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# Introduction: an IPE perspective on international migration

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This book discusses theoretical approaches to migration studies in general, as well as confronting various issues in international migration from a distinctive international political economy (IPE) perspective. It examines migration as part of the global political economy whilst addressing the theoretical debate relating to the capacity of the state to control international migration and the so-called ‘policy gap’ or ‘gap hypothesis’ between migration policies and their outcomes (Guiraudon and Lahav 2007; Boswell and Geddes 2011). But what do we mean by the international political economy of migration?

The field of migration studies has traditionally been, and is increasingly, very crowded, with insights coming from various perspectives and academic disciplines (Brettell and Hollifield 2008). Only recently, however, have international political economy scholars provided for a systematic assessment of the questions arising from the increase of mass migration and brain drain in the global context (Boswell and Geddes 2011). It is worth noting that the chapters in this *Handbook* do not deal so much with the integration of migrants, what is normally called ‘immigrant policy’, but focus instead on ‘immigration control’, that is, more specifically, the conditions of entry and exit of migrants, including illegal or irregular migration (Hammar 1985). Moreover, attention will be paid mainly to economic migration and less so to political migration, although reference will also be made to European Union (EU) asylum and refugee policy, trafficking and local transformations resulting from migration.

Within this context, the debate in IPE is characterised by two overlapping dichotomies: one, within mainstream approaches, is between liberal-institutionalist and realist interpretations of international migration; whilst the other is between these mainstream approaches and the so-called ‘globalisation thesis’. Mainstream scholars seem to be mainly interested in questions relating to the role of the state with respect to migration and, especially, its capacity to control and regulate migration, as well as the mismatch between policy goals and their outcomes (the so-called ‘policy gap’) (Brettell and Hollifield 2008; Boswell and Geddes 2011; Guiraudon and Lahav 2007). Here the difference between realists and

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liberal-institutionalists relates mainly to the different answers they give to the question of whether the nation state is able to implement an effective migration policy, with realists insisting that this does happen, and liberal-institutionalists suggesting that international institutions and regimes are in fact taking over the state in this realm. In both cases, however, it is argued that either the nation state or international institutions are able to contain and regulate migratory flows. On the other hand, the globalisation thesis underlines the inevitability of migration in the global political economy and adopts a sceptical view of the capacity of any institutions to regulate it. This debate will be developed and analysed in more detail in the book.

In light of these broad debates within the IPE literature, this book has been divided into three parts, which each addresses one of the principal concerns of the current state of the art: the theoretical context of the international political economy of migration, the economic dimension of migration, and the relationship between migration and regional integration.

In particular, the first part of the book is aimed at identifying the theoretical context of the international political economy of migration. Regarding this, the main objectives of Chapter 1 by Talani are, first, to identify the theoretical IPE background to address the questions relating to migration and to understand the problem of migration, both legal and illegal, in the context of globalisation; and second, to assess the relationship between globalisation, marginalisation and national and regional responses to threats of mass immigration from less developed countries. The chapter therefore focuses on the following theoretical questions:

- Which are the main approaches to migration from an international political economy standpoint?
- How is the process of globalisation related to the increase of migratory flows from less developed countries to Western ones?
- What are the main political and economic causes and consequences of migration, in general, and illegal migration, in particular?
- Is there tension between legal and illegal migration?

To sum up, this chapter comprises an enquiry into the main IPE approaches to international migration, focusing in particular on the impact of globalisation on migration. Eventually, the chapter integrates the economic, the social and political dimensions of the phenomenon to produce an overall vision of the consequences of globalisation on the motivations for migration.

In Chapter 2, León and Overbeek address the issues of neoliberal globalisation, transnational migration and global governance. On 15 September

2008, Lehman Brothers fell, bringing with it a near total collapse of the global financial system. Since then, the world has been immersed in a global crisis, with repercussions for all. While some saw the crisis as an opportunity to establish a more equitable and sustainable world, this period has shown how entrenched neoliberal practices are. In this chapter the authors focus on the governance of labour migration, from an international political economy perspective. They maintain that the neoliberal mode of global governance functions to make market reforms irreversible through inscribing them into the legal systems of most nation states. Global governance serves to guarantee the unhindered mobility of capital but serves as well to control (in the double meaning of management and subordination) the global labour force, both by managing global migration flows as well as by promoting the further integration of national and regional labour markets into an emerging global labour market. León and Overbeek further investigate how the economic crisis that broke out after 2008 has exposed the contradictions and instability that are inherent to this neoliberal project.

