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# Where is the EU's Southern Border?

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## **Abstract**

The EU's southern border is becoming more difficult to research because it is a challenge to determine where the border is. Over the past ten years the securitization of migration in the Euro-Med region has had a direct effect on the politics and international relations between the EU, its member states and North Africa. The EU is increasingly using its North African neighbours to control migration some examples of this are UKBA visa processing centres or the European Neighbourhood Policy. Such structures are in place to externalise the control of sovereign borders by the EU. This paper aims to show that the future study of migration between the two regions could be made easier by using Pierre Bourdieu's 'Field Theory'. His deconstruction of the relationship between agency and structure are perfect for analysing migration in the region as it allows the controls that the EU exercises to be located in North Africa. This paper will show how the use of 'field theory' could progress the understanding of the politics of migration from North Africa to the EU by allowing traditional structures to be altered to reveal a complex web of interdependence and political tension.

## **Introduction**

Borders are one of the core areas of study when researching Europe and also in International Relations. In Europe borders signify the outer edges of the region, an object to fortify. In International Relations borders are what define a state as a sovereign area to be

protected. European borders in particular have been contested for thousands of years. From the Roman Empire to the height of European colonialism across the globe, expansion and control have been priorities of European states. However since the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the creation of the Schengen area borders have conceptually become blurred. In International Relations how do you study a state that has a physical border when interacting with one state but not another. How do you understand the actions of a state when it has so many roles to play? In this paper I will be examining how the securitization of migration has led to the expansion of European power to North Africa. I will discuss the use of Pierre Bourdieu and how he can help deconstruct the complex web of interaction that creates the interdependence and interaction in the Euro-Med region.

## **Security and Migration in the EU**

Migration is a growing security concern to individuals, communities, governments and regions. The migration boom of the past 50 years has been unprecedented and essential to the development of the modern world, politically, economically and culturally. We live in a time where securitization is everywhere, penetrating every faction of our community and migration is no exception to this. However, why is there such a securitizing culture around migration? Why is the securitization of migration so apparent in the European Union? Are there better interdisciplinary frameworks in which to analyse the securitization of migration in the European Union?

During the 1970's migration began to be viewed as national security issue in Western and Northern Europe as the European Economic Community (EEC) started negotiating an area of

free movement for citizens. It was not until the late eighties and early nineties when the negotiations became policy that the security and International Relations (IR) literature began to discuss the evolving security status of migration. The evolution of the EEC to the European Union (EU) saw a distinct shift traditional societal fears of the 'other' and newer international fears of loss of sovereignty and the EU became a political institution as well an economic one. Migration was no longer a cultural problem but a political problem as well. This was particularly evident in the EU. Labour migrations had been fuelling the development of the region since the early twentieth century (Castles and Miller, 2003) and policy makers saw the benefits of migration within the region. However early labour migration threatened the free movement of the EU. From this period of time a culture of securitization emerged.

In terms of European borders and securitization the turning point was the Maastricht Treaty (1992). The abolition of internal borders was a unique political situation. Allowing people to move freely around an entire region on a single visa seemed almost unachievable. However one of the foundations of the EU was exactly this principle. Article 3 of the treaty clearly outlines the core principles of the institution: "an internal market characterized by the abolition, as between Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital" (1992). The abolition of internal borders was however not the only turning point of the treaty. The creation of the third pillar actively politicised the region. Previous to 1992 the EEC has been a purely economic institution however the third pillar removed an amount of sovereignty from member state to the EU parliament. What it had created was a shared border that everyone had a shared responsibility for.

Jeff Huysmans offers a precise definition of securitization; “Securitization is a political and administrative rendering of a domain of policy and politics in which fear of outsiders... is both a political currency and an organisational principle” (Huysmans, 2006, page 50). This definition of securitization illustrates how is not solely located in the cultural and societal it is also evident in the political and the economic realms of international relations. The language that Huysmans uses is interesting in so far as it illustrates the complex infrastructure that surrounds the securitization of migration. The ‘currency’ that is mentioned is of particular importance in the regional context of the EU. The creation of the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) pillar meant an increased amount of spending around the citizenship, freedom, security and justice areas of the EU. The 2012 budget saw the EU spend €2.1 billion on the protection of these areas which is a 0.4% increase on the previous year (statistics from europa.eu). Securitization allows a political unit to ‘buy’ legitimacy when actions by governments are questionable. For example a recent news article by the BBC (accessed 11.01.2013) *The tourists held by Greek police as illegal immigrants*, described how in Greece tourists are being arrested under suspicion of being illegal migrants even if they produce legitimate travel documents. The Greek government has not denied these actions but justified them by relaying the same security rhetoric that exists across Europe. This can also be found in the organisation of political units.

