

Citizenship in Transition

Citizenship in Transition:
New Perspectives on Transnational Migration
from the Middle East to Europe

Edited by

Annemarie Profanter and Francis Owtram

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

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Annemarie Profanter and Francis Owtram

INTRODUCTION

CELEBRATING DIFFERENCE: IN SEARCH OF PARADIGMS ADDRESSING BARRIERS TO TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

ANNEMARIE PROFANTER
AND FRANCIS OWTRAM

Two years ago millions of Arabs marched in the streets demanding reforms to meet the challenges of their economic and social situation which involved removing the repressive authoritarian regimes. At the same time a global financial and economic crisis impacted the West and the MENA region. This was in the context of 9/11 which gave the pretext to portray the entire Muslim world as an imminent threat to the West. As one consequence, Muslim integration was reframed in terms of security policies. In fact, a securitization of Muslim immigration took place across the globe. This reframing of Muslim integration as a security issue is only one facet of government policy initiatives towards Muslim communities. What has happened as a consequence of all these developments?

Much is changing on the local, regional and global level impacting on the on-going processes of transnational migration. This turmoil has knocked dominant and essentialist modes of thinking about the Middle East while at the same time affecting European government policy on immigration. Previous policies had supported the authoritarian regimes such as Libya to constrain immigration and attention now turned to ways in which reform could assist the maintenance of social stability in the MENA region without recourse to the previously accepted authoritarian notions of stability in either the authoritarian republics or *rentier* monarchies. The revolutions of the Arab Spring challenged the notion of what citizens in these countries expected from their governments and, also potentially created a new wave of migration, once again showing how

local and global are connected in the identity of citizens and the construction of citizenship.

Simply stated a citizen “is a member of a political community who enjoys the rights and assumes the duties of membership” (SEP 2011). Two broad developments—the change in internal composition of liberal democracies and the challenges of globalization on the state—have led the concept of citizenship to be rethought, particularly in a transnational sense. With reference to the European-MENA area, by deconstructing the processes that are shaping and reshaping issues of migration and integration we hope to unwrap in this volume the emerging patterns in such issues as a) Citizenship, Modernity and Cultural Identity; b) Citizenship, Education and Law; and c) Citizenship and 2nd Generation Networks. Such issues constitute the experience of many migrants in Europe. As the following interview quote illustrates on an individual level:

“Mi chiamo Aisha. Sono marocchina di madre lingua berbera. Sono arrivata in Italia quasi dieci anni fa seguendo il marito, che aveva un’offerta di lavoro, ma io sto ancora cercando lavoro e non son riuscita a far altro che volontariato. Sono qui perché mi devo trovare un mondo per vivere diverso, devo creare un futuro per mio figlio che frequenta l’elementare qui. Lui parla perfettamente il tedesco, l’italiano, l’arabo e il berbero. Lui si sente italiano, anch’io lo sono come passaporto, ma dentro il mio cuore rimarrò sempre marocchina. Mi manca la mia terra, ritorno quando posso a trovare la mia famiglia. Ho gli amici qui che anche hanno vissuto questo trauma della migrazione e ci incontriamo a festeggiare le nostre feste religiose, a cucinare insieme e così. Però tutta la mia famiglia è lì. Come posso vivere senza la mia famiglia?” (A. I. pseudonym, interview by A. Profanter, Brixen, October 20, 2012)¹