The chapter first introduces the theoretical framework that underlies the analysis, including a clear definition of globalisation and governance. Then it takes a historical look at the attempts to establish international and transnational regimes of global governance, how they developed and the consequences that the international crisis has had on them. Subsequently it presents a preliminary discussion on the emerging global migration regime as it is currently being touted. Finally it raises some normative propositions that can serve as starting points for a critical reappraisal of really existing global migration governance.

In Chapter 3, Geddes and Korneev explore the relationship between international migration and attempts to regulate various types of international population movement by states. The chapter links the regulation of migration to the development, consolidation and transformation of the state. To be more specific: the development of various forms of state with associated power, authority and capacity; varying degrees of state consolidation and divergent trajectories; and state transformation evident both in relation to the social and political construction of 'globalisation' and, more specifically, in relation to forms of multilateral cooperation, especially in the form of regional integration. Through this focus on the relationship between international migration and regulatory authority and capacity the chapter aims to show how, why and with what effects international migration is made visible as a social and political issue by states and their borders, and the effects of the changes in both the meaning and location of borders on international migration. The chapter thus does not focus on international migration as a challenge or threat to the state system, but on

the state system as the key constitutive component of international migration. By doing so, state efforts to regulate migration is linked to both how these states define themselves as states and how they relate to each other in the international system. Migration control is shown to be an issue that cuts across the domestic and the international, and that demonstrates both the meaning and the contestation of borders and boundaries.

In Chapter 4, Zapata-Barrero and Pasetti address the governance of migration from an applied ethical approach. In the face of the current increase in international migration, the need to discuss freedom of movement and human mobility begins to be seen as a serious issue that directly challenges the basic state expression of sovereignty: the control of borders. The ethics of migration is the field of study addressing such an issue. Moving from the pioneering works by Walzer (1983) and Carens (1987) the debate originally shaped itself as an 'open versus closed borders' dispute between communitarians and cosmopolitans. Since then there has been an impressive development in ethical thinking in relation to human mobility across state borders, and the debate has moved towards a more pragmatic discussion on how migration should be governed. From an ethical perspective, this puts the emphasis on applied ethics: in the current phase, the most important questions pertain to the criteria arranged by states to regulate the slip across borders and the rights distributed to non-citizens. Despite the wide heterogeneity characterizing the field, scholars tend to agree on four main pillars: (1) the conception of migration governance as a multilevel process; (2) the recognition of the normality of the cross-border movements of people at a global scale (that is, the human mobility framework); (3) the acknowledgement of the context as a core element of morality (that is, contextualized morality); (4) the awareness of criticability and feasibility constraints in normative political theory (that is, the criticability–feasibility nexus). This chapter takes stock of the situation in the academic arena; the ultimate aim is to define the characterizing features of an applied ethics approach to international migration, and to make a practical contribution both to the ongoing academic debate on international migration, as well as to policy evaluation and policy design. Thus the chapter provides an extensive literature review going through main ethical issues related to migration policymaking. It deals with concrete cases from the perspective of an applied ethics: the case of skilled migrants' brain drain, and that of family migration. To conclude, the chapter makes the case for a methodological and viable ethical code for migration policymaking.

