Dissecting the "Root Cause" Approach

A Discourse Analysis of the Long Term European Migration Policy

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Abstract

This thesis uses a discourse analytical approach based on *Ernesto Laclau* and *Chantal Mouffe* to critically analyze long term migration policies. Hegemony and antagonism are used to show the development of the "Root cause discourse". The discourse is based on the assumption that mainly illegal migration from underdeveloped sender states to more developed receiving states will in time diminish due to social and economic development.

The discourse is challenged by the "opposing discourse" that is based on post colonialism, anthropology, economy and deconstruction of the notion "development". Deconstruction is used by post structuralism to show how "natural truths" are formed as political policies, it will also help to explain contemporary policy making from a historic view.

The main purpose of the thesis is to map antagonism and hegemony by locating floating signifiers used by different discourses to create stable identities. The floating signifiers found in the analysis are *"development"*, *"mobility"* and *"illegal migration"*.

The thesis also explains the evolvement of the root cause approach *within the EU* that has come to be a part of the "external dimension" and traces the presumed positive and negative effects on migration that the "Union for the Mediterranean" might have.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, external dimension, Union for the Mediterranean, migration, development.

Word count: 9926

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1   Introduction

> "The right to be mobile is the badge of the global elite, while the poor are meant to stay at home" – Zygmunt Bauman (Castles, 2008: 13).

Migration and its patterns changes constantly depending on, among others, demographic relationship, poor economic prosperity, conflicts, famines or brutal regimes repressing there citizens. The migration patterns in Europe after the Second World War were dominated by a flow of migrants from southern Europe and its surrounding region to the northern parts of Europe. This was something encouraged by European states since it contributed to bring a large labour force which was needed to rebuild a torn down Europe. But when the "guest workers" did not returned home and instead brought their families to stay with them, and the increasing flows of refugees in the eighties came to shape the migration pattern an urge to try to restrict the immigration flows occurred. The migration policies from European states favoured legislation to tighten the possible ways for refugees or voluntary immigrant to stay inside the European Union. This way of building bureaucratic walls is sometimes metaphorically called as forging a "Fortress Europe". As a consequence of this, migrants found it more favourable to enter Europe illegally, which is an ever increasing problem that the European Union is determined to constrain.

Recognizing that the hard line attitude towards illegal immigration has failed since it did not stopped the problem, rather it just increased it, a new approached appeared to be a viable long term solution to the problem. This approach did not focus on the symptoms of the "problem", it directed its attention to the causes of the problem, which was recognized to be armed conflicts, human rights abuses or economic and social underdevelopment. This approach also clings on to the logic that social and economic development in the sending countries will in time make it less favourable for the people living there to migrate to northern countries.

In the summer of 2008 the French president Nicholas Sarkozy launched the *"Union for the Mediterranean"* (UFM) that aims to provide a framework for promoting international cooperation to come into terms with problems such as illegal immigration, desertification and energy development. The suggested plan has received some critical opinions. Sarkozy has also received some support for his plan from Spain that believes that the project will have a positive effect on curbing the illegal immigration (Ritter, 2008: 34).

The quote below is an official statement taken from the *"Barcelona process: Union for the Mediterranean Ministerial Conference Final Declaration"* in November, 2008:

> "Ministers recalled that the issue of migration should be an integral part of the regional partnership and its related challenges namely legal migration,

migration and development and the fight against illegal migration, […]They stress that promoting orderly-managed legal migration in the interest of all parties concerned, fighting illegal migration and fostering links between migration and development are issues of common interest which should be addressed through a comprehensive, balanced and integrated approach" (Internet 6).

1.1   Purpose and Questions

The purpose for this thesis is twofold; first of all it will seek to map the discourse that has come to shape the long term immigration policies of the European Union. The focal point here is to *investigate the development of the root cause approach[1] within the EU and to shade light over the discursive battle over giving a meaning to certain elements (floating signifiers).*

   The other purpose is to deconstruct the notion of development to show how the "discourse of development" has became an influential view in the field of western politics and policymaking, this will help to explain from a historical view how Europe is trying to tackle modern phenomenons such as migration.

   It is interesting to analyse the long term strategies since much of the discussion and research about European immigration concerns strategies within the EU to tackle migration when it is already occurring and tend to relate to the internal sphere within the EU. This thesis, on the other side, directs the focus towards the aim to prevent migration from happening and revolves around the external part of the European policymaking. The questions are:

- Which floating signifiers can be found in the "root cause" discourse and are opposing discourses trying to articulate meanings to these elements?

- How can the UFM be analyzed from the root cause perspective and which preliminary conclusions can be made?

1.2   Previous Research Regarding Migration

Migration research is truly a multidisciplinary field attracting disciplines such as economy, history, anthropology, law and political science. The topic of migration was largely ignored in political science until the migration into the industrial societies started in the 1960s.

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[1] The terms Root cause - "approach" and "discourse" will be used interchangeably

Popular ways to conduct projects has been to analyse economic push and pull factors which sees migration flows as a response to labour market conditions and wages. Political science strongest contribution to migration research is to formulate questions of how migration is formulated as an issue and how different interests are developed, also how states and social interests interact in creating and implementing policies (Freeman, 2005: 111,117,123-124).

Previous research conducted in political science revolving around European migration has largely been focused on the securitization[2] of migration policies during the recent decades and the impact that the discourse on "war on terror" have had on European policy making. Popular questions to investigate are how migration policies delimitates the possible reasons for asylum seekers and illegal migrants to stay in Europe. Other projects shows how immigrants are socially constructed as "enemies" and something unwanted or using postcolonial vocabulary, created as "the others". Other interesting areas has been to see if European migration policies are based on particularistic or universal values or characterised by a moral obligation driven by a human rights discourse.

The above mentioned topics of investigation do not cover the entire spectrum of issues, but it points out some guidelines that give the uninitiated reader a hunch of previous research, it also works as a springboard for this thesis.

1.3 Discourse Analysis as Method and Theory

The thesis will be founded on the critical discipline of social science. Critical studies have a main goal of getting under the surface of traditional sources of grievances and to bring up deep social formations into the light. Studies are made on social institutions, ideologies, and discourses and focuses on revealing assumptions that are taken for granted (Alvesson, Deetz, 2000: 12-13, 16-19).