A securitization infrastructure governs both national and regional institutions and the way in which they control migration. The reason for this is twofold firstly some states and institutions view migration flows a threat to the identity and autonomy of the political unit. “Securing citizens and national territory against external and internal dangers is one of the defining functions of modern states” (Huysmans, 2006, page 30). The EU in particular has

worked hard to create a European identity across all member states and extra regional migration is seen as a direct threat to this. Secondly, securitization is not simply a protectionist exercise for a single political unit. It helps to carve out a pluralist identity in the world of international relation. For example, regionally FRONTEX (or less well known as European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union) is an organisation which physically protects borders but also acts as a political entity which portrays the EU's overall stance on external migration. The EU views it as an institution which embodies the securitizing nature of the EU against external migration as well as a political unit in which they can manipulate. The organisation of institutions such as FRONTEX also comes from the securitizing arguments that draw upon particular characteristics of immigration and transcends immigration to an object that can be securitized. These particular characteristics can be a perceived threat such as of economic disruption by migrants who can put strain on welfare systems for example.

The definition of securitization does help to illustrate the basic framework behind the actions of the EU and its individual member states, however, to understand why you must look at the empirical discussion surrounding the securitization of migration. Many factors have to be accounted for when breaking down the securitization argument. Borders in the EU are of special significance because they have been historically contested both at home and abroad in colonies. The development of the EU to a political as well as an economic entity changed the way in which borders were perceived in the EU.

“The power of the discourse on cross-border integration and free trade is hence not only fractured by the spatial bordering of property and by belonging to the various

territorial communities within the EU, it is also weakened by the policies of the EU itself with respect to defending the outer borders of its territory.”

Anderson et al, 2003, page 55

Borders for states signify the limits of sovereignty and this is nowhere less important than the EU and its member states. When these borders are potentially put at risk by threats the reaction of the state (or region in the case of the EU) is to protect what is inside these borders. Threats can be defined in many ways, whether it be physical or not. The regional economy and the environment are all nonphysical threats. In terms of securitizing migration from North Africa the perceived threat is political, economic and social therefore the securitizing actions around the borders will be heightened.

Sassen’s text *Territory, Authority, Rights* (2006) also offers an interesting and comprehensive analysis of borders. Sassen is useful when deconstructing the securitization of migration because of her understanding the importance of past migratory roots and colonization in the policy making procedures, whether they be conscious or unconscious. Sassen also articulates the idea that state sovereignty is externalising. “Today it is becoming evident that state sovereignty articulates both its own and external conditions and norms” (Sassen, 2006, page 415). The complexities of modern day sovereignties go further than the traditional norms of exclusive territories. This has caused the concepts of territory and authority to be questioned. Sassen believes that there is a growing formations of alignments based on territorial changes. “Shifts from geographic borders to embedded bordering capabilities have been far more common and formalized” (Sassen, 2006, page 417). She explains that the shift in the conception of borders can be explained through how an immigrant can be viewed as an ‘alien’, a term generally used by American

politicians/academics to describe an illegal immigrant. Sassen illustrates that the 'alien' has been constructed as a threat politically and culturally. Sassen explains how immigration threatens the very core of a nation state and has been one of the causes of why territorial changes have occurred. A term that Sassen uses is the 'glue' of the normative orders has begun to break down. This is one of the main reasons why the securitization of migration is structured through different actors and networks. The regionalisation of Europe and the expanding interregional characteristics of the economy mean that migration control is not something that can happen at the sovereign border of a state. The securitization must be moved to the borders of the EU.

*Borderscapes* (2007) illustrates the idea that a high percentage of political action, when it comes to issues such as migration, are contested a state's border. Although the book largely centres on the borders of South East Asia, the themes of securitization are largely similar to that of the EU. Emma Haddad's chapter *Danger Happens at the Border* who centres her analysis on the EU refugees. She uniquely uses the terms pollution, infection or disease to illustrate the "spread" of migration through the EU. "Where there is a danger of pollution, there is fear, and where there is fear, there is need for security" (Haddad, 2007, page 128). She uses a core/periphery model to explain how security and fear are something that is found at the centre of the structure in governmental decisions. Therefore for the centre to protect itself it must control the periphery. In the case of Europe the creation of institutions like FRONTEX and the ever growing European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) are testament to this way of thinking. As Haddad explains intra-EU migration is seen as part of the liberalization ethos whilst extra-EU migration is firmly seen as controlled by the security ethos. This idea draws similarities with the Fortress Europe literature (Geddes, 2008 and

2000). It highlights the two faced political ideology of the EU between the inside and the outside. The language that Haddad uses is extremely clinical but it is effective in so far as it illustrates the securitizing nature of the EU. "Reducing quantities of hazardous substances [refugees] and increasing efficiency of operations means protecting human health, strengthening economic well-being, and preserving the environment" (Haddad, 2007, page 131). These are all actions which are easier to control at the source of the problem rather than deal with centrally. The extraterritorial processing of migrants and the newer development of UK Border Agency (UKBA) visa processing in North Africa is testament to the idea that the securitization of migration is not something that can be done centrally but done at the border or on the other side of it.