Chapter 5, by Balch, examines human trafficking. State approaches to the problem of trafficking in human beings (THB) highlight many of the key contemporary challenges and opportunities presented by international

migration. Developments since the agreements reached at Palermo (2000) provide an interesting example of an international normative regime in this area. The chapter demonstrates how this regime illustrates some of the key tensions between liberal-institutionalist and realist understandings of emergent systems of migration governance. It also examines how THB presents a series of interpretive and explanatory puzzles: about its definition, its scope, its separation from other forms of 'slavery', and its causal factors. For example, is THB the 'dark underbelly' of globalization (or regionalization in the case of the EU) driven by increased cross-border travel and the weakening power of states? Or is it instead caused by governments who restrict formal migration routes, remove access to rights for irregular migrants and then fail to properly regulate economic sectors associated with exploitation? Finally, the chapter explores how the above uncertainties present challenges for policy debates with the help of case studies. Here it shows how explanatory logics play out in the political arena, with some seeing an opportunity to enhance the power of the state by securitizing and criminalizing the international movement of persons, while others prefer to demand greater respect for human rights in order to protect migrants.

In Chapter 6, Fauser addresses transnational migration and local transformations. Economic globalization has contributed to manifold transformations across the globe over the past decades. It has changed the patterns of socio-economic development and social change in many cities and localities, and turned these into places of origin or destination of ever more intensive flows of international migration. Thereby increased interconnections from above have been complemented by transnational connections from below through migrants' cross-border social relations, practices and identities that tie them to various localities in two or more states. This transnationalization, in turn, interacts with the ongoing global transformations that continue to shape the importance of locality and place. State rescaling means that today cities and towns are less strictly subjected to national prescription and acquire new roles for many realms, including that of migration. Local policies and initiatives specifically address the integration of migrants, promote their economic role, support transnational business networks, and engage in other fields of local and transnational urban cooperation, where migrants also collaborate.

The world and global cities literature, and partly the debate on scaling, has highlighted the key role of urban places in the global economy, and sometimes also as migrant attractions, as well as the related fundamental changes in the economy and social order of rural places turning these into migrant sending regions. It has often, however, neglected the specific role of migration and migrants, their transnational networks and in particular

their agency. This chapter looks into the new roles that migrants acquire as they become transnational entrepreneurs, cultural brokers and active participants in the local development in places of origin and destination. To this end, the chapter combines a transnational perspective on migrants and localities with an approach to urban transformations and scaling resulting from globalization as well.

Part II of the book is concerned with the economic dimension of migration. Chapter 7 by Pellerin critically engaged with the literature on labour markets, challenging in particular the inadequate treatment it reserves to changes in labour supplies and migration situations. More specifically, the chapter does three things. First, it explores changes in labour supply practices of most Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, facilitated to a large extent by global supply chains, growing trade and investment agreements with a clause on the circulation of migrant labour, and migrant transnationalism. It also looks at the effects these dynamics have on labour market outcomes. The second objective consists in reviewing the literature on the place of migrants in labour markets in order to explore its limits and possibilities for addressing changes in the global political economy. This enables a discussion of the disconnect between theories focusing mostly on labour market outcomes and fixed categories of agency on the one hand, and changes in labour supply dynamics and the diversity of migrant workers' situations on the other. The third objective consists in introducing several concepts borrowed from the critical study of mobility and migration into the analysis of labour markets, in order to both bring to the foreground the interplay between global and local dynamics in the production of labour markets, and interrogate political economy issues related to power, work disenfranchisement and exploitation that these practices generate.

Chapter 8, by Surak, tackles the question of guestworkers globally. Though typically associated with post-war Europe, guestworker programmes are a global phenomenon, and are increasing in size and importance. These schemes to attract labour power while minimising economic, political and social costs have proven a popular – if not always successful – solution to the demands of economic development. Examining the temporary labour migration schemes in the areas where they have taken strongest hold – Southern Africa, North America, Europe, the Middle East and East Asia – this chapter sets out a set of propositions about guestworker patterns within the global flows of migrant labour since the late nineteenth century. It isolates the characteristics distinctive to this mode of temporary labour migration, identifies its inherent contradictions, and develops a typology of the forms that guestworker programmes can take based on the ways foreign labour is integrated into

a national economy (core-industrial, regional-supplemental, national-supplemental, near total, marginal) and on the type of state–society relationship in which this occurs (colonial, settler, autochthonous, rentier and isolated).