Aisha’s experience reflects a shared experience of many immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa. They take part in two societies and try to build their lives in their host countries whilst maintaining ties with their existing homelands. In recent years research on transnational migration has rapidly developed focusing on the economic, social, political and religious processes between host and sending countries (Levitt, Jaworsky 2007, pp. 129-156). Similarly, Aisha delineates the social spaces in which she is involved here and there, in other words, in Morocco and in Italy. Moreover she has to reorganize the social structures and the relationships that she builds on the basis of shared experience in transnational migration. These may be reflected in Aisha’s experience and involvement in the labour force, social networks, political and cultural groups and the education system in the adopted homeland. What is it about Aisha’s experience that constitutes the distinctive social phenomenon which has

been referred to as transnational migration? This book aims to add innovative scholarship to the current dialogue on the mass influx of Muslim immigrants with a highly prescriptive pre-existing culture and religion into democratic societies in an era of globalization. It aims to elicit research which combines investigation of the point of origin of emigrants in countries from the Middle East and North Africa region together with the final adopted homeland destination (e.g. Italy, Austria, and Germany) in order to analyse the diasporic nature of many of these groups.

This diasporic nature has been analysed as part of the on-going dialog on the concept of the transnationalism. The concept of

“transnational social spaces, transnational social fields or transnationalism ...usually refer to sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders of multiple nation states, ranging from weakly to strongly institutionalized forms” (Faist 1999, p. 2).

Faist notes that the impacts of transnationalisation on citizenship have not been fully explored and the notion of cross-border social networks also aids understanding of immigrants’ experience. The relationship of transnational processes with the nation state is significant in that they acquire some of their uniqueness by transcending these nation states (Bailey 2001, pp. 413-428). These transnational processes can create transnational communities made up of social relationships taking place across the borders by which individuals take part in social lives in two or more countries (Levitt 2004).

Furthermore, Levitt and Jaworsky (2007, p. 130) note that migration scholarship has “undergone a sea change in the last decade”. Reviewing the development of scholarship in this field they identify that in the 1990s (following the new assimilation theory and segmented assimilationism) a third perspective was added which observed the way in which some migrants continued to be involved in their homelands simultaneously as they participate in their receiving country. This is because, they argue, migration has never been simply a linear process of assimilationism or a mix into a “multi-cultural salad bowl”, but one in which migrants are embedded in many layers and sites of the transnational social arenas they inhabit. More precisely, they simultaneously become engaged through new technologies which facilitate movement and communication with greater frequency, speed and regularity. Different means of dynamic relationships between here and there, home and host, are according to Tsuda (2012) multi-faceted: engagement increases in one society and this may lead to less involvement in the other; the diverse engagement-levels

are not directly impacting each other, increased engagement in the host country may lead to increased or respectively decreased engagement in the home country.

Using a transnational approach to migration means abandoning the nation-state framework to understand migration and using instead the notion of a transnational social field consisting of institutions and organizations which creates identities to which migrants may choose to subscribe (Levitt 2004). By shifting the conceptualization to transnational social fields this enables the analysis to move beyond just those who migrate to include those who remain but stay connected with migrants through transnational social fields across borders. This is because people do not have to move to be affected by migration: remittances, benefits and ideas from a migrant can affect someone who has never stepped outside of their village in the ancestral homeland. This is so much the case that the role of transnational migrants in development is an increasing part of development discourse (Faist 2008, p. 21). A transnational social field approach also takes into account the multiple layers of transnational identity as well as the multiple sites. It is not sufficient to merely look at local to local connections; it is also important to see how these connections are placed into vertical to horizontal systems of connection. Placing migrants into a transnational social field specifies that integration into a new national state and maintenance of other attachments are not completely contradictory notions.

Indeed, migrant experiences should not be viewed as linear or sequential but able to move from one point to another sometimes achieving “simultaneity of connection”. Analysis of this phenomenon should not expect to find either total host-nation assimilation or total transnational connection—rather some combination in which the task of analysis is to investigate how migrants swing between the two and how these two aspects mutually influence each other (Levitt 2004). A transnational perspective allows the moving away from a rigid framework in which migrants shift between incorporation between two impermeable nation states to a framework which places migrants as operating in a number of national territories and the task of analysis is to find out empirically in each case what host-home and other country factors are operating. Linking to this Painter (2008) finds that Europe’s emerging transnational citizenship should not be linked to the conventional nation-state model. For Martiniello (1995), however, European political identity is basically linked to a prior communitarian national belonging: one can be a European citizen only if one is first Italian, French, or a German citizen, for example. He defines European citizenship as a sort of supra-citizenship

which confirms the existence of diverse cultural and political identities corresponding to the member states of the European Union; however, limited to the European spirit that he defines as follows:

“This idea of the intangible existence of a natural ‘European culture’ and ‘European spirit’ based on the common Judaeo-Christian and humanist experience” (Martiniello 1995, p. 44).