Horstmann develops this argument further in his chapter *Violence, Subversion, and Creativity* (2007). He argues that those ecologies are developing at the borders. He specifically researched the Malay-Thai border regions however there are similarities with the EU. "In the border regions, a specific political ecology is developing, with a large illegal economy as a basis for transactions" (Horstmann, 2007, page 139). The border is home to drug and human trafficking as well as illegal migration and corrupt officials on both sides of the border (Horstmann, 2007). This has led to a centrally governed crack down on the movement of goods and people over the border which in turn has led to violent clashes between the two states. Horstmann (unlike Haddad) argues that a rebordering is occurring that is not an actual movement of the border but a changing of the dynamic in which the centre views the border. Those who have been given responsibility to control and protect the border, for example NGO's and agencies such as FRONTEX, are then passing on information to the centre which is either grossly exaggerated or grossly generalized

(Horstmann, 2007). This is something which the EU struggles with on two levels. Firstly the EU wishes to have secure borders externally so creates regional institutions to do so. Secondly, the EU has member states who wish to protect their own national borders and so have their own agencies that protect national borders. This is nowhere more evident than the EU's southern border, especially in Italy. Italy's land border is only 170km from the Libyan land border (and more importantly the port of Tripoli) and securing the border is seen as an urgent issue for the EU and for Italy.

Using Horstmann's argument it would suggest that agencies (both EU led and Italian led) are securing the border but how effective are they? A European Council report *Lives lost in the Mediterranean Sea: who is responsible?* (March, 2012) highlighted the catastrophic mistakes of many agencies that were placed at the border when a boat carrying mostly refugees fleeing the conflict in Libya. The boat broke down and was left to drift at sea for 2 weeks even though national and international, civilian and military agencies had made contact. The Malay-Thai border does not have the secondary relationship of member state to regional institution. The added relationship of member state to regional institution makes it difficult to understand the decision making behind the securitization of migration within the EU. Both Haddad and Horstmann's core/periphery arguments work well until you apply it to a situation such as this. These security driven core/periphery relationships highlight a key flaw; it is never as simple as us versus them. The binary theoretical concepts of securitization are difficult to apply, however there are other theoretical frameworks that take into account the unique relationships that surround the securitization of migration in the EU.

Camposi attempts to take the border argument one step further with the deconstruction of the internal border struggles in the EU and how these reflect on external border struggles.

Camposi's *Borderscapes of Imperial Europe* (2011) bridges the crucial territorial policy events of the twentieth century (Versailles 1918, Potsdam, 1945 and Rome 1957) and the more modern territorial changes such as the Maastricht Treaty (1992). Camposi uses the history of borders in Europe to understand the complexities that arise today. "The liberalization of borders does not produce automatically a spatiality freed from hegemonies, powers and controls; on the contrary, Schengen embodies a complex hierarchical politico-economic spatiality built upon a network of communications and circulations crossing the European space according to different "movement entitlements." (Camposi, 2011, page 21). He draws upon the work of Walters who advocates the idea that there is a new "methodological nationalism" that does not fit the classical state formation (2006), what Camposi describes as a "hierarchical politico-economic spatiality" (2011). The EU is hierarchical in its structure; you have states which have more power than others. This is especially important when understanding the securitization of migration. States that receive the highest numbers of extra-EU migration are states that are positioned in the semi periphery/periphery of the region, not just geographically but politically and economically. For these states securitization, at both a national and regional level is vital. Especially given the current economic status of the majority of the Mediterranean states that are effected by North African migration. An example of where this relationship was highlighted was the suspension of the Schengen Agreement during the Arab Spring of 2011. When the core states of the EU (France and Germany) were threatened with high levels of migration they closed their borders leaving the majority of the migrants and refugees behind the border in Italy. The diplomatic repercussions of this action can be seen in the way in which migration is now being securitized and possibly externalised in the Euro-Med region. Borders are no longer the end of domestic power.

“The extroversion of borders is produced by expanding the reach of the sovereign border of policing beyond the territorial dimension of domestic jurisdiction... immigrants face the sovereign power of border control well before they reach the legal border of rights.”

