perceived as the spatial footprint of the forces and dynamics driving and shaping the integrated economy. In this perspective, regional inequalities have received increasing attention at the national and European level and are typically understood as a measure of success of the integration, development and cohesion policies. This paper examines the evolution of regional inequalities since the introduction of SEM at the national and European level with the use of simple statistical and cartographical methods. Then, it develops a regional growth model testing for convergence patterns and investigating for the impact of integration, structure and geography, using a database of 249 EU NUTS II regions, in the period 1990-2003. The paper provides critical insight with important implications for theory and policy.

Grzegorz Gorzelak (University of Warsaw)

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND INEQUALITIES IN THE NEW MEMBER STATES

The paper will shortly discuss main aspects of post-war development of the Central and Eastern European countries, with a special stress put on the post-1990 period. The post-socialist transformation will be presented in quantitative and qualitative dimensions, also with regional breakdowns. The regional dimension of the most recent development will be the main focus of the paper. The regional differentiations will be presented and discussed. In particular, the regional effects of metropolisation will be demonstrated, also in more detailed way based on the Polish example, where the relation of the metropolises with their hinterlands were examined in an empirical way. The third part of the paper will be devoted to the tentative assessment of the effects of accession to the EU on overall economic performance of the new member states and the regional dimensions of their development (with the Polish picture presented as the most detailed one). These issues will be discussed within a critical framework of the Cohesion Policy of the European Union and its possible reforms. The paper will conclude with an outlook to the future of the new member states and their regional development.

Joan De Bardeleben (Carleton University)

THE EU'S NEW EASTERN BORDER: EU-RUSSIA DISPARITIES

It was expected that EU enlargement might accentuate economic and social disparities between new member states and adjacent Russian regions. This would occur because

transnational exchanges across the Schengen border might be reduced and EU accession would bring an accelerated improvement in economic conditions in the new member states due to increased transnational (intra-European) economic relations. However Russia's energy boom and continuing differentials within new member states themselves might mitigate this dynamic. This paper explores these hypotheses, examining how political factors may mitigate or reinforce the impact of transnational economic forces on the EU's interface with 'outsider' regions.