If this were accepted then it could be asked what place in the EU is found for native born Muslims or immigrants from Muslim countries? The developing idea of transnational citizenship offers a more realistic basis for these citizens.

Increasingly sending states are offering a range of rights and benefits to migrants living outside their country (Levitt 2001, pp. 195-216) in the form of dual citizenship or participatory citizenship drawing on transnational practices; this has raised the question as to whether a form of *transnational citizenship* is being created. Situating it in the context of “globalization from below” Fox (2005) outlines the conceptual problems of accurately defining transnational citizenship noting that notions of transnational citizenship engage with a little discussed interface between international relations, comparative politics and normative political theory. Further, he asks whether these developing processes of cross-border inclusion could be similar to the early stages of the building of national citizenship which took place over centuries.

Similarly, Fitzgerald (2008) finds, what he terms a “citizenship à la carte” is being created, in which citizenship rights over obligations are emphasized, there is more voluntarism and where multiple affiliations are accepted—this is developing both as a response to globalization and as an expression of the way in which globalization is reconfiguring social relationships. Further, we need to be cognizant of notions of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism which are increasingly held up as offering the possibilities of new forms of citizenship reflecting the realities of migration and also second generation migrant networks. A transnational approach to migration whilst remaining controversial also has considerable explanatory potential (Levitt 2004). While some see a transnational identity among the first generation others see that such identities will not hold for the second generation as they will not have the same intensity of belonging. However, as they have been raised in homes full of the influences of the country of origin even if they have no interest in their ancestral homeland they are quickly able to reactivate these identities and values if they choose to do so. In some cases these identities have become securitized in public debate as in the suspicion of dual loyalties (Levitt

2004) particularly after 9/11 and the Madrid and London train bombings which heightened the media scrutiny of immigration patterns and citizenship identity in Europe.

Information on citizenship has often been used to study EU immigration flows. However, citizenship in the context of migration does change over time and statistics are thus often biased. Moreover, there is no EU-binding definition of who is considered a migrant; any statistical overview of migration issues in Europe is therefore biased due to nationally diverging definitions. Some member states base their classification on the reasons for migration, others on the length of stay in the host country, and others again distinguish if the applicant's home country is a former colony (Haase, Jugl 2008).

In 2010 there were 32.5 million foreigners in the 27 member states of the European Union, corresponding to 6.5% of the total population. The majority of them, 20.2 million, were third-country nationals (i.e. citizens of non-EU countries) (Vasileva 2011). In 2011 an immigration flow of 1,671,500 to the EU was reported (Eurostat 2013) and it is relevant for this book to probe how many of these came from the MENA region: According to the statistics Turkey and Morocco were the main contributing countries. After the Arab Spring of 2011 concern focused on the possibility of a large uncontrolled wave of migration; this crystallized in chaotic scenes in the immigrant holding centre on the Italian island of Lampedusa which had resources for 850 people and was overwhelmed with 15,000 Tunisian and Egyptians. However, in contrast with this picture the number of Tunisian asylum applications to the EU declined by 3,000 in 2012 compared with 2011. Although the number of Syrian applications for asylum increased in the same period the evidence from Tunisia suggests that these rates remain high only if the political situation remains dangerous. Of the citizenships with the highest application rate for asylum in the EU Arab countries make up 5th, 6th and 17th place (Iraq, Syria and Algeria). Furthermore, it should be noted that in humanitarian catastrophes the most affected are least mobile, so the link with mass migration is less clear than at first it seems. Whilst inter-regional migration between Europe and MENA is important a further point to note about Arab migration is that of the 13 million Arab migrants worldwide, 5.8 million inhabit Arab countries, representing intra-Arab region migration.