Different approaches have been trying to define discourse and to conquer its meaning, as a minimum definition, it is *"a way of speak and understand our world"* (Winter Jörgensen, Philiphs, 2000: 7).

The method of discourse analysis originates from the field of literature studies, therefore the written and spoken language is important for these types of analysis. The language is not a neutral instrument, it is used to manifest power by delimitating what can and cannot be said and thereby limiting our way of acting and thinking.

Discourse analysis does not deny the existence of an objective reality. An illustrating example is a stone that lies on a field, it truly exists but its purpose might be associated differently by people existing in different contexts. The Stone Age man might perceive it as a weapon, the settler considers it to be a building brick and archaeology student sees it as an interesting study object. The

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[2] Making something a more politicised issue

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interpretation of the stone creates our knowledge about it, and to recognize some knowledge as more "truthful" than others is a matter of power (Bergström, Boréus, 2000: 221-222, 234-235).

Discourse analysis offers a theoretical and methodological "packet solution" including philosophical premises regarding the substantial role that the language has in socially constructing our interpretation of the world. Theoretical and methodological conditions are combined and include predetermined epistemological and ontological stances that the scientist has to accept. Some important premises are that one should have a critical stance towards accepted knowledge, there is no such thing as objective knowledge. Our perception about the world is historically and culturally formed and identities, knowledge and social relations are created by discourses and they help us to maintain certain social patterns (Jörgensen, Winther, Philips, 2000: 10-12).

Discourse analyses as a method does not come with specific templates on how to conduct a research project mostly due to its multidisciplinary character. Common for all the different approaches is the social constructivist ground and the structuralist and poststructuralist view of the language (Jörgensen Winther, Philips, 2000: 9, Bergström, Boreus, 2000: 238).

An important part of the analysis is to delimitate the discourse and to put boundaries to your field of study. There are no clear definitions of what a discourse is and what its not. One possible way is to see the discourse is as an analytical concept that the researcher applies to the reality to create a framework for the task In other words, the delimitation is directly depending on the strategically purpose of the research (Jörgensen Winther, Philips, 2000: 136-137).

Because of its hermeneutic and social constructivist foundation, discourse analyses are impossible to test or generalize with similar cases.

1.3.1 Analytical Tools

The ground foundation for the analytical tools in this thesis is based on *Ernesto Laclau* and *Chantal Mouffe*. Laclaus and Mouffes version is a mix between post structuralism and Marxism, their perspective concentrates on political processes and the development of political policies (Bergström, Boréus, 2000: 231). Their main goal is to:

> "Map the processes where we fight over which meaning signs are given and where
> certain designations of elements are being so conventionalized that they are perceived
> as natural" [3] (Winter Jörgensen, Phillips, 2000: 32).

Laclau and Mouffe denies the idea that the discursive field is reserved for the linguistic area and that there is a dichotomy between discursive and non discursive practises that is assumed by Michael Foucault. In their minds,

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[3] Translation by the author

discourses are "worlds" encompassing all social practises. Discourses determine identities of social actors, this occurs trough the language as well as social phenomenons such as institutions and ideologies. (Howarth, 2007: 117).

Laclau and Mouffe is criticising the traditional Marxist deterministic and reductionist view of identities. They assert that identities are not created historically with predetermined interests, like the role of social classes that are predestined because history is driven by economic relations (Rustin, 1988: 146, Howarth, 2007: 121). Instead identities are temporarily, relational and opened for change and therefore discourses are always changing and can never be totally fixed.

I will briefly explain some terms connected to discourse analysis, not all explicitly exercised in my analysis. Later in subchapter 1.3.2 the focus will be on the analytical tools that will serve as the analytical foundation for this thesis.

First of all, let us turn to the linguist professor Ferdinand de Saussure and his view of the language as a system of *signs*. A sign has no given meaning (by nature) and is therefore open for an articulation of meaning or identity. *Articulatory practice* is the way that signs discursively are given a certain meaning or meanings being modified. Signs without articulation are called *elements* and articulated signs are called *moments,* the overall totality from the articulation is called a discourse (Bergström, Boréus, 2000: 229, Laclau, Mouffe, 2001: 105). *Floating signifiers* are the specific elements that different political projects (discourses) competes about to articulate in order to create hegemony by closing a discourse and freezing the meanings of the element so they become moments. But since discourses are always contradicted by other discourses a hegemonic discourse will never prevail. The transformation from elements to moments is never fully completed, because of the *field of over determination* that consists of a surplus of meanings that all competes about articulating elements (Laclau, Mouffe, 2001: 110-111). This stops a discourse from totally defining all the elements to have a homogenous and clear-cut meaning.

In a discourse, certain signs form a positive or negative distinction to the element that is in the centre of the discourse, called *nodal point. Logic of equivalence* consists of chains of signs that form a positive or negative association with the discourse. For example in a "Nazi discourse" where "Jew" becomes the central element, ergo the nodal point, the discourse has a positive association with "motherland" and "native district". On the other side the discourse can not function if it is not related to its opposite. The Nazi discourse has a bad association with "democracy", "bolshevism" or "humanism" (Bergström, Boreus: 2000: 229-230).

1.3.2 Antagonism, Hegemony and Deconstruction

The two most central terms in Laclaus and Mouffes theory is the concept of *antagonism* and *hegemony*. In traditional Marxism the antagonistic relationship consists of the working class and the class that owns the means of production. Laclau and Mouffe dismiss the idea that social actors are having constituted

identities, they also disapprove of the traditional view of conflicts as between social actors that have predetermined identities.

Antagonism happens when social actors are unable to maintain stable identities because they are open for articulation from opposing interests. One example of antagonism is how the nationalistic discourse in early the nineteen hundreds tried to persuade the European citizens that the people living within a nation had a special bound and the outermost important division between different people was the nation borders. Simultaneously the socialistic discourse promoted the idea that all workers no matter what country they lived in should fight the capitalists (the owner of the means of production) instead of fighting workers in other countries. The two discourses were in an antagonistic relationship of defining the identity of European citizens either as "soldiers" or "revolutionists" and the outbreak of the First World War showed that the nationalist discourse got the overhand.

