

**BORDERS AND MIGRATIONS IN WIDER EUROPE**

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# **Europeanisation and its Ambiguities: A Case of Conflicting Geopolitical Identities?**

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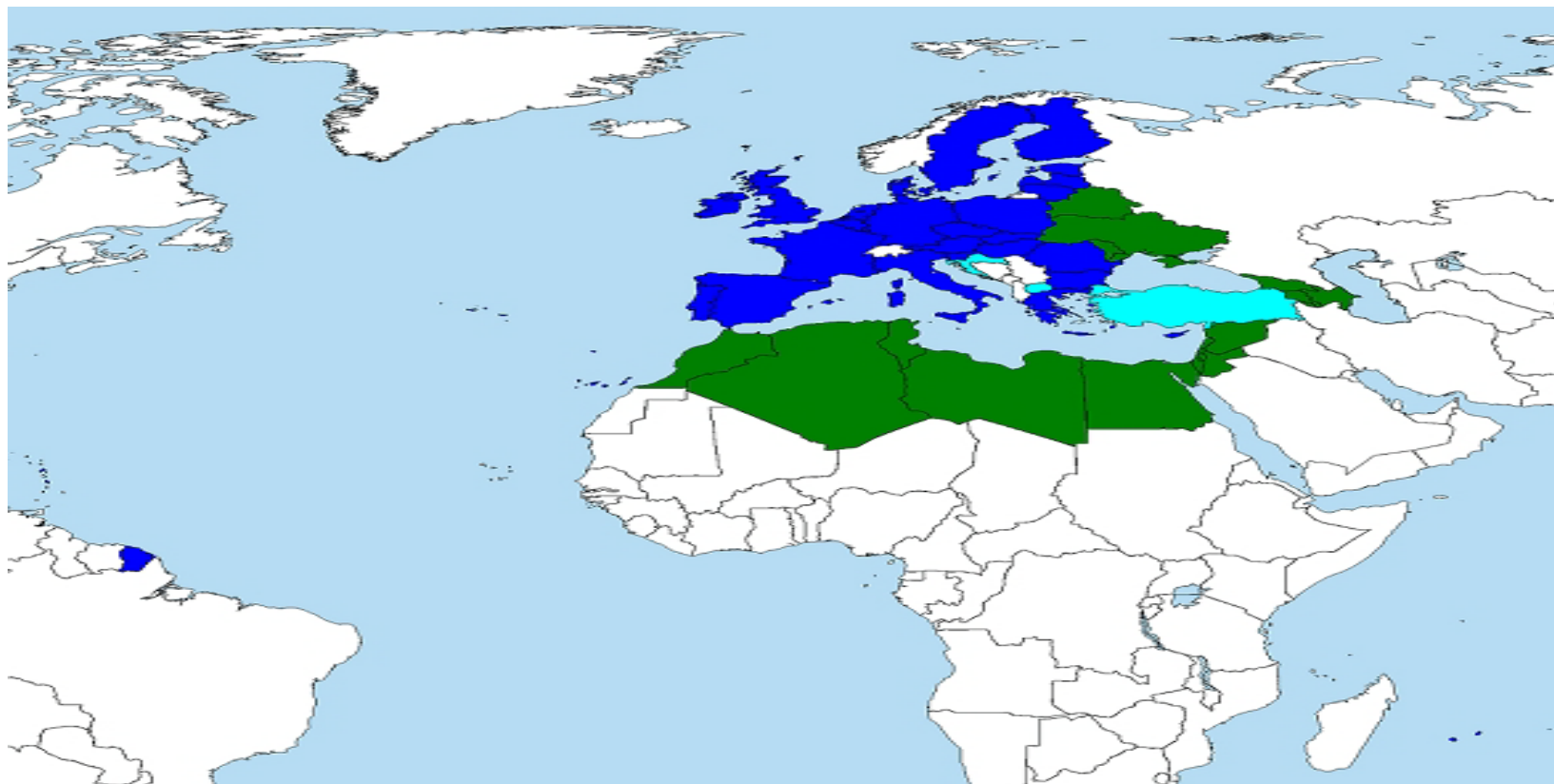
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# Research Background