Although the Arab revolutions did not lead to the massive increase in migration to the European Union that some had expected it has had consequences. Europe is the prime destination for first generation Arab migrants and they may move back to their country of origin as "returnees" if, following regime change, they perceive conditions have improved; once

back in their countries of origin the ending of their remittances stops a major financial flow as they are higher than domestic salary levels. Regarding issues of migration and return, the perception and actions of some in Europe led to new concerns about migration and its relationship to security and domestic terrorism. The massacre in Norway committed by Anders Brevik claimed 77 people in 2012; he produced a manifesto in which he attributes perceived problems in Norway to immigration and “Islamisation” (ISN ETH Zurich 2012).

However, no institution feels the impact of immigration more than the schools. Although there is substantial political controversy as the demography of elementary and secondary schools is changing rapidly specifically in high populated areas in Europe, there is no doubt about the fact that those very children will be a crucial component of their host countries’ economy in the near future. It is widely recognized that educational policy can assist integration of immigrants and that pedagogical practice has a role in supporting the children of immigrants achieve in school. Patterns of acculturation and achievement among both EU-born and immigrant students need to be studied more thoroughly and a critical analysis of educational policy and politics, particularly school restructuring reforms and efforts by public school systems to meet the needs of immigrant children needs to be addressed.

The US has responded to this challenge with the NCLB Act (No Child Left Behind),

“the landmark 2002 federal law that holds schools accountable for the academic performance of limited English speaking children and other groups that include many children of immigrants” (Capps et al. 2005).

Similar policies are aimed at in Europe; however, given the cultural and linguistic diversity of its components and the fact that educational affairs are under the responsibility of every single nation, things are not as straightforward. For example, the Eurydice network has analysed how communication between schools and immigrant families can be improved to assist the integration of immigrant children (Eurydice network 2009).

New perspectives on transnational migration between the Middle East and Europe

In contributing to this debate the essays in this volume explore a range of issues: the economic context of migration between MENA; the abandonment of multiculturalism and the shift to integration or inclusion.

The perceived illiberal values of Muslim communities; mechanisms to integrate Muslim communities; different approaches of Muslim communities to gender and sexuality; degree of identification with country of origin; the contrast between realist (perceiving immigrants as a security issue) and liberal (humanitarian approach); citizenship procedures. The chapters in this book reflect applied research of highly sensitive and pivotal issues relating to the complex and underestimated impact of cultural patterns occurring in the attempted integration of new-wave immigrants from MENA in for example, Italy, Germany, the UK, and Norway. In so doing they offer new perspectives on key themes impacting citizenship, namely: globalization and migration; change of residence and development of bicultural identities; adaption to host country societal structures whilst retaining cultural citizenship in one's country of origin; and issues in developing innovative applied theory to facilitate immigrants integration into the adopted culture.

Following this introductory chapter the book is organized into three sections: 1) Citizenship, Modernity and Cultural Identity; 2) Citizenship, Education and Law; 3) Citizenship and 2nd Generation Networks.

In Citizenship, Modernity and Cultural Identity, firstly, Kristian Coates Ulrichsen places migration between MENA and the Europe region in the context of globalization, demographic trends and the Arab Spring, noting the way in which deficiencies in the educational and labour markets result in push factors for outward migration and how future trends could play out as the political and economic landscape of the region is transformed. Identifying the crucial importance of education to the production of knowledge-based economies Coates Ulrichsen outlines the challenges for Middle Eastern policy makers in comparative context with other regions such as South-East Asia; the challenges are compounded by the high birth rates and concomitant need to generate employment opportunities for a burgeoning youth population. The state's ability to deliver on the social contract is increasingly in question and as such there is mismatch between the state's capacity and social and economic demands on it. State deficiency in the Middle East, nowhere more acute than in Yemen, has led to an increase in attempted terrorist attacks against the West which resulted in a concerted effort by Western policy makers to address some of the issues in Yemen. However, as it did not address the access of Yemenis to Gulf States, closed off since 1991, it meant that little of substance was achieved. The securitization of migration since 9/11, he argues, needs to

be replaced by an approach that takes into account the interlocking economic social and political dimensions.