This line of reasoning leads to the central assumption that antagonism is an obstacle in crystallizing stable identities and reveals the demarcation line where a certain identity no longer can be fixed without being questioned by opposing forces (Howart, 2007: 121-122, Bergström, Boréus, 2000: 232, Winter Jörgensen, Paulsen, 2000: 53-54).

Hegemony is understood as the linking of different identities and political forces to a common project that creates a new order in society. The term relates to *Antonio Gramsci* and his elaboration of the Marxist line of thinking in emancipating the concept of hegemony from the class discourse. According to Gramsci the working class should transcend the lines of their own narrow interests and form an alliance with other parts of society creating a "collective will of universal values" called *historical bloc,* Laclau and Mouffe calls this a *hegemonic formation.* Gramsci also said that the prevailing ideology in a society consists of institutions like schools upholding the "proper" ideas and values (Howarts, 2007: 125-126, Laclau, Mouffe, 2001: 136, Bergström, Boréus, 2000: 233).

Certain discourses can, in some historical periods, be so natural so they don't face any serious opposition, they articulate a hegemonic formation. But the moments are always vulnerable and might again become elements open for new articulations. The way that some discourses removes alternative views and dissolves the antagonism is labelled as a *hegemonic intervention.* The outbreak of the First World War can be interpreted as a hegemonic intervention since the nationalist discourse succeeded to articulate "national identities" (Germans, French) on the expensive of the articulation of people as "workers" (Winter Jorgensen, Phillips, 2000: 55).

The social and political theorist *John Dryzek* believes that many international conflicts today can be interpreted as "clashes of discourses". In the book *"Deliberative global politics"* he outlines some major discourses shaping the outcome of contemporary politics like market liberalism, globalization, human rights and sustainable development. Dryzeks also argues that some discourses become hegemonic. Hegemonic discourses are deeply rooted in the minds of all the relevant actors so they reach the status of common sense and are seen as natural (Dryzek, 2006: 7-8).

After the Cold war, democracy and market liberalism were seen as undisputed taken for granted discourses and Francis Fukuyama nailed this notion by stating that the implosion of the Soviet empire called for the undisputed recognition of democracy and market liberalism as victorious, ending the making of history. Economic liberalism has since the eighties been dominated by the "Washington consensus" view promoting free trade, capital mobility and deregulated markets and was seen as the "logic of no alternative". But some contestation could be seen mainly from the "global justice" movement in events like the protests in Seattle in 1999 regarding the WTO meeting. The protesters wanted to battle the assumption that global economic growth led to equality for all (Dryzek, 2006: 8-11).

It is submitted that Dryzeks contribution is more concrete and comprehendible comparing to Laclaus and Mouffes rather abstract and philosophical version. Laclau and Mouffes view on conflicts is ontological and unavoidable apart from Dryzeks view that sees conflicts as something that can be settled by "deliberative talks".

As mentioned in the outlining of the purpose the thesis will also deconstruct the notion of development. *Deconstruction* is an instrument from the post structuralist Jacques Derrida and aims to dismantle the structures that constitute our "natural world" in order to show that it is made out from political process that as an effect creates social consequences (Winther Jörgensen, Philips, 2001: 56).

1.4 Considerations about Migration and Development

An international migrant is a person that intends to spend a relevant period of time in another country, which separates them from regular tourists or persons travelling for business purposes. This thesis will analytically divide the world into a "north south" dimension, this division can be applied in analysing aggregated migration flows that this thesis will engage in. "North" will mean Europe (mainly south Europe) and "south" will imply North Africa.

Important for this thesis is the concept of *migration systems.* International and regional migration flows goes often from specific sending countries to certain destination countries forming specific migration patterns called migration systems. These systems consists often of a one way flow of migrants that is created by events, decisions and activities in the past and reflects post colonial, economic, cultural or linguistic links. This is evident in the migration from northern Africa (Maghreb area) [4] to southern Europe, particularly France, Italy and Spain, or from Pakistan and India to United Kingdom (Hammar, Tamas 1997: 15-18, 39-40).

The term development can be used in a large set of context, such as economic, social and political development. Development implies that something is moving

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[4] Area in northern Africa including, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria

from an initially low position to a higher position. Economic development is often measured in GNP/GDP per capita. Other measures are HDI[5] or the Gini coefficient that reflects human development and income distribution. Social and political developments are less quantifiable but regard topics as, democracy, human rights, environmental development and civil and political rights (Hammar, Tamas 1997: 18-19).

This thesis will use economic and social development (including political development) to differentiate between the two dimensions. It will not use statistical means to measure development, rather it seeks to analyze the origin of the development discourse using post colonialism and deconstructionism. Therefore it is not necessary to operationalize the term "development" in order to use it for quantitative measurement, I am more interested in reflecting how development have been and is perceived by different discourses.

1.5   Material

The thesis will use secondary sources such as articles from scientific journals, books, official documents and homepages. Official policy documents from the European Commission and UFM will be used to be sure of unbiased material. The opposing discourse will be based on books and articles. The material that is used will in the analysis be transformed into a discourse analytical perspective.

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[5] Includes 3 variables, GDP/capita, life expectancy at birth and educational achievements

2 The External Dimensions and the Development of a Mediterranean Policy within the European Union

This chapter aims to give a brief overview of the development of the European external dimensions including immigration policies. The "southern migration frontier" will also be explained as well and how the EU, since more than a decade ago, has worked to establish cooperation within the Mediterranean region. This is something that has become a vital part of European external relations. This chapter will also present and explain the concept behind the UFM.

2.1 The External Dimensions of European Migration Policy

The "Schengen Agreement" (1985) and The "Single European Act" (1988) altogether led to a loss of national control over boarders and forced the states to find measures to compensate for their vulnerability against illegal entry. It was recognized within the EU to coordinate efforts to limit the movement into the region as a whole. The attempts from the EU to try to restrict access for asylum seekers have increased the level of illegal immigration and weakened the states capability to protect genuine refugees. Restrictions for entry have driven many migrants to try to use more dangerous routes into Europe making the smuggling business profitable. Because of this, the European states have increasingly sought to address this dilemma by cooperating with the sender and transit countries. The Tam23pere meeting in 1998 declared that a common view was now to be based on partnership with the "countries of origin" and to enforce common minimum condition for reception of asylum seekers. Also campaigning for the possibilities for legal immigration and preventing human trafficking were areas that should be incorporated (Geddes, 2006: 131-138).