In Chapter 9, Sciortino and Finotelli question the welfare–immigration nexus in Western democracies. The idea that international migration is a challenge for contemporary welfare states has marked the debate of the last decades. As the constitutive nature of welfare states is based on the use of welfare provisions to guarantee the internal loyalty of state citizens, international migration under conditions of embedded liberalism inevitably raises several challenges. At the polity level, it's the 'Rousseau Question': why should citizens stay loyal to the Republic, if the goods and services it delivers to its citizens are not denied to anybody else? At the organisational level, the inclusion of migrants in the structures of welfare states has been at the centre of analyses concerning the economic impact of immigration (Borjas 1994) and the carrying capacity of nation states to deliver provisions in times of increasing ethnic heterogeneity (Bommes and Geddes 2000; Bommes and Thränhardt 2010; Putnam 2006). The chapter first reviews the evolution of such debates, paying particular attention to the issue of immigration as a welfare state burden, which has been particularly widespread in the discussion of humanitarian types of migration flows (asylum-seekers, refugees, temporary protection). The chapter subsequently reviews a more recent, but potentially more structurally important, debate concerning migrants as providers rather than as clients of welfare regimes. The section focuses on foreign care workers as a hidden pillar of welfare states, particularly of the conservative type. The growing employment of migrant work in household services and care work will be seen as a resource for welfare states that deliver relatively few services in kind. The evolution of the welfare–immigration nexus across time are considered in light of the different types of welfare regimes. In the conclusion, besides summarizing the main argument, there is a concise discussion of the theorists who identify the seeds of a transnational welfare in contemporary trends.

Chapter 10 by Haller discusses the expat-sensitive state. The decades spanning our transition into the twenty-first century have brought dramatic economic and social structural transformations for the global core countries (in Europe, North America and the Western Pacific) and developing countries alike. Countries of the global core divested of mid-twentieth-century models of industrial organisation and growth, inequality increased with economic restructuring, and neoliberal ideology dominated the top ranks of political and economic policy architects. Meanwhile, across much of the developing world the debt crisis

derailed the promise of a unilinear, prescribed path to modernisation that included development assistance, technology transfer and occupational upgrading. With technology and capital largely in the hands of the core countries, the terms and conditions not merely of debt servicing but also of the conventional development model itself had changed. The menu of policy tools and resources available to countries to reduce poverty, enhance social well-being and promote stability were eroded. The conditions brought about by globalisation in the form of improved telecommunications and transportation technologies and services, the economic leverage of global corporations and the proliferation of the neoliberal message undercut national development policies seen as deviating from free-market doctrine. But globalisation also changed the place of international migration in the policy calculus of developing countries. While core countries have been increasing their restrictions on migration, some developing countries have been attentive to the benefits of encouraging long-term involvement of their transnational emigrant (transmigrant) communities. Drawing on the examples of Mexico, China, the Philippines and the Dominican Republic this chapter examines variations in sending-state policies towards their transmigrant populations and explores the reasons for these differences.

The issue of migrants' remittances is studied by Anghel, Piracha and Randazzo in Chapter 11. In the past 20 years the ever-growing levels of migrants' remittances made state agencies, international organizations, scholars and practitioners increasingly consider remittances as one of the main engines to promote globalisation and growth in the developing world. By transferring large amounts of money, values, ideas and practices home, migrants and migrant organisations are often seen as able to produce significant changes in their countries and localities of origin. Migrants and migrants' remittances may lead to social and economic development, and alleviate poverty. The chapter reviews the literature on migrants' remittances, that is, the transfers made by migrants towards countries and localities of origin. The chapter first investigates the volumes, dynamics and types of migrant remittances. Drawing from empirical case studies from around the world, it further discusses the determinants of migrants' monetary transfers and their effects on households' living standards, macroeconomic growth and balance of payments. In this vein the authors interrogate the role of state and state policies in attracting migrant remittances and channelling them towards development goals. The chapter also addresses the notion of social remittances, that is, the transfers of ideas, values and norms between societies of origin and destination. It asks what values and ideas migrants transfer home, what types of social changes are generated in the contexts of origin, and to

what extent migration produces the transformation of social and political formations in countries of origin.