In the second contribution Nigel Greaves advances his approach that ways of thinking about the world are attuned to ways of acting upon the world, and are thus linked to historical and social contexts that condition their content and reciprocate back to strengthen and replicate those social and historical determinants. He assumes that the tension that is given to exist in western societies with high levels of Muslim immigration rests ultimately on organic differences of a developmental nature, as reflected in contrasting outlooks, or ideological attachments. A pattern of correspondence is sought between contrasting ideologies and dichotomous historical experiences of the economic and political pressures associated with modernity. Hence the ideological stand-off that is taken to exist can be shown to be subject to the specific context of contrasting historiological determinations. Ideological dichotomy in shared social spaces derives, it is argued, from alternative cultural sources which become in turn functional to the maintenance and replication of the culture in question. Here Antonio Gramsci's insights and concepts, such as "hegemony", "intellectuals" and "historical bloc", help to illuminate the analysis. Gramsci enables the differentiation of modern and pre-modern ideas by virtue of historically determined function in justifying and facilitating a way of life. In this way, ideological difference is explained in the Islamic immigrant not so much as a voluntary act of awkwardness, defiance, contempt or disrespect, but as a structuralized derivation of profoundly different patterns of historical (i.e. "cultural") development.

In her chapter on possible approaches to narrow the transitional gap from emigrant to citizen Annemarie Profanter explores the process of cultural frame switching and the consequent development of bicultural identities. She highlights how immigrants manage to adapt to new societal structures while retaining cultural citizenship in their respective country of origin. Processes of cultural frame switching and the "persistence of source country effects" have been discussed in connection with the large influx of Muslim immigrant populations to Europe. With reference to Bassam Tibi's theoretical model of socio-politically active European citizenry Profanter expands on widely discussed issues of inter-cultural dialogue, such as secular democracy versus Shari'a. Tibi promotes the development of responsible and productive immigrant members of a multi-cultural European Union that actively advocate for both their culturally mandated traditions as well as those of their adopted homelands. He argues that a true reading of Islam is in line with democracy and human rights, and he defines clear boundaries between Islam as a religion

and the misuse of this religious system in the conceptualization of an ideological, political Islam. Profanter challenges his concept in the sense that she poses the question as to what contemporary Europe really means. Europe being created on strict economic and strategic principles and objectives to date seems fragmented. She argues that the problem is not that Muslims are too little European or that Islam in Europe is different to the Islam in the Arab world, rather the question more specifically is whether Islam is compatible with liberal democracy. The Arab Spring has posed questions for democracy in the Arab world and European Muslims should not isolate themselves from the debates going on the Arab world.

The second section, Citizenship, Education and Law, starts off with Christine Difato's chapter "Citizenship and education: economic competitiveness, social cohesion and human rights". In her multi-layered analysis of citizenship and education in the EU with special reference to Germany and the UK, Difato identifies three key themes: economic competitiveness, social cohesion or security, and human rights. She notes how the European Union has moved from a project of creating an internal market to one of an internal security project which in a post-Cold War context has moved from traditional military and ideological issues to one concerned with society and individuals. Starting firstly with a review of EU policies as they impact education she traces how these have developed in Germany and the UK, finding that policies in the second half of the twentieth century have moved from assimilation to multiculturalism to inclusion or integration. The second part of the chapter examines the implementation of international and national trends in local education policies. At the same time as every individual has a right to an education, upheld in national and EU policies on human rights, the reality of access to equal education is not always present. From selective education systems to school competition and the marketization of education, the author explores the way that goals of economic competitiveness rival the ideals of human rights, while social cohesion reflects aspects of control and the standardizing expectations placed on individuals and groups for the purposes of security. In so saying, she argues that the tension between and transition from an internal market to an internal security project is explicitly reflected in the education systems on the local level, significantly affecting the integration and incorporation of third-country nationals, minorities and socio-economically disadvantaged groups.