The EU called for migration and asylum policies to be incorporated into the external dimension in 1999, as a way of partially "outsourcing" the migration management to the sending and transit countries. The externalisation can roughly be divided into two dimensions.

The first dimension seeks to engage the sending and transit countries in improving there border controls, fighting illegal entry, migrant smuggling, trafficking and to sign readmitting agreement that allows the receiving countries to send back migrants getting caught crossing the borders to Europe illegally.

Simultaneously there is a need for highly skilled workers to come to work within the EU, out policy plans to attract them has been drafted (Castles, 2008: 6).

The other dimension is called the "preventative" or the root cause approach. The idea about the root cause approach started in the eighties but was seriously integrated in the external policies of the EU during the nineties, embodied in areas of human rights, trade, development assistance and conflict prevention. This approach was strongly advocated by lobbyist promoting human right values since in did not endangered the rights and freedoms of refugees and voluntary immigrants, it offered a possibility to stay at home rather than narrowing down the possibilities to move (Boswell, 2003: 619-622, 624-625). The European Commission endorsed this approach during a meeting in Seville 2002, stating that:

> "'an integrated, comprehensive and balanced approached to tackle the root causes of illegal immigration must remain the European Union's constant long-term objective'[...] closer economic cooperation, trade expansion, development assistance and conflict prevention are all means of promoting economic prosperity in the countries concerned and thereby reducing the underlying cause of migration flows'" (Internet 3: 21).

2.2   The Southern Migration Frontier

According to Andrew Geddes the "migration frontier" of Europe has moved east and south during the last two decades. It is a geopolitical change that brings new forms of migrants and invokes new forms of migration policies. The Mediterranean countries in Europe are no longer sending labour to the northern parts as they used to do, now they have become receiving countries themselves. From an economic point of view, southern Europe is perceived as a lucrative region for irregular immigrants, mostly because of the big informal economic sector there in relation to northern Europe. There is a win-win situation both from the employers that don't have to pay taxes and social costs and for the immigrant that earns much more. The informality is not created and maintained by irregular immigration itself. Some argues that the informal sector is a heritage and a tradition in these states. Other factors that support immigration to southern European states are:

- Harder immigration laws in the northern states in the seventies contributed to immigration to southern states.

- Geographic proximity, and the short distance to major cities like Athens, Lisbon, Madrid and Rome.

- Colonial ties plays a role to some extent, newer immigration does not always have a strong historical/political connection.

- Immigrants tend to do the jobs that the native workers are not willing to do, for example in southern Italy where the unemployment rate usually is high in comparison to the north, immigrants are hired because the northern natives are unwilling to move south.

- Demographic differences between Europe and Africa, a low birth rate in southern Europe and a relatively high nativity in northern Africa (Geddes, 2006: 149-152).

This almost exclusively one way pattern of migration between the Maghreb area and southern Europe constitutes a migration system due to the significant links existing between the regions[6]. The system emerged when modernisation and colonialism during the nineteenth century created a process of urban migration in North Africa. After the Second World War, the Maghreb countries became integrated in the Euro-Mediterranean migration system when the labour migration boomed. Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands and France signed agreements to recruit labour. The global economic crises in the early seventies came to change the patterns of migration from the Maghreb to be more directed towards Libya and the Gulf countries because of the increased oil production. The patterns sustained until the outbreak of the Gulf War and the civil war in Algeria, 1991.

These factors became the tipping point that would change the North African migration landscape again to be directed towards Europe. Since then, asylum seekers and labour migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Asia have increasingly joined Maghreb inhabitants crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Continued family migration and labour migration mainly to Spain and Italy has solidified the Maghreb regions position in the Euro-Mediterranean migration system both as an origin and transit zone.

African labour migration to Europe consists normally of low skilled workers that do manual jobs in the industry, agriculture or the service sector. Migration of highly skilled was before focused on France but is increasingly being directed to North America (De Haas, 2006: 68, 70-71, 74, 77-79).

2.3 The Development of an European Policy towards the Mediterranean Region

The European Union has since more than a decade strived to make good relations with its southern neighbouring countries. The overarching name for the European approach is called the *Euro Mediterranean Partnership* (EMP) and previously also based on the *Barcelona process*. The Barcelona process was launched in 1995 and aimed to build an area of peace, security and shared prosperity among

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[6] Migration to other parts of Europe is also occurring but not in the same extent

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the Mediterranean countries. The agenda also included the encouraging of a multilateral political dialogue, cooperation on migration issues and financial cooperation (Internet 1).

Another project to promote cooperation is the *European Neighbourhood Policy* (ENP) that was developed in 2004. It is a tool for the EU to make bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries east and south of Europe to promote economic and social reforms (Internet 2). These agreements have in past years developed into means for the European member states to share responsibility and solidify cooperation crossing EU-borders, such as the "Northern dimension"[7] (Aliboni, 2008: 2). This kind of cooperation is an integral part of Europe's external relations.

Since 2001 the EMP has changed fundamentally, the 9/11 incident brought the world into a US declared war against terrorism and the immigration to Europe from Mediterranean shores has since 2001 increased. The Barcelona process became an obsolete project since terrorism and migration issues became more securitised and shifted the European security vision. Also ENP, which touches upon a number of important questions, failed to cover the immigration issue. That called for new measures (Aliboni, 2008: 3-4).

To sum up, The UFM which can be seen as a continuation of the Barcelona Process and a way to "update" the Euro-Med relationship, it aims to deal with:

- Economic and social development

- Food security

- Degradation of the environment, climate changes, desertification

- Energy distribution

- Migration

- Terrorism

- Promoting dialogue between cultures

The countries included are of a total number of 43 nations[8] and 750 million people, with a description as follows:

- The twenty-seven EU-members and five other European countries (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Monaco and Montenegro).

- Four African countries (Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia).

- Six Middle-Eastern countries (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey) and the Palestinian Authority.

- Libya has an observer status (Fuller: 2008-10-07).

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[7] Cooperation between the EU, Island, Norway and Russia (Internet 4)
[8] I will concentrate on the Maghreb countries because of their similarities

3   Migration and Development

In this chapter theories and considerations about migration and its relation to development will be presented. The thesis chooses to call the approach advertised by European policy makers the *"root cause discourse"*. It is mainly formed on the idea that illegal migration to some degree eventually will diminish after integration of markets and cultural and social cooperation.

