

The Dynamics of Regional Migration Governance



The Dynamics of Regional Migration Governance

Edited by

Andrew Geddes

European University Institute, Italy

Marcia Vera Espinoza

Queen Mary University of London, UK

Leila Hadj Abdou

European University Institute, Italy

Leiza Brumat

European University Institute, Italy



Edward Elgar
PUBLISHING

Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

© Andrew Geddes, Marcia Vera Espinoza, Leila Hadj Abdou and Leiza Brumat 2019

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical or photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Published by
Edward Elgar Publishing Limited
The Lypiatts
15 Lansdown Road
Cheltenham
Glos GL50 2JA
UK

Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
William Pratt House
9 Dewey Court
Northampton
Massachusetts 01060
USA

A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2019930815

This book is available electronically in the **Elgaronline**
Social and Political Science subject collection
DOI 10.4337/9781788119948

ISBN 978 1 78811 993 1 (cased)
ISBN 978 1 78811 994 8 (eBook)

Contents

<i>List of contributors</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
1 Introduction: the dynamics of regional migration governance <i>Andrew Geddes, Marcia Vera Espinoza, Leila Hadj Abdou and Leiza Brumat</i>	1
2 Regional migration governance: perspectives ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ <i>Sandra Lavenex and Nicola Piper</i>	15
3 Migration governance in South America: regional approaches versus national laws <i>Victoria Finn, Cristián Doña Reveco and Mayra Feddersen</i>	36
4 Three generations of free movement of regional migrants in Mercosur: any influence from the EU? <i>Leiza Brumat and Diego Acosta</i>	54
5 ‘Crisis’, ‘normality’ and European regional migration governance <i>Andrew Geddes</i>	73
6 The ambivalent drivers of migration governance relations between the EU and Tunisia <i>Luca Lixi</i>	91
7 Regional cooperation on migration and mobility: Experiences from two African regions <i>Eva Dick and Benjamin Schraven</i>	109
8 The politics of migration interdependence in the post-Arab Spring Middle East <i>Gerasimos Tsourapas</i>	128
9 North America: weak regionalism, strong borders <i>Leila Hadj Abdou</i>	146

10	Between depoliticisation and path dependence: the role of Mexico in regional migration governance in North America <i>Marcia Vera Espinoza</i>	166
11	The uneven migration governance of ASEAN <i>Stefan Rother</i>	186
12	Regional migration governance in the Eurasian migration system <i>Andrey Leonov and Oleg Korneev</i>	205
13	Conclusions <i>Andrew Geddes, Leila Hadj Abdou, Marcia Vera Espinoza and Leiza Brumat</i>	224

Contributors

Diego Acosta is a Reader in European and Migration law at the University of Bristol, UK. He is also co-investigator at the ‘Prospects for International Migration Governance’ (MIGPROSP) project. He has published widely in the area including his last monograph published by Cambridge University Press in 2018 (*The National versus the Foreigner in South America*). He has advised various governments, political parties, international organisations, law firms and non-governmental organisations in Europe, the USA, South America and Africa.

Leiza Brumat is a Research Fellow in the MIGPROSP project. Before joining the Migration Policy Centre, she was a lecturer in International Relations, Regional Integration and International Organisations and a Research Fellow for the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) of Argentina. She was awarded a PhD in Social Sciences by Flacso–Argentina with a thesis on migration policies and the free movement of persons in Mercosur.

Eva Dick, PhD, is a senior researcher in the Programme on Political Order, Values and Peace at the German Development Institute/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), currently working in the BMZ-funded project titled ‘Reducing root causes of forced displacement and managing migration’, focusing on regional migration governance in the Horn of Africa region. Her research centres on the multilevel governance of migration and in the context of urbanisation.

Cristián Doña-Reveco is Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of the Office for Latino/Latin American Studies at the University of Nebraska, Omaha, USA. In Chile, he is a Research Associate at Universidad Diego Portales’ Instituto de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales and Adjunct Researcher in the Center for the Study of Social Conflict and Social Cohesion. He researches migration decisions, the relationship between emigrants and their state of origin, and South American migration policies. He holds a PhD in Sociology and History from Michigan State University.

Mayra Feddersen is Assistant Professor in administrative law at Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez. She holds a PhD in Jurisprudence and Social Policy, and

a Master of Law, both from the University of California, Berkeley, USA. She also holds a law degree from the Universidad Diego Portales, Chile. Her research deals with immigration policies and the role of administrative bureaucracies in their development. Her research interests are in administrative law, immigration law, international human rights law, the sociology of law and qualitative research methods.

Victoria Finn researches international migration in South America and the European Union (EU), particularly migrant voting and citizenship in both origin and destination countries. She is attaining a dual-degree PhD in Political Science at the Universidad Diego Portales, Chile, and Leiden University, the Netherlands. She also holds a Master of Arts in International Affairs from the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University in the USA.

Andrew Geddes holds a Chair in Migration Studies at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy where he is also Director of the Migration Policy Centre (MPC). For the period 2014–19 he was awarded an ‘Advanced Grant’ by the European Research Council for the MIGPROSP project. A political scientist by training, he has authored, co-authored or edited 15 books and more than 100 other publications.