This leads to the next chapter dealing with a case study of recent developments in Turkey impacting on transnational citizenship. In her study Necla Ozturk surveys the methods and required conditions to

acquire citizenship and under what provisions a person can lose their citizenship. The New Citizenship Act emphasizes many important changes between the Old and the New Act such as the introduction of dual citizenship in the New Act. The main distinction between the Old and the New Act highlights the difference between the amendment in the New Act which results in losing and acquiring citizenship status. The New Act as a matter of reformative measure does not recognize the expulsion of Turkish citizenship. Finally, there is no gender based distinction between men and women: they attain equal status, both in terms of equality in law and equality before the law.

Using the Foucauldian notion of heterotopia Sotirios Livas explores the fictional boundaries of the Athens Pakistan and Afghani communities comprised of illegal immigrants and finds the need for a new citizenship code to remedy their parlous social situation. Furthermore, regarding asylum seekers he argues that, whilst allowing for security, new detention procedures must be created particularly concerning minors, and a mosque and cemetery be allowed so that usual practices of ritual life can take place in the community. As he argues, Greek society was caught totally unprepared for the huge waves of immigrants literally pouring through its ground and sea borders in the final years of the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s. The acute financial crisis of the country, that shattered all dreams of wellbeing and success, created by the entry in the Eurozone and the 2004 Olympic Games, has led these new immigrants (mainly coming from Africa and Asia) to a zone of social non-existence. Destitution and lack of prospects for social mobility have been interwoven in a pattern, leading to their being targeted in racist neo-Nazi attacks and being isolated in slums and ghettos, their only dream being to get out, towards Western Europe.

Three chapters comprise the last section “Citizenship and Second Generation Networks”. A common theme in all these chapters is the way in which Muslim immigrants are integrating and the role of local, national and EU policy in assisting this, based on mutual accommodation and respect.

As Khawlah Ahmed argues in her chapter on “Arab Diasporas in the UK: Yemeni Citizenship still in Transition” Muslim communities in Europe, often seen as recent creations, have in fact older antecedents such as in the case of Yemeni communities the UK. Despite their being framed by politics and the media as the “other” and as “guests”, Arabs, especially Yemenis, in her study of recent immigration Yemeni females, she finds that they have both been able to integrate into UK society and maintain

links and sense of identity with their Yemeni culture and homeland. In an age of mobile communication, the ease with which contacts can be maintained with homelands is a distinct difference to the experience of today's generation compared with earlier immigrants. This ease seems to have led to new immigrants being able to maintain stronger ties to their country of origin and therefore they are more likely to maintain an affinity to their home country and less likely to feel the pressure to assimilate in their new societies. Today's UK citizens of Yemeni origin, she argues, do not operate in a zero-sum game founded on a single place, rather multiple attachments are feasible and as such transnational associations are not achieved at the expense of a sense of integration.