On the other hand, critical voices question the inherent notion of development or the claim that development reduces unwanted migration. The discourse points out migration as something complex and that it can't be "controlled" or "managed" in order to achieve certain goals. These critical opinions will be labeled as the *"opposing discourse"*. This discourse is a cross fertilization from different theories and approaches that includes economic, anthropologic and post colonial strands. It is also based on the deconstruction of development as a dominant bias.

This thesis is of the opinion that a hybrid from different approaches is desirable in order to analyze the comprehensive approach covering different aspects. It is believed that the analytical ability is enhanced using different perspectives and that the limitation of a discourse is directly depending on the strategically purpose of the analysis that in this case is twofold[9]. Worth repeating is that there are no clear definitions on how to delimit a discourse, it is rather a matter of motivation.

3.1   Migration as a Way to Achieve Development

The nineteen fifties and sixties is called the developmentalist era and modernization theories like Walt Whitman Rostows "stage theory" assumed that underdeveloped countries could trough advanced capital transfer and industrialization "catch up" with the developed northern hemisphere. Simultaneously, a great sum of guest workers became involved in the migration process encouraged by the governments in the sending countries in order to promote national development. This is in line with the thoughts of the "migration optimists" who believed that migration would lead to a north-south transfer of investment capital and eventually make undemocratic states liberal. The flow of remittance[10] and the knowledge that the migrants would acquire from their stay

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[9] See subchapter 1.1
[10] Emigrants living abroad sending money to their families in their homelands

abroad was believed to help the developing countries to achieve their economic take off. The focus for the developmentalist approach is the individual migrant who is perceived as rational and ruled by economical decisions.

Migration can also be an essential part in the neoclassical economic model. The neoclassical model sees migration as a process that optimizes the resource allocation of production factors and evens out the unbalance between industrial and agrarian societies. Migration will continue until the wage levels are equal in both the origin and the sending part, leaving both parties content (De Haas, 2007: 3-5, Brettel, 2000: 103).

This chapter will now try to describe, in more detail, how the comprehensive and broad root cause approach is applied based on documentation from the European Commission. I choose to subgroup the precautions into an economic and a social dimension. This should be seen as a generalization and not a definitive cleavage since some of the actions might intersect the two dimensions. It will not cover all of the measures, but enough to cover the essential parts.

3.1.1 The Economic Dimension of the Root Cause Discourse

First of all, trade is something that encourages development and creates jobs, unemployment is one of the main reasons why people move. The goal for the EU is to promote access to the European markets for developing countries and to integrate them into the world trading system, in line with the "Doha round" within the WTO. It is also important to increase the foreign direct investments and promote the liberalization of capital and finance. The impact of remittance is also something that has been highlighted and has proven to have a positive effect in poverty reduction, therefore it is important to make the sending of remittance safer, cheaper and faster. In order to achieve better use of the remittances, more channels are to be opened and the financial markets must be improved. Micro finance and financial institutions should also be reinforced (Internet 3: 21-22, Internet 5: 3-5).

Another aspect of the economic improvement for the sending countries is so called temporary migrants, (seasonal and circular). Developing countries can gain from temporary migration, not only from the remittance but also the human skills that the migrant acquires from the stay abroad in a developed country. Therefore a win-win-win scenario is the ultimate goal where the sending and reviving country, plus the migrant benefits from migration. Lastly the economic sphere also contains development assistance (Internet 5: 21, Internet 3:15-16).

3.1.2 The Social Dimension of the Root Cause Discourse

The social dimension covers aspects such as strengthening the institutional development so that democratic institutions can uphold rule of law and human rights. This includes measures as supporting a dialogue between the states and opposing groups, fortifying the electoral system, establishing a free media and

guaranteeing protection for minority groups, anticorruption and reforming the police, judiciary and the civil service. Integration and cooperation shall also aim at preventing future armed conflicts, promoting reconciliation and lessen the tension between border regions. Projects such as infrastructure programs should be initiated to benefit the civil society and NGOs. Food security and access to drinkable water is something that needs to be accomplished (Internet 3: 22).

3.2   The Migration Hump Theory

The relationship between development and migration is also analyzed trough a short and long time dimension. The relationship is explained trough the so called "Migration Hump Theory". The theory basically says that development will encourage migration in the short run. This is because people that previously could not afford to emigrate now can get the means to do so, thanks to the higher income and the urbanization brought by development. But, as the country continues to develop people find it more favorable to stay home. When the state reaches a certain threshold of economic development then outmigration will diminish. In the long run the reduction of poverty and the increasing job opportunities reduces people's will to engage in migration, eventually also peace makes people return to their homes (Hermele, 1997: 141, 143, Internet 3: 12).

3.3   The Opposing Discourse

I will now present a framework for promoting a critical inquiry of migration and development and a deconstructive approach on the notion of development.

3.3.1 Historical-Structuralistic Theories

The oil crisis in the early seventies led to recession in the world economy with unemployment and structural change in the industry. At the same time more and more studies supported the theory that migration did not contribute to wealth and prosperity for the sending regions and a growing number of migration pessimists said that migration depleted the sender countries from human capital, so called brain drain, and made villages passive and depending on remittance for survival. They also criticized the idea of remittance, arguing that the money was spent on consumption and not invested productively.

These ideas were attached to historical-structural theories such as *"World System Theory"* developed by *Immanuel Wallerstein* and the *"Dependency School"* related to *André Gunder Frank*. According to these theories migration is one of many expressions of how the capitalistic structure makes the developing

world depending on western state which sustains underdevelopment. The global economy divided the world into a core-periphery dimension creating an international division of labor that increased the inequities between low wage labor exporting countries and high wage labor importing countries. The unit of analysis in these critical theories is not the individual migrant as in modernization theory, rather it is the global market and the capitalistic structure that generates migration flows on behalf of the developing world (Bretell, 2000: 103-104, De Haas, 2007: 4-5).

The main point to underline is that the developmentalist notion was challenged by reversing the assumption that migration would lead to development for the sending part.

3.3.2 Postcolonial Approach on Development

Post colonial theory is a way of critically examining the political and cultural heritage of colonialism. It can be very useful to explain how Africa was perceived in a European context and how images of backwardness and barbarism sustained a view of European cultural and intellectual supremacy towards a more primitive continent.