- “Regional Stability, Borders and Migration”: funded by the Finnish Foreign Ministry
- EUDIMENSIONS: FP 6 project 2006-2009  
[www.eudimensions.eu](http://www.eudimensions.eu)
- EUBORDERREGIONS: FP 7 project 2011-2015  
[www.euborderregions.eu](http://www.euborderregions.eu)

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# ENP: New regional co-operation and zonation(?) between the EU and neighbours



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# Arguments

- EU is a major force for social transformation within and outside its borders
- But the “end of enlargement” poses the EU with a dilemma, an identity crisis – ENP is a response
- ENP reflects question of geopolitical identity and territoriality of the EU - a means to consolidate political community but also to “organise” a wider regional space
- This affects the development of CBC between the EU and neighbouring states in the Post-Cold War context



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# Europeanisation and CBC

- Europeanisation can be understood as a process through which EU values, norms and policy concerns are diffused within *and* beyond its borders (see Jones and Clark 2008, Radelli 2004).
- “Europeanisation” takes off as research issue with the EU’s post-1989 enlargement - conditions for EU membership establish mechanisms of institutional and social convergence to EU norms
- ENP: The formal and informal dissemination of “European” values across nations and cultures; The emergence of a geopolitical space of action dominated by the European Union



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# EU Geopolitical Identity – Idealist with Conditions Attached

- ENP clearly a “soft” power mechanism with which to enhance EU influence
- EU model of regional co-operation is *partnership*: includes economic, social, cultural and environmental agendas
- EU offers co-ownership of its incipient foreign policy
- EU addresses mutual regional concerns rather than particular state-like interests
- Civil society seen by EU as a major player in cbc
- But there are clear rules and conditions attached to partnership



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# EU Geopolitical Identity – Traditional Realism and Civilisational Fetishes Have Not Yet Vanished

- EU's cooperation and security-oriented agendas and compete with each other for geopolitical influence
- Regional war against drugs, illegal migration, terrorism and crime
- Redoubled focus on reproducing “EU-European values” through conditionality rather than through deeper societal engagement

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# Europeanisation: How is it unfolding within Processes of CBC?

- Selective political socialisation
  - Approximation to EU agendas, values, national minority policies appeals to and privileges certain groups
- Conditionality: incentives for institutional change in EU image
  - Civil society opportunities for issue-advocacy
  - Domestic Agenda Setting
- Securitisation: border management regimes, visas
- Institutional tutelage
  - Professionalisation (public servants, civil society)
  - Appropriation of EU discourses





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# Impacts on Neighbouring Borders

- Consolidation of the Schengen Regime
- New border regimes between Post-Soviet states
  - Ukrainian borders now demarcated with RF and Belarus
  - New border controls being put in place
- Extension of the EU's border security perimeter
  - Compliance with EU standards in documentation, border management
  - Regional war on drugs
  - Re-admission agreements with the EU
  - Assistance in treatment of undocumented migrants <...
  - Expertise in management of troublesome borders outside the EU (e.g. Transnistria) BOMOLUK

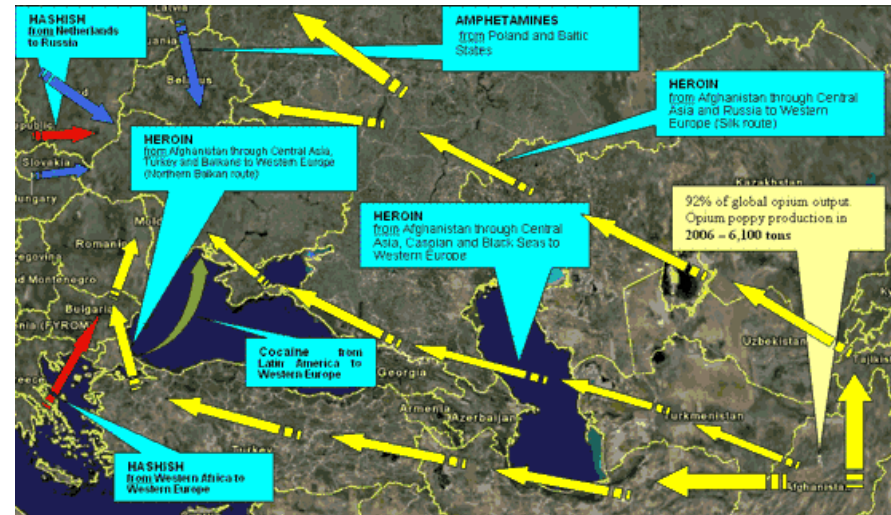


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# Targeted Assistance Programmes – EU funded, implemented with International Organisations