Ulrika Mårtensson's chapter addresses civic integration policy and the concomitant emphasis on civic dialogue as its principal tool. Civic integration implies the cultural minorities should be integrated with the majority through mutual accommodation between the dialoguing parties, but within the boundaries of liberal democracy and human rights. The case study explores dialogues in the Norwegian city Trondheim between an Islamic mosque organization and the state Church; the child care authorities; the police; the municipality; and the state department of integration. Findings show that it is possible to achieve mutual accommodation between Muslims' religious and cultural values and practices and the public authorities' policies and practices. However, in order for this to happen the two parties need to communicate and understand each other's positions clearly, which is what allows them to find a common ground where previously the positions appeared as mutually exclusive. The Church, based on its experiences of interfaith dialogue with the Islamic mosque organization, played a key role in achieving the kind of communication and understanding that was necessary for mutual accommodation to take place. This implies that civic dialogue risks becoming a top-down communication which only entrenches mutually exclusive positions, unless at least one of the dialoguing parties is trained in identifying common grounds. The method of the local interfaith dialogue group has proven highly suitable for this purpose. Finally, the study indicates that Islamic organisations that are committed to active citizenship are also the ones that are engaged in civic dialogue, which implies that it might be important to find ways to engage with other organisations as well, since civic dialogue has the potential to advance their members' interests in relation to public authorities.

Francesco Mazzucotelli finishes the book with his study of second generation networks in Lombardy, criticizing the "localist" approach and finding a mismatch between immigration policies in Italy at various levels.

He argues that, in the absence of clear policy guidelines and benchmarks at a national level, the management of immigration-related issues in Italy is often devolved to a micro-level negotiation. This “localist” or “parochial” approach offers both margins of flexibility and pragmatic solutions, and risks of arbitrariness and haphazardness. Incongruities and inconsistencies occur both at a juridical level and in terms of political behaviour. His paper frames the evolution of this “localist” approach in the context of the political turmoil and processes of social transformation that have been occurring in Italy in the 1990s and 2000s, with a particular focus on the region of Lombardy. The paper also argues that the wide variety of “localist” patterns of management of immigration-related issues can lead to a wide variety of definitions of the self and identity processes, as well as idiosyncratic practices, and fragmented policy-oriented behaviours, in what has been called “a bricolage of layers of identity”. Using reliable statistical data (2001-2008), surveys (2010), and the 2011 national census, the paper shows how several factors account for a growing stabilization of the migratory process and some absorption into the local societal fabric. This is reflected in a wide range of association of immigrants. Most of these associations suffer from their limited scope, their fragmentation, their limited time span, and their different notions of identity and integration with the local societal fabric. The paper considers the example of three different associations of “second generations of the immigration process” within this context, highlighting their strong and weak points.

Together these perspectives provide fresh insights to the issues of transnational migration which have been systematically explored in the literature by various authors (e.g. Levitt, Jaworsky 2007; Faist 2008). In conclusion, it can be noted that the concept of transnationalism as used in the social sciences suggests that national boundaries are in some respects of diminishing significance and yet in other ways they retain their importance and marginalizing character. Transnational processes are embedded in globalization and its associated patterns of migration increasingly challenge and question borders and boundaries. Given the cultural permeability of boundaries migrants are able to maintain a cultural identity which is linked to their homelands while at the same time creating new cultural modes and expressions in the receiving countries. Although there is increasingly talk of global citizenship it remains the case that it is states which allow rights to their citizens and so the notion of transnational citizenship in which people gain rights in two states maybe more significant than global notions. In this context issues of migration between

MENA and Europe are becoming increasingly salient and the related debates over notions of integration and assimilation are hotly contested.

In their different approaches and from their various perspectives all the contributions to this book shed new light on these key issues of transnational migration and citizenship. Many issues relating to transnational migration between the Middle East and Europe will depend, however, on developments in the Middle East following the Arab Spring revolutions. The Arab Spring supposedly should have given way to an Arab Summer but some commentators have rather talked about an Arab Winter in which the possibilities for human rights, freedom and democracy are lessened. That said, the development of transnational identities which has been explored in this book will retain its significance regardless of whether spring turns into summer or winter.

