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(De)Constructing the Migration-(In)Security Nexus.

Case Studies: Canada and Germany

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The main subject of this thesis is the migration-(in)security nexus in Canada and Germany.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the concept of migration. Firstly, polemical definitions are quoted and commented upon. Secondly, the latest immigration trends are revealed. Thirdly, the main taxonomies related to this research topic are critically sketched. Then, the normative resort frameworks at global and European level are presented. Subsequently, the connections between migration, urbanization, globalization and the main demographic trends are discussed. Finally, the current trajectory of the concept of multiculturalism is debated.

Chapter 2 reveals the connection between migration and (in) security, initially through the constructivist perspective, then this nexus is deconstructed. A key role in this chapter plays the analysis immigrant networks and communities.

Chapter 3 highlights the role of integration as the optimal solution in deconstructing this nexus. Integration is analyzed in a framework that surpasses the functionalist paradigm, focusing on the political integration of immigrants, especially in the federal context.

Chapter 4 consists of the application of the theoretical aspects presented above in the two case studies analyzed in a comparative manner, Canada and Germany, at the macro (federal)-level, as well as at the meso- (provincial) and micro- (municipal) level.

The main research hypotheses are:

H1: a practical solution towards the deconstruction of the migration-(in)security nexus is immigrants' integration in the host society

H2: an optimal integration of immigrants should surpass the functionalist paradigm and be more political-oriented

H3: the greater the degree of federal-provincial asymmetry and decentralization, the likelier the integration of immigrants into the host society

H4: an optimal integration of immigrants should primarily happen bottom-up, using the principle of subsidiarity and allowing them the right to participate in municipal elections

H5: (first-generation) immigrants are underrepresented in political sectors in both countries, but the degree of underrepresentation is lower in "Gemeinschaften" than in "Gesellschaften"

H6: the closer the level of representation (municipal, provincial, federal), the greater the share of naturalized immigrants involved in politics

H7: whereas the migration-(in)security nexus does not constitute an issue in the overall Canadian public discourse, being almost absent from electoral campaigns, it is augmented and used in the electoral campaigns in national states such as Germany.

Concerning the methodology used, the key concepts shall be presented through a selective literature review, with emphasis on the latest trends in immigration, integration and security policies. The approach shall be a multidisciplinary one, with references to demography, global studies, urban geography, linguistics, (trans)national networking, electoral conduct and security-related issues. These shall be commented upon in the two case studies on Canada and Germany at macro-structural (federal), meso-structural (provincial) and micro-structural (municipal) level, under selection criteria explained in the two case studies, by means of document analysis, interviews with specialists (researchers, Government representatives, as well as representatives of minorities' NGOs) from a rather qualitative approach. Still, it must be stated that quantitative aspects can be noticed in data taken and interpreted from Statistics Canada and from Statistisches Bundesamt Germany, together with other reports (IOM, World Bank Reports, Global Trends etc.) and newspaper articles etc. Before being analysed from an actual perspective, a brief diachronic sketch of migration is presented in both countries/ in all cities under discussion. The case studies shall be presented in comparative approach, with highlights on both the strengths and the weaknesses of their features in the context of (de)constructing the migration (in)security nexus in two settings that are so different, yet share so many commonalities.

Manuel Castells has stated that "at the turn of the millennium, the king and the queen, the state and the civil society are both naked and their children-citizens are wandering around a variety of foster homes"[1], which are, as Edward Said has stated, "always provisional", since, in

[1] Manuel Castells, The Power of Identity, p. 420.

the Heideggerian approach, "homelessness is to be the destiny of the world"[2]. Still, this homelessness, this rupture from matrix, the pendulum movement between a Freudian *heimlich* and *unheimlich*, further implies a restructuration, a de- and, subsequently, a reconstruction of a different "home", or, in Homi Bhabha's terms, of a 'third space'.

The idea of cultural diversity could be traced back to times immemorial, since empires have accommodated it in various ways. Paradoxically, whereas globalization allows rapid movement of people, goods and information, United Nations' statistics reveal that only 3.2 percent of the world's population can be considered migrant, which makes Thomas Faist analyse the so-called "enigma of relative immobility".

Whereas mobility, even if apparently low in its degree, cannot be contested, its directions and further management have various hypostases: do the people with immigrationist background lead to the formation of or get into a *Gesellschaft* (society) or a *Gemeinschaft* (community)? Does the multicultural function have an integrative approach or is it just *per se*? How can this incontestable diversity be effectively managed, without leading to feelings of insecurity for both migrants and the host society that is usually expected to turn into a home society, especially in the context of "the end of the welfare state"?

Personally, I apply Nietzsche's theory of the three metamorphoses on the general pattern of immigrant integration into the host society. The German philosopher states in his book *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*) that there are three stages of development in the individual's identity, symbolized, in a hierarchical order, by the camel, the lion and the child. In my opinion, the first-generation immigrants can be identified with the submissive and silent camel. Relatively scared of the new setting and primarily motivated to earn more that they have in their home countries, these people rooted in their traditions hardly get integrated, especially at older ages. The embodiment of the lion that freely states its will is rather characteristic of the second-generation immigrants, of children who were born there, usually speak both the languages of their parents and that or those of the society they grow up in. In order to reach the third and uppermost level of metamorphosis, more exactly to become a 'child' one must - according to Friedrich Nietzsche - accept a re-birth, a new identity, which is mostly visible at the

[2] Martin Heidegger, 'Letter on Humanism', in Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings,* New York, Harper & Row, 1977, p. 219.

third-generation immigrants who have probably just accidentally heard of their families' immigration in bedtime stories of their parents and grandparents.