In Chapter 12, Lavenex and Jurje consider the migration–trade nexus. Rather unnoticed from the academic literature on international migration, which stresses the absence of international norms on labour migration, a dynamic agenda on trade-related mobility rights is taking shape that is basically the result of active venue-shopping on the part of Southern emerging economies, against the protective interests of Northern markets. The door to this agenda was opened in 1995 with the inclusion of so-called ‘mode 4’ mobility of natural persons in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Whereas current GATS mode 4 commitments are quite limited, basically reflecting the lowest common denominator of former trade hegemonies, recent initiatives and in particular regional and bilateral free trade agreements point at a gradual expansion of these clauses beyond the EU’s or US’s original intentions. These developments are particularly intriguing given that they take place in a field that is excessively sensitive in established economies, and faces significant obstacles to both the adoption of binding international commitments and to liberalization more specifically. In assessing the dynamics behind this emerging service trade-related mobility regime the authors highlight the venue-shopping and discursive framing strategies of interested parties (in particular developing countries, but also service industries) and the role of institutional path-dependencies within a complex multilayered regime. The chapter is based on the analysis of multilateral, plurilateral and bilateral trade agreements and their provisions with regard to mobility of natural persons, as well as other primary documents related to trade negotiations, and semi-structured interviews with experts from relevant international organizations, the EU and various emerging economies.

Part III of the book is concerned with the regional dimension of migration. In Chapter 13, McMahon analyses regional integration and migration in the EU. Leaders of member states of the European Union have, throughout the latter twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, repeatedly criticised the weakness of Europe’s border controls and blamed a lack of controls between member states for increases in illegal immigrants and organised crime in their countries (see, e.g., *Guardian*, 16 March 2012). At the same time, the establishment of rights to free movement, and the incorporation of the Schengen system into the Treaty of Amsterdam, have been feared as constituting a crumbling of boundaries between countries (Joppke 1998: 21). Migration and EU integration have thus together been interpreted as an affront to the sovereign control of member states over determining who can reside in their space, aggravating the deterritorialisation or undermining of the nation state by globalisation

(Joppke 1998; Sassen 1996; Soysal 1994). The response from member states and the EU institutions has been defined as a securitised policy approach aimed at restricting migration and strengthening the outer walls of Fortress Europe (Huysmans 2000). This chapter examines the development of an EU approach to migration, and in doing so offers a somewhat distinct view. It is argued that the regulation of the movement of workers within the EU and from third countries has not only focused on restriction; indeed, intra-EU free movement has been a central intention for the establishment of a common internal market. Also, although common extra-EU migration policies may have been motivated initially by restricting the access of third-country nationals (Boswell 2003; Guiraudon 2000; Huysmans 2000; Lavenex 2006; Schierup et al. 2006), as the EU migration policy field has grown it has adapted from this garrison or fortress function into a selective process of allowing some groups of migrants to enter and move between member states, whilst restricting the movement of others (Hollifield 2004). In this way, it has been suggested that the EU should be understood as having erected a tall wall with small doors in it (Geddes 2008). The chapter concludes by considering the extent to which, in this context, member states should really be considered to be crumbling in the face of international migration and EU integration.

Chapter 14, by Talani, assesses the state of regional integration in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) area and in the Arab world and its impact on migration both before and after the uprisings in the area at the end of 2010 and the start of 2011 which were known as the 'Arab Spring'. The focus is on two of the countries which successfully underwent regime change in the course of these events, namely Egypt and Tunisia; and the aim is to verify to what extent increased mass migration from both countries is a consequence of the so-called revolutions, or is in line with previous trends underlying the marginalisation of both from the global political economy, as well as the lack of integration of the MENA area as a whole. The chapter first addresses the economic dimension of integration with a discussion of the three main indicators of integration into the global political economy, namely: the degree of trade integration, the level of foreign direct investment and the degree of trade openness. The aim is to determine to what extent the MENA area in general, and two countries studied here in particular, are integrated into the global economy and enjoy a healthy degree of regional economic integration or not. Following this, the migratory flows from the two countries considered will be assessed, drawing some conclusions on the impact of the Arab Spring on their dynamics.