In 1988 *Valentine Mudimbe* a linguist and philosopher*,* published a famous book with the title, *"The invention of Africa"*. This book is considered as the first book to depict Africa from a post colonial perspective. Mudimbe shows how Africa, trough a social construction, became perceived as underdeveloped. This was established as a "truth" created by sciences like anthropology and history, which gave the righteousness to economic and territorial exploitation (Thörn, 2005: 8, 20).

He also points out three ways of how Europe has been moulding and forming the African continent. It was carried out firstly by the domination of the physical space, secondly a reformation of the minds of the natives and lastly by the settling of a local economic history with a western bias. The colonial domination led to lack of structural and organisational skills which made the outcome of these countries economic development depend on its colonisers (Mudimbe, 2005: 129-131).

Oliver Bakewell, Research Officer at IMI[11], argues that development is originally a western term and was embedded in the colonial practices and is still influential to developmental agencies today. During the colonial era Europeans tried to control the African population and the cruelest form was slave trading. Development also formed the industrial revolution and its major impact it had on western societies (Bakewell, 2007: 5-6).

> "The modern idea of development is necessarily Eurocentric because it was in
> Europe that development was first meant to create order out of the social

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disorder of rapid urbanization, poverty and unemployment" (Bakewell, 2007: 6).

Bakewell also asserts that the idea of development in relation to migration has a stroke of paternalism since it perceives migration as being something bad and that people really should want to stay "at home". The idea of European developing projects in Africa tends to become moralistic and self-righteous since it sustains the view of illegal migrants as victims for criminals and irresponsible for taking huge risks in migrating (Bakewell, 2007: 32-33).

3.3.3 Migration Theorist Research

Kenneth Hermele asserts North-South migration as characterized by an identification of the south as the active part producing refugees, and the north as the passive receiver. This might lead to self righteous thinking that the receiving part has to intervene and is driven by a moral justification to stop migration from the incompetent southern part. When Europe was in need of an extensive labour force, migration was held to develop the countries of origin, but when the need of guest workers faded, the general idea was that development could appear trough aid and trade and without migration (Hermele, 1997: 134-135).

Saskia Gent, Research Officer at Sussex Centre for Migration Research *(Sussex University)* is critical towards the root cause approach because it simplifies migration and fails to understand the complexity and the historical context behind migration processes (Gent, 2002: 4).

Referring to other theorists, such as Lisa Malkki, policy planners are influenced by a "sedentary bias". This assumes that the ideal populations is stationary and do not move except for economic, ecological or political reasons. The sedentary bias is present in the "myth of the immobile peasant", this idea comes from the geographer *Ronald Skeldon.* It assumes that rural inhabitants are not mobile except in reaction to crises, but migration is not a crises mode, it is rather a normal strategy for livelihood. Furthermore, the root cause discourse views societies as either "normal" where people do not migrate or "dysfunctional" and problematic where people are moving away from their homes. Metaphorically, states are portrayed as "cultural gardens" where people naturally belong to and displaced people has to be put back again to assure moral, spiritual and political security (Gent, 2002: 20-21).

Hein De Haas, Senior Researcher Officer at IMI states that EU has a view of development as the antithesis of migration and that migration is a "problem" that should be "solved". The trade policies advocated, promoting an opening of the markets of developing countries are lacking of credibility since they are inconsistent with the European protectionist policies, which obstructs developing countries from entering European markets (De Haas, 2007 (1): 821, 831). The most eminent example is probably the European *Common Agricultural Policy* (CAP) that makes it hard for farmers outside the EU to enter the European markets. But agreements like *European Mediterranean Association Agreement*

(EMAA) which was signed by all North African states except Libya, and aims to create a free trading area during the next decade. This will most likely boost the African mobility and presumably increase the border traffic (De Haas (2), 2007: 53, 66).

De Haas also asserts that neither African nor European states actually have any real interest in stopping migration. A clear example of this is the interregional meetings[12] that never produced any plans or allocated resources to realise the goals to initiate development projects in order to address the root causes. De Haas thinks that the official intentions to lessen migration are undermined because of the economic advantages that provide the European states with cheap labour and the African states with remittance, the policy planers has" double agendas". The African states view out migration as something that diminishes the pressure on the domestic labour market. Simultaneously, as mentioned before, southern European states have a growing demand of migrant workers, for instance, the informal and domestic sector (De Haas (2), 2007: 61-63).

Also development assistance might be used by states with a bad human rights record and thereby be used to purchase weapons, resulting in increasing refugee flows (De Haas (1), 2007: 828).

Lastly, Hein De Haas asserts that the size and time of the migration hump are hard to estimate because it depends on the growth of the economy, it might take at least fifteen years to several decades. All in all, continued globalization and economic integration will most likely lead to continued migration for a foreseeable period of time (De Haas, (1), 2007: 836, 838).

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[12] Referring to meetings such as the "African-European migration summits" in Rabat and Tripoli in 2006, where the topics included cooperation on migration and economic development

4   Analysis

In the former chapter the main arguments that each discourse is based on has been briefly explained. This chapter will elaborate the discussion and link together the opposing discourse and the root cause discourse with the analytical tools in order to show how the discourses historically and today tries to define migration and development and the relation between them.

Returning to my analytical tools, antagonism consists of how different identities are given to social actors by articulation not only from the linguistic field but also from institutions or ideologies. By articulacy practice each discourse tries to create hegemony by defining elements, most importantly the floating signifiers so as to close the discourse and to crystallize identities. The floating signifiers are the special elements used in different discourses and are essential to articulate a hegemonic discourse. A hegemonic discourse will not prevail in the long run, even though some discourses might be perceived as hegemonic in certain periods of history. Unavoidably, they are eventually challenged by other discourses.

The main purpose for this thesis is to map the floating signifiers. This chapter will therefore revolve around locating these floating signifiers, it will also discuss how the EU:s external policies, represented by the UFM, can be analyzed from the root cause perspective.