With regard to the migration-(in)security nexus, it must be stated that its analysis is two-folded. On the one hand, the construction of the migration-(in)security nexus is presented, primarily under the constructivist paradigm and with reference to the sectors of the Copenhagen School. On the other hand, this (rather imagined and, hence, existent at least at the level of consciousness) nexus is deconstructed and this deconstruction "does not consist in passing from one concept to another, but in overturning and displacing a conceptual order, as well as the non-conceptual order with which the conceptual order is articulated".

Some images of the 'foreigners' are projected as threatening, and it is this projection and, further on, representation, that actually make them so, at least at the level of consciousness. Or, as Jacques Derrida has put it, "the process here is that of the difference between real presence and representation, which is a difference within the same, since they are the same event in counsciousness"[3]. Therefore, if A believes B is dangerous, B becomes dangerous in the eyes of A and is treated as such by A, this way creating and, further on, augmenting what Edward de Bono calls "the problem of no problem", to which the lateral thinking that "challenges the labels"[4] by deconstructing them might be the solution.

Alexander Wendt argues that "structural change in international politics implies the formation of a collective identity". Likewise, I would state that an optimal integration of immigrants, a 'collective identity' that would allow 'us' to perceive them as 'one of us' requires, to a certain extent, a "structural change" in politics and this "happens when actors redefine who they are and what they want". Should these actors have diverse immigrationist backgrounds, this structural change could be even more prominent. The importance of immigrant networks in contributing to this "structural change" is analysed, as well.

There is strong evidence that immigrants are underrepresented in the political sector regardless of the country, primarily due to a strong tradition of nationhood, but in a state formed as a result of immigration this underrepresentation is much lower than in a traditionally national state. Furthermore, when looking at positions in the area of executive power, the so-called

[3] On Derrida, "Towards a Definition of Deconstruction", in: ..., p. 178.
[4] Edward de Bono, , p. 153.

‘multination states’ have an expected wider range of diversity in terms of country of origin and number of first-generation immigrants involved in politics than the ‘national’ ones. Relevant examples in this respect are Madeleine Albright, former US Secretary of State (born in Czechoslovakia), and the two Canadian Governor Generals Adrienne Clarkson (born in Hong Kong) and Michaëlle Jean (born in Haiti).

Conversely, could someone imagine in the near future an originally non-German Bundeskanzler? Let alone the immigrant integration into the military sector, which would be, according to RMC Professor Christian Leuprecht, “the ultimate litmus test of democracy”. In this respect, seen quantitatively, European countries are far beyond Canada or Australia and some might even find this hypothesis unconceivable.

I argue that a key issue towards effectively managing the migration-(in)security nexus is an optimal integration of immigrants into the host society. Surpassing the levels of the functionalist paradigm, this integration should also become relevant and visible in the political sector and should be done bottom-up rather than top-down, being based on the principle of subsidiarity, especially in the context of proven polar tendencies between cosmopolitanism and regionalism, when, as a response to globalization, “in these times, local identities grow stronger”. According to the neofunctionalist theory, economic integration (functionalism) generates political dynamics that perpetuate integration and “closer economic ties imply more political coordination”.

The thesis further presents the extent to which symmetry and asymmetry in federal systems matter in terms of immigrant integration. One would be tempted to believe that the level of asymmetry is in direct proportionality with the level of immigrants’ integration. This hypothesis is somehow contradicted by the situation in Quebec and Bavaria, which are the best examples of federal-provincial asymmetry in jurisdictional and religious terms. Even if the two provinces under discussion bear limited comparison, an analysis of their policies and of immigrants’ integration is imperiously necessary so as to understand both the federal and the provincial mechanics.

Analysing the evolution of the Canadian and German immigration policies, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos states that “differences in Canada and Germany’s respective tradition of nationhood played a much more important role than many scholars have recognized and

variations in the political dynamics shaping membership and political debates in Canada and Germany were not simply the result of the underlying differences in conceptions of nationhood and migration, but were also shaped in large part by differences in political institutions and corresponding political opportunities". In consequential immigrationist patterns, I state that whereas Canada can be considered a community (Gemeinschaft), Germany rather follows the pattern of a society (Gesellschaft).

The centralization of political authority in terms of integration "may threaten both individual and group freedom", leading to a "reborn nationalism". And this "reborn" nationalism is more and more obvious in European states, where it actually emerged from. Whereas in Canada the electoral discourse "has no terrorism or xenophobia", the European electoral discourse is rather nationalist than cosmopolitan. According to Corneliu Chişu, Canadian Member of Parliament of Romanian origin, "you state that Canadians need to be protected, we have just promulgated the anti-terror law. If you visited our Parliament, you know that MPs are walking freely there, you don't know who is MP and who is not, so it is not that kind of security you see in Europe." Or, as Jeffrey Reitz has put it, as compared to European countries, "there is rarely any debate on immigration during Canadian election campaigns".

Further critics argue that is precisely this trust in immigrants that has led to the proliferation of terrorism on the Canadian territory and abroad, by means of transnational networks using migrants' remittances. A comparison of anti-terrorist security policies, as well as percentages and cases of terrorist threats and attacks is done in the two case studies under discussion. So is the question of to what extent have these two countries adopted the Scandinavian slogan that "the best crime prevention strategy is a good social policy". And, further on, to what extent this social policy can still be considered the solution in times of the end of "the welfare state".

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