Notes

¹ My name is Aisha. I am from Morocco, my mother tongue is Berber. I arrived in Italy almost ten years ago following my husband who had found a job—I am still searching but couldn't go beyond voluntary work. I am here because I need to find another world to live differently; I need to create a future for my son who is enrolled in primary school here. He is fluent in German, Italian, Arabic and Berber. He perceives himself as being Italian, I am Italian too, by passport, but inside my heart I will always remain Moroccan. I miss my homeland, I return home whenever I can to visit my family. I have friends there all of who also have lived the trauma of migration and we meet to celebrate our religious festivals, we cook together and so on. However, all my family is there. How can I live without my family?"(A. I. pseudonym, interview by A. Profanter, Brixen, October 20, 2012)

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SECTION ONE:
CITIZENSHIP, MODERNITY
AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

CHAPTER ONE

THE IMPACT OF THE ARAB SPRING
ON ISSUES OF MENA:
EUROPE MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT
OF GLOBALIZATION

KRISTIAN COATES ULRICHSEN

Introduction

This chapter assesses the contemporaneous impact of processes of globalization and the Arab Spring on issues of migration from the Middle East and North Africa. It begins by analysing the historical interconnectivity that contextualizes the powerful sets of trans-national flows. This leads into a second section that examines the MENA region's uneven and patchy integration into the global economy and the intensifying pressures that resulted from the acceleration of globalizing interconnections. These are examined in the third and fourth sections, which focus respectively on educational and labour market deficiencies as drivers of inequality and disparity and push factors in outward migration. The final section maps the interaction of the global and regional trends onto the specific issue of migration from the MENA region to Europe and offers concluding observations for its likely evolution in the current phase of political and economic transformation across the area.

The series of uprisings across the Arab world that commenced in December 2010 have highlighted the complex interconnections between globalizing forces and regional dynamics. The impact of new media and social networking, encrypted communication technologies and satellite television, has transformed state-society relations and redefined the politics and possibilities of protest. It enabled the intersection of the economic stagnation of the region and the failures of corrupt and repressive autocratic regimes with a disenchanting youthful population

wired together as never before, triggering a political struggle few anticipated. Moreover, their size and contagious overspill distinguished the civil uprisings from earlier expressions of discontent and demonstrated the magnitude of the socio-economic and political challenges facing the region.

Globalization and the acceleration of global interconnectedness has dramatically transformed the global order and reconfigured notions of state power and political authority. At its heart has been a re-conceptualization of the concept of political community into a distinctive form of “global politics”. This operates beyond the sphere of the individual nation-state and it involves multiple layers of global governance that stretch across the domestic, regional and international levels (Held, McGrew 2000, p. 11). Yet the globalization of political and security dynamics and global capitalism also profoundly affect regional and local pathways and trajectories of change. This produces tension in an international system caught between globalizing pressures and localized responses (Hurrell 2007, p. 128).

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), these tensions are magnified by the legacy of political authoritarianism, economic stagnation, and shifting patterns of social and intergenerational interaction. Underlying everything is the rapid increase in demographic growth and the growing youth bulge. Hence, the population of the Arabian Peninsula rose eightfold between 1950 and 2007 (from 8 to 58 million) while that of the Levant increased fourfold, while up to 75% of the population in North Africa is under the age of 30 (Spencer 2009, p. 924; Drysdale 2010, p. 124). According to the Population Reference Bureau in 2005, nearly 95 million people were between the ages of 15 and 24 alone, but were suffering from

“political, social, and economic systems [that] have not evolved in a way that effectively meets the changing needs of its rapidly growing young population” (Assaad, Roudi-Fahimi 2007, p. 1).

These place great strain on struggling economies to generate sufficient jobs to absorb the generation of young people coming of age and entering regional labour markets. Estimates from the World Bank Institute that five million jobs will need to be created each year for the next two decades emphasize the scale of the challenge ahead (The World Bank 2009).

Historical connectivity and trans-national flows

By virtue of its geographical location, the MENA region has been an inter-regional crossroads for centuries. Powerful processes of settlement and