In Chapter 15, Roccu tackles migration and informality in the global cities of the Middle East through the case of Cairo. The lack of substantive progress concerning regional integration in the Middle East has been

accompanied by the increasing pervasiveness of neoliberal reforms in many countries of the region, which has led to several forms of differential integration in the global economy. This is nowhere clearer than in Cairo, which over the past decades has become a truly global city. Against this backdrop, and working from a critical IPE perspective, this chapter aims to assess how increasing migratory flows contribute in important ways to the formal–informal divide characterising the urban political economy of Cairo. On the one hand, the lion’s share of migrants entering Egypt arrive from poorer and/or more unstable countries, and given their willingness not to be repatriated, they swell the ranks of the informal sector, more often than not being engaged in low-paid and unprotected menial jobs which proliferate in the capital city. On the other hand, the remaining part of the migrant population is constituted by the so-called expat community, which takes up a significant portion of highly paid white collar jobs, in international organisations and international non-governmental organisations, while at the same time increasing the demand for casual labour. This relation of asymmetric interdependence further reinforces the distinction between formal and informal, while making the exploitation of the latter ever more essential for the survival and profitability of the former. This can thus be configured as yet another form of accumulation by dispossession brought upon the lower classes in the Middle East by differential integration in the global economy.

In Chapter 16, Samers turns to migration and regional integration in North America. The general literature in IPE and international relations (IR) is replete with heuristic binaries (realism versus globalism, domestic versus international politics, neoliberalization versus securitisation, and so forth). While these heuristics may in themselves be performative – that is, they may have real effects on migration practices in ‘North America’ (or what might be more appropriately understood as the ‘multi-socio-territorialities’ of the North America Free Trade Area, NAFTA) – the chapter begins with the premise that such binaries are not particularly helpful in understanding migration and regional integration in the context of NAFTA. As such, the chapter makes three arguments. First, one has to understand not simply the significance of the domestic politics of Canada, Mexico and the United States as conceptualised from a methodological nationalist perspective, but rather through the political geography of immigration control that permeates these three states. Second, the juxtaposition of the ‘(neo) liberalisation’ of capital, goods, services and people on the one hand, with security or securitisation on the other, obscures the way in which so-called ‘smart borders’ facilitate such movements rather than restrict them. Third, it is argued that while federal and state lawmakers may exercise coercive power over migration from, to and between Canada

and Mexico, this also obscures each government's understanding of the economic co-dependence of their putatively 'national' economies. In light of these three arguments, the chapter concludes by reflecting on some of the differences between theorising migration and regional integration within NAFTA vis-à-vis the European Union.

Finally, in Chapter 17 Nadalutti moves to regional integration and migration in Southeast Asia. The chapter focuses on a comparative study of micro-regionalism and trans-border (economic) integration in Southeast Asia. It examines the nexus between comparative (economic) regional integration, borders and migration policies at the macro level (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN) and trans-border relations at the 'micro' level (growth triangles). In analysing the (economic) power relations developed within and between different levels of governments and relevant economic and political stakeholders in 'growth triangles', the author aims to clarify the impact of these elements on trans-border governance, and movement of people. The main research questions addressed in the chapter are, firstly, whether the internal spatial structure of the state has been transformed by the interaction that has developed between private and public actors in the framework of trans-border cooperation activities; secondly, why and to what extent trans-border economic cooperation influences integration and its significance for the movement of people; and finally, whether migration policies are influenced by trans-border economic activities. In doing so, the chapter firstly elucidates in more detail which actors are involved in trans-border cooperation activities; how their responsibilities, jurisdictions and relative powers can be or have been altered by the interaction; and whether trans-border cooperation can be used as a tool for further integration or, conversely, can enhance, as a counter-effect, 'disintegration'. The chapter will elucidate on the one hand that trans-border cooperation activities may help to transform the operation of power across the various levels of governance on a local and national level, and a new mode of governance that is 'multi-layered' can emerge from this scenario. On the other hand, administrative asymmetry, jurisdictional ambivalence and inter-regional rivalry and competition can hamper effective trans-border integration and the movement of people. Finally, it will clearly emerge that trans-border economic activities have a great impact on the movement of people and migration policies.

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