- European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM)
- Border management improvement in Ukraine and Moldova: (€ 6.6M, RAP 2005).
- The GUMIRA project (Mainstreaming readmission and treatment of illegal immigrants) (With ILO)
- European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) (UNDP implemented)
- Enhancing Border Management at the Moldovan – Ukrainian State Border (BOMOLUK)

# BUMAD: Belarus Ukraine Moldova Assistance in the Fight Against Drugs Traffic



# BOMOLUK....and Transnistria



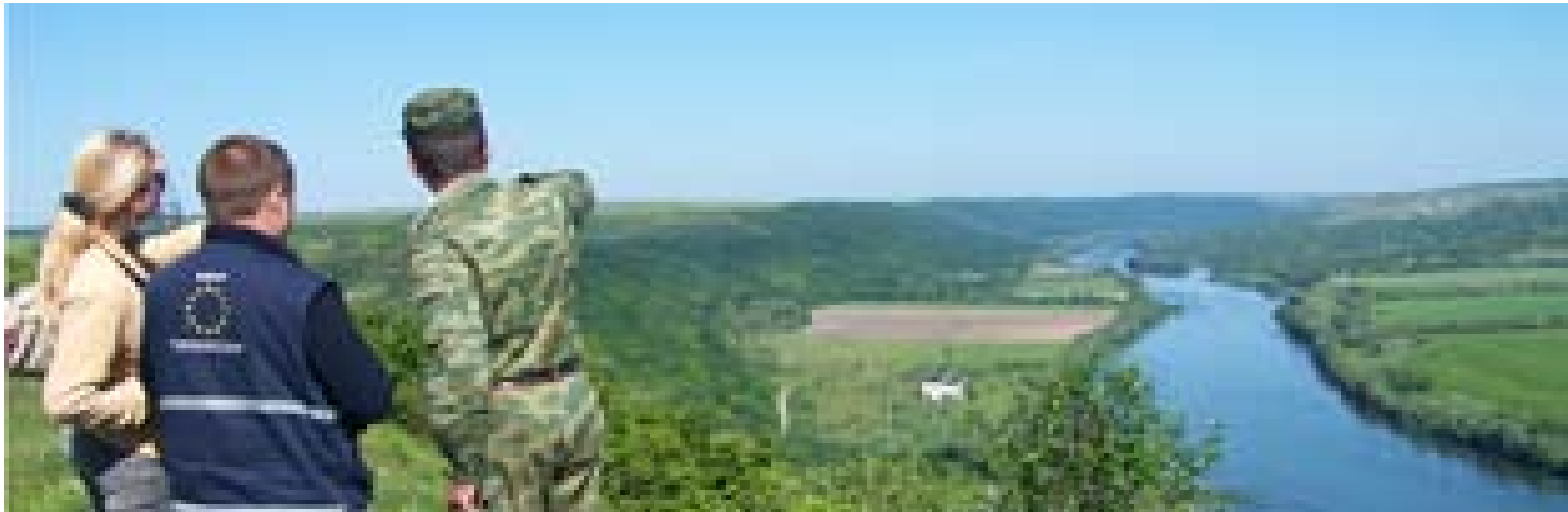
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# Excellent Border Crossing Points

- <http://www.eubam.org/en/multimedia/photos/esseys/BCPs>

## EUBAM International Youth Camp

- <http://www.eubam.org/en/multimedia/photos/events/7>



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# Institutional Impacts of Europeanisation Remain Ambivalent

- EU bureaucratises and centralises due to its focus on management, control
- Highly technical/managerial focus of policies
- CSO elites and international organisations in capital cities privileged
- Local, regional civil society groups often marginalised; rarely included in Technical Assistance Programmes
- Lack of deeper societal engagement

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# Critical Questions of ENP and Border Issues Need Scrutiny

- Selective access that discriminates against many sectors of the population in neighbouring states (visas, work)
- The use of borders to create categories of cultural, ethnic, geographical distinctions
- Policy convergence and conditionality: is making the neighbours more like the EU the goal?
- Exaggerated focus on security skews co-operation agendas?
- Possible changes with the ENP's “New Response”?

*Thank you for your kind attention*



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