Leila Hadj Abdou is a Research Fellow at the MPC at the European University Institute. Before coming to the MPC she held teaching and research positions at the University of Sheffield (UK); the School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS, Johns Hopkins University) in Washington DC (USA), and the University of Vienna (Austria). Leila has published on migration governance, immigration and immigrant integration policies, the regulation and contestation of Muslim practices in Europe, and the populist radical right.

Oleg Korneev is a Research Fellow at the CERAL, Faculty of Law, Political and Social Sciences, University of Paris 13 (France) and Associate Research Fellow at the Laboratory for Social Anthropological Research (LSAR), Tomsk State University (Russia). His research focuses on international organisations, global migration governance, expert knowledge, and migration policies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. He is currently leading a project exploring contestations of international organisations working in Central Asia (GLOBALCONTEST, 2016–19) funded by the French National Research Agency (ANR).

Sandra Lavenex is Professor of European and International Politics at the University of Geneva and Vice-Dean of the School of Social Sciences. She is also Visiting Professor at the College of Europe. Her research focuses on

regional and international cooperation on asylum and migration and the external relations of Europe.

Andrey Leonov is an Assistant Professor at the Department of European and International Law, Faculty of Law, Lobachevsky University of Nizhny Novgorod (Russia). He is also coordinator of the Jean Monnet Module EUGLOBE (2015–18) and the Jean Monnet Project EUSECU-POLE (2016–18). His research interests focus mainly on European Human Rights Law, European and Eurasian migration law and policies, interaction between the EU and the Council of Europe legal frameworks, European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) case-law in the Russian Legal Order.

Luca Lixi is a Doctoral Researcher at the University of Sheffield, UK. His research is part of the MIGPROSP project. Luca has worked for two years in the European Commission on external relations of migration governance and as a consultant for the European Commission, the European Migration Forum and the Transatlantic Council on Migration organised by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI). He was also visiting researcher at MPI Europe and holds an MSc from the LSE in International Migration and Public Policy.

Nicola Piper is Professor of International Migration at the University of Sydney, Australia where she is also the Founding Director of the Sydney Asia Pacific Migration Centre. Her current research interests focus on international labour migration and advocacy politics in relation to the promotion of a rights-based approach to global and regional migration governance. She is (co-)chief editor of the international peer-reviewed journal *Global Social Policy* and external advisor on migration research with the UN Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva.

Stefan Rother is a researcher and lecturer in the Department of International Relations, University of Freiburg, Germany. His research focus is on international migration, global governance, social movements, regional integration and non-/post-Western theories of international relations. His research has been published in journals such as the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, *International Migration*, *Migration Studies* and several edited volumes. His latest monograph is *Democratization through Migration? Political Remittances and Participation of Philippine Return Migrants* (Lexington 2016, with Christl Kessler).

Benjamin Schraven, PhD, is a senior researcher of the German Development Institute/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE). His research focuses on ‘environmental migration’, migration and development and migration governance. He has been active as scientific advisor for migration issues

for the Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development as well as a Guest Lecturer at the University of Ghana. Furthermore, he has also done migration related consultancy work for, among others, UNICEF and several development cooperation agencies.

Gerassimos Tsourapas is a Lecturer in Middle East Politics at the University of Birmingham, UK. His research focuses on the politics of migrants, refugees, and diasporas in the Middle East, and has been supported by the British Academy and the Council for British Research in the Levant. His work has appeared in *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Political Science Review*, *Third World Quarterly* and *International Studies Perspectives*. His forthcoming book, *The Politics of Egyptian Migration*, will be published by Cambridge University Press.

Marcia Vera Espinoza is a Lecturer in Human Geography at Queen Mary University of London, UK, and Associate Researcher at the MIGPROSP Project. Before joining Queen Mary University of London, Marcia held a teaching and research position at the Department of Politics, University of Sheffield, UK. Her research focuses on refugee and migrant integration, migration governance and immigration policies in Latin America. Her work has recently been published in *Global Policy*, *Forced Migration Review* and *Development Policy Review*. She holds a PhD in Human Geography from the University of Sheffield.

Acknowledgements

The production of this book was enabled by the generous support provided by a European Research Council Advanced Investigator Grant (award number 340430) awarded to Andrew Geddes for the project ‘Prospects for International Migration Governance’ (MIGPROSP) that ran for a five-year period between 2014 and 2019. The MIGPROSP project was housed between 2014 and 2017 in the Department of Politics at the University of Sheffield in the UK and for its final two years in the Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. The chapters by Brumat and Acosta, Geddes, Lixi, Hadj Abou and Vera Espinoza arose specifically from work conducted within the MIGPROSP project as members of the research team. Michaela Bruckmayer, Laura Foley and Andrea Pettrachin as research students working within the MIGPROSP project also contributed greatly through their research to the project’s development. Grateful thanks are extended to former colleagues at the University of Sheffield for their help and support, particularly Jason Freeman, Gabriela Ibarra and Nicola Phillips. At the EUI, thanks are extended to colleagues in the Migration Policy Centre, particularly to Aurélie Boursier.