4.1   The "Discourse of Development" and its Relation to Migration Policymaking

The discourse of development has been an influential part of European relation to the third world. According to Mudimbe it was during the colonial era that the idea of "the white man's burden" justified territorial colonialism and sciences like history invented a picture of a primitive and underdeveloped Africa. Europe created "truths" about how to perceive Africans, not as equals but as inferiors. Oliver Bakewell adds that another form of European domination was the control of the African population, most explicitly and viscously displayed in slave trading. The industrial revolution brought rationale thinking to become the norm and establish development as a banner for a Eurocentric worldview. But how was this bias able to dominate western thinking during the twentieth century?

The anthropologist, *Arturo Escobar* explains how the development discourse became a hegemonic view in western relation to the third world after the Second World War. In his book *"Encountering development - the making and unmaking of the third world"* Escobar explains the "invention" of poverty and its impact on

the third world. It also became self evident that the solution to poverty was economic growth and development associated with industrialisation, urbanisation, agricultural modernization and infrastructure development. The problems were abnormalities like "illiteracy", "malnourishment" and "small farming". The discourse established a system of relations between institutions, socioeconomic processes, knowledge and technology to be synchronised to achieve the same goal. These relationships founded a new discursive practice that decided the rules of the game, defined who could speak, from that point of view and with what authority. This created a theory which in the end was transformed into a policy plan.

In practise, the discourse came to be institutionalized in international organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, universities, national planning agencies, community organisations and NGOs, fundamentally influencing the economic, cultural and political realm (Escobar, 1995: 21, 33, 38, 40-41, 46).

The discourse of development gradually influenced migration policy. In the European context, a large labour force came to be involved in the European restructuring process and the migrants became "development agents" since their money and knowledge were eventually going to help the underdeveloped countries achieve their economic "take off". Migration and its mutually positive effect on development became during the sixties integrated as a part of the hegemonic discourse. The economic downturn due to the oil crises led to a decreasing need of foreign labour. Many European states stopped the vast recruitment programs and kept the door open for selected categories of migrants, the highly skilled. Applying the core periphery perspective (including dependency) from the opposing discourse, the loss of the highly skilled from the periphery to the industrialised centre would uphold underdevelopment by an attraction of knowledge to the core and incorrect use of remittances in the periphery.

This clash can be perceived as an antagonistic relationship that challenged the floating signifier *"development"* from being articulated with "mutual economic growth" and "poverty reduction" to be associated with "structural remittance dependence" and "brain drain". In the eighties the market participation and the Washington consensus view of liberalism became a hegemonic discourse rooted in the minds of all relevant actors, recalling John Dryzek, and reinforced the positive view of development and migration. This view includes the neoclassical model, perceiving migration as something that will diminish after that the wage levels between the sending and receiving part reaches equilibrium, if free circulation of labour is prevailing. The regained positive view of development was in the eighteens and the nineties a hegemonic intervention and dissolved the antagonistic relationship that had existed before.

This discourse has been extended to include not only remittance and migrant return knowledge. The development discourse is broader and includes new features like "civil society" and the promotion of "social remittance" (human rights, gender equity and democracy) (Faist, 2008: 22, 25-26). It is also

recognized that "temporary migration" can boost development transforming brain drain into "brain circulation" (Castles, 2008: 11).

4.2   The Failure to Grasp the Nature of Migration Flows

As noted above, the development discourse after it made its hegemonic intervention included other measures to promote development trough migration. This extended version of the development discourse is what this thesis means by the root cause discourse developed within the EU. It implies that development will decrease outmigration from the southern sending part. This topic will be discussed in this subchapter.

According to Ronald Skeldon the "development migration model" is based on false premises. In the book *"Migration and Development"* he explains that the model is based on the "myth of the immobile peasant", that presumes that migration in pre industrial societies does not exist in a large extent. But mobility in rural societies has always been a prominent factor. Before the European expansion in Africa and Asia there where already complex systems of trade and mobility, migration is not simply a production of the European modernising idea (Skeldon, 1997: 7-8). Mobility is a common strategy for surviving and not a reaction to crises or something unordinary.

Stephen Castles, migration and refugee researcher at IMI, writes that the root cause approach fails to understand the *social process* that migration is. He asserts that migration policies have been influenced by market behaviour and a bureaucratic belief that that regulating admission of residence will shape aggregated behaviour. Together this adds to the idea that migration can be turned on or off like a tap by appropriate policies. But migrants are not "robots" who reacts to market conditions or bureaucratic rules, they rather seek to make the outcome better for themselves and their families and communities. The migration process will after a while become self-sustaining. One very important factor for the continuation of migration is the *migrant networks*. These networks provide economic migrants and refugees work and housing upon their arrivals. The networks also help the migrant with the settlement and forms communities within immigration areas. Castles also points out globalisation as something that spurs migration, globalisation creates a strong cultural pressure for mobility and global media creates idealised pictures of the First world and electronic communication improvements makes the access to information for migration routes and work opportunities easier (Castles, 2003: 208-211).

In the root cause approach, economic migrants are perceived as rational economic individuals that want to increase their economic wellbeing. Migration flows are therefore connected to economic rationalism. The incentive to migrate will disappear with increased equality between north and south. The floating

signifier *"mobility"* is connected to "economic rationalism" and migration only occurs as a consequence to political or economical "crises".

The opposing discourse criticizes this simplification by stating that the reasons for migration might be other than purely economic. Migration is also an expression of historical events and a social process. The opposing discourse therefore defines the floating signifier mobility with notions as "unmanageable" or the "norm", due to the impacts of historical movements, globalisation and the influence of the migrant networks. Migration is like a force of nature, it can not be tamed or directed.

4.2.1 Wanted or Unwanted Migrants? – Contesting the Intentions of the Policymakers

The European Union is determined to strangle the flow of illegal immigrants and to make more channels available for legal immigration. These goals are outlined in police documents from the European Commission and can hopefully be remedied by cooperation. The illegal immigrants are officially seen as unwanted since they breed criminal activity.

Hein De Haas is sceptical that illegal migration can be stopped since it upholds mainly the informal labour markets within the service and construction sector in some southern European countries. There is a gap between the intention to restrict illegal migration and the demand for cheap labour. Illegal migration is mainly driven by labour market demands. For many African states illegal migration is a potential development source since it generates remittances and reduces the pressure on the domestic labour market (De Haas, 2008: 1305).

Stephen Castles means that emigration can create a structural dependency. The Philippine government encouraged migration in the seventies, it has since then evolved into a long term feature of the Philippine economy. He also asserts that the need for the agricultural sector in USA to have undocumented Mexicans to keep the production costs low is an example of structural dependency on immigrant labour (Castles, 2003: 210).