Campesti, 2011, page 23

It is what Campesti calls the ‘circulation of government’. Instead of a traditional centre of power, power is now being redistributed through different agencies beyond the ‘normal’ borders of traditional state or regional power. For states such as the UK the policing has moved to extra-territorial visa processing centres in North Africa (something that will be explored in great depth later in the thesis), regionally the daily policing of the EU’s southern border is done by FRONTEX. The EU is using its power to encourage not the appropriation of territory but to control the movements and circulations around its formal borders (Campesti, 2011).

## **Who is Bourdieu and what is Field theory?**

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist, philosopher and anthropologist who late in his life became politically active within the French left wing political parties. Bourdieu’s influences came from Weber, Durkheim and Mauss, all thinkers that deconstruct the structures and agents of the world. Bourdieu wanted to move away from the oppositions of the social sciences and create a theoretical and critical framework that did not have to be confined by the subjectivist versus objectivist arguments that dominate the academic world. His work rarely strayed beyond its sociological background until academics and researchers began to see its application go beyond the micro and meso level of deconstruction. Before I get into

the application of Bourdieu, we firstly need to explore what his key concepts are. The key concepts of Bourdieu's work are:

- Field
- Habitus
- Doxa

Bourdieu's Field Theory is just one small part of his thinking however it is the most relevant when looking at the securitization of migration in the Mediterranean region. Bourdieu never truly defines what a field is however a combination of Bourdieu and Webb's understand of a field may go some way into explaining what a field is.

“The government is not the field of power, but is one of the sites in which power operates. This means we can understand ‘power’ as a meta-field, or a macro-concept, to describe the ways in which individuals and institutions within dominant fields relate to one another and to the whole social field.”

Webb et al, 2002, page 86

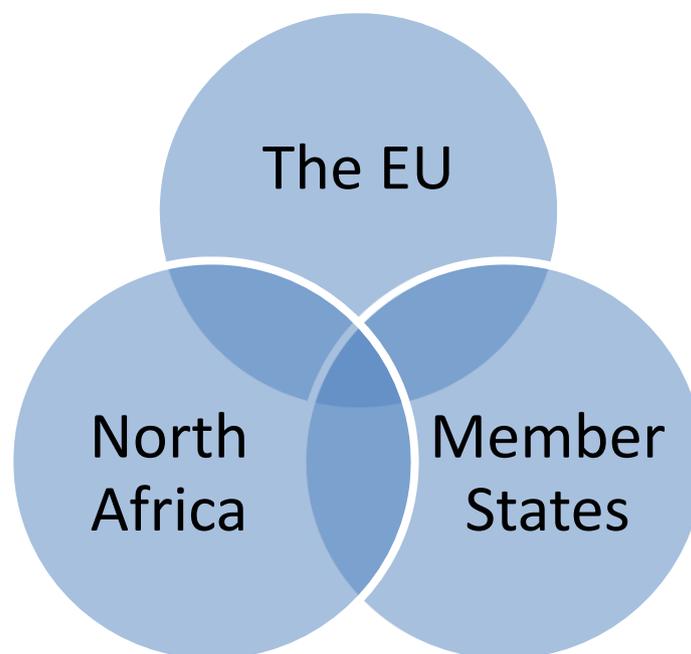
Bourdieu's explanation:

“Only at the level of the field of positions it is possible to grasp both the generic interests associated with the fact of taking part in the game and the different positions, and ,through this, the self – positioning through which these interests are expressed.”

Bourdieu, 2010, page 4

Fields are areas in which individuals, states and international institutions can operate. There are two main types of field, cultural and political, Bourdieu (2010) insists that although they

are linked they can be analysed separately. For the purposes of deconstructing the securitization of migration in the EU, the political fields of power are most applicable. When referring to a field of power it will be a political field, unless otherwise stated. Bourdieu believes that a political field of power reduces the status of citizens to consumer as they have control of the 'products' they 'consume', it is in turn a "field of ideological production" (Bourdieu, 1991, page 177). The EU is an incubator of ideas and ethos, however sometimes this produces a negative reaction to a perceived threat.



Imagine these bubbles as fields. Each field has its own distinct areas but also areas that overlap. Each field is accountable to for its own actions but also answers to another field. These fields all have their own and shared unconscious, self-evident universals, beliefs and values . This is what Bourdieu calls doxa. The unconscious action of each field has symbolic power in which the doxa is recreated and enforced. "Symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (Bourdieu, 1991, page 164).