The floating signifier in this aspect, *"illegal immigration"* is defined by the root cause discourse as to something "unwanted" and "temporary" since it will diminish when the sending countries provide its inhabitants with job opportunities.

The opposing discourse sees illegal migration as a "vital part" and somewhat of a "necessity" for specific sectors. The genuine interests to stop illegal migrants can be questioned since there are mutual interests from both parties in sustaining the flow of undocumented persons. Immigrants are sometimes also willing to do some job that are shunned by the native population.

4.3 The Case With the UFM – What to Expect From the Outcome?

The European Union is not only concerned with internal issues, it is also important to have good relations with neighbouring countries and regions to combat problems transcending state borders like climate changes, international drug trafficking, terrorism or migration.

The root cause approach is based on a "comprehensive approach" that aims to bridge differences and eventually decrease the immigration pressure to the north. The comprehensive approach that stands in this thesis is visible in the UFM, which was clear in the statement taken from the "Joint Declaration of the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean", 2008:

> "The future of the Euro-Mediterranean region lies in improved socio-economic development, solidarity, regional integration, sustainable development and knowledge. There is a need to increase co-operation in areas such as business development, trade, the environment, energy, water management, agriculture, food safety and security, transport, maritime issues, education, vocational training, science and technology, culture, media, justice and law, security, migration, health" (Internet 7: 18).

The cooperation (UFM) is still in an early stage, so no definite conclusion can be drawn. Nevertheless, this part will point out some critical concerns brought forward by migration theorists.

The root cause approach emphasis circular and temporary migration. Hein De Haas is concerned that it might not have the intended effect since it ignores past experiences. These "revolving doors" policies reminds of the failed assumption about the guest workers how would gradually return after rebuilding Europe (De Haas (1), 2007: 830-831).

Hein De Haas is also critical to the outspoken desire from the EU to integrate external countries into the internal European market. He is sceptical that this might not applicable with the European protectionist policies to promote better conditions for products produced in Europe with trade barriers and subsidiaries.

Migration can be connected to the aggregated income levels of the population in a country. The migration hump theory states that migration will diminish after a certain threshold of (economic) development, until then it will only amplify migration. Trade agreement might according to De Haas increase the human mobility and no one knows for sure how long it will take before the outmigration will peak and diminish.

Developmental aid is also a component of the root cause approach, this implies that the receiving states are "good performers" using the aid effectively (Boswell, 2003: 636).

Anyhow, the comprehensive approach can succeed in the long run and perhaps transform North African states into labour importing countries. Democratic reforms and a favourable economic climate will make it more prosperous for migrants to invest, which will spark a positive trend.

The Maghreb countries would then go trough a migration transition that happened to states like Spain, Italy or South Korea. The implementation of democracy and economic growth in Spain transformed the country from a migrant sending country to a migrant receiving country (De Haas, 2006: 91-92).

5 Summary and Concluding Remarks

Migration penetrates many dimensions of national and international policymaking making it an important matter in an age of globalization. European internal migration policies are focusing, among other things on, "burden sharing" or "minimum requirements for asylum seekers" and to create more channels for legal immigration. This thesis is subject for an inquiry covering European policymaking transcending European borders to establish cooperation with the "countries of origin" (and transit).

Political science has turned out to be a perspective where migration can be analysed from a "problem perspective" and how policies are developed. Therefore a critical study that aims to reveal assumptions that are taken for granted can greatly use an analytical frame based on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe since their perspective concentrates on the development of political processes. It makes a good prerequisite for revealing "truths" and to deconstruct "natural" biases to show how political interests are formed and to analyse their social consequences.

The development discourse framed migration as mutually benefiting all parts involved. This was however contested by critical voices claiming that development on western terms made the developing process unfair, it drained knowledge from the periphery. The deregulation of markets and the promotion of free trade reinforced in the eighties the positive notion of migration and development and defined the floating signifier *"development"* in a favourable way. The hegemonic intervention is still prevalent today and is recognized by migration theorists who claim that especially remittance can bring a positive development effect to poor societies. This means that the hegemonic discourse gives the migrant the identity of an "agent of mutual development".

But the root cause discourse (the extended developmentalist approach) also assumes that migration (especially illegal migration) will diminish after a phase of development in the sender countries.

The root cause discourse tries to define the floating signifier *"mobility"* with "crises mode" and "economic rationalism", and *"illegal migration"* as "temporarily". Therefore the nodal point for this discourse is "manageability" since the approach relies on policies as a way to steer and dampen migration flows.

The opposing discourse defines *"mobility"* as a "norm" and "unmanageable" and *"illegal migration"* as a "necessity" since some countries has a structural dependence on emigration or immigration. The nodal point in this discourse is "complexity" due to the historical and social significance of migration and not something reduced to economical laws or isolated from the forces of globalisation or disregarded by the importance of the migrant networks.

The UFM is based on a comprehensive approach to cover different aspects which I believe is necessary to tackle unwanted migration. Most of the measures relate to improve the economic development, but it is also important to strengthen the social dimension to assure economic prosperity and to lessen the flows of refugees.

Economic cooperation might increase the population mobility, at least in a certain period since people get richer and can fund their travelling. Other facts that talk for more migration are the migration system links. Maghreb countries have linguistics and cultural links with specially France and also big immigrant communities makes it easy for the immigrants to settle. Also as long as the big informal markets continue to request labour the incentive for migration (legal and illegal) will exists.

Another fact is that the Maghreb countries are also a transit zone for many migrants who travels from other regions, therefore the migration problem will not be solved by regional cooperation. If migration to Europe decreases it would not affect the global migration flows, only move the gravitation of the problem a little further away from European borders. Another aspect is that the root course discourse has a stroke of moral justification in that Europe is a "victim" for incompetent sender states that cannot handle their own problems. It implies that by promising to develop the sender countries and reach out a hand to help justifies harsher immigration policies, or as Hermele says: Europe creates policies that are based on mere self interests.

But all in all, the UFM is a step forward for a multilateral approach on important issues, continued efforts are needed and it might take some patient before the effects on the migration from this comprehensive approach are visible, that's why it belongs to the long term policies.

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