Dominant culture produces and maintains the hierarchies and the way sub-cultures define their distance from the dominant culture. The dominant will set their own position which means their ideologies are doubly determined. Characteristics of the class they express but also the interests of those that produce them. Symbolic power is not illocutionary it is through the relationship between those who exercise it and those who submit to it, it is belief by those who speak it and also those who listen to it.

So far we have discussed Bourdieu in an extremely abstract way. In the next section Bourdieu will be discussed in relation to the securitization of migration and some of the key concepts already discussed will be brought together.

### **How can Bourdieu help us deconstruct the securitization of migration?**

Using Bourdieu's field theory is a more comprehensive analysis of how and why the EU and its member states securitize against migration. Migration is an issue that posits many fields of power, security, economic, geographies demographics and political. This is where one can see the ability of field's theory to transcend the binary border debates as previously explored. Bourdieu is an excellent starting point for the analysis of securitization however there are other academics that have taken his work further. Bigo (2001) is an advocate of the way in which Bourdieu deconstructs the traditional structures power and security and how they have wider application beyond sociology. Bigo has bridged the gap between the traditional internal/external and police/military arguments. However instead of concluding that the EU and its member states are securitizing migration beyond its own borders, Bigo is using Bourdieu's theories to take the argument further. "Security has come to depend on

security networks, agreements between countries and security agencies, and even on private insurance systems and companies” (Bigo, 2001, page 105). Security is no longer something that a state has the sole franchise of, it is passed on to agencies further within the borders of a state and beyond the borders of a state.

Coleman (2007) has researched at depth the internalisation of security control in the USA whereas the EU has taken the opposite actions. Bigo explains how this is partially down to the end of the Cold War. He believes that the loss of the Soviet Union had a similar effect on security policy within states, as the loss of the gold exchange standard had on the international monetary system (Bigo, 2001). It left security issues, whether they are environment, human or military, in a vacuum with more powerful states making sure that the security issues they found most important were placed in their own field of power. “They [fields] are nearly always the product of relations and the circulation of power inside and between fields, as well as an imposition of problems coming from the dominant field” (Bigo, 2011, page 231). However, Bigo highlights the importance of context when looking at domination and the creation of fields by more powerful states is to realise that it is situated in time, space and subject area.

Bigo furthers his deconstruction of Bourdieu’s field theory by offering the idea that fields create borders, however the boundaries that fields create are more flexible. “The boundaries of the field are then almost always in a process of changing flux. Indeed, fields can merge or differentiate through time” (Bigo, 2011, page 240). This is an amalgamation of the two ideas that have been discussed; on the one hand there still are borders to protect however they may not necessarily be geographical. On the other hand the field theory allows scholars to analyse structures that do not exist in terms of institutions or states. It

allows me to structure the way in which migration is securitized in the EU outside of the conventional arguments.

Berling (2012) has constructed a basic analysis of Bourdieu and his use in International Relations and the subject of security. "Bourdiesian reformulation adds new types of agency, focuses on the social production of forms of power, and stresses the processual rather than the substantive character of social reality" (Berling, 2012, page 451). She stresses the use of Bourdieu because of his ability to go beyond the agency versus structure arguments that are traditional in International Relations as discussed in Wendt's work (1987 and 1992). What she argues is that the way in which the EU is now structured with its multiples actor who transcend the national and/or the regional the more traditional analysis is insufficient, especially in terms of security. Security is no longer state centred and controlled solely by the military it is progressively becoming dominated by 'insecurity' professionals (Berling, 2012). "[insecurity professionals are] establishing a high degree of hegemony over European security knowledge especially in relation to immigration" (Berling, 2012). A member state, the EU or the military are no longer the hegemonic power of the securitization of migration. It is now the responsibility of actors such as FRONTEX or the ENP who have created a new field of power. One in which they can influence policy by writing reports on the issue and publishing papers in the press that create the perceived threat of migration, which in time has caused the securitization of migration. However, Berling perceives this to be a reaction since the creation of the JHA pillar in 1992 when I believe it began earlier than this.

In International Relations there has been a growing interest of non-military security arguments since the mid 1980's with the Copenhagen School of Security Studies leading the way. However it still analysed migration within the same structures of inside/outside. The

shift in literature outside of International Relations, in areas such as Sociology and Cultural Studies, place the paradigmatic shift of analysis in the early 2000's around the time of 9/11 (for example Berling 2012 and Huysmans 2006). What I believe is that the politics of insecurity began earlier in the century. The Nottingham and Notting Hill race riots in 1958 and Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood (1968) speech were early evidence of growing insecurity in the UK alone as stricter entry rules were enforced after each event. Sassen even predates the existence of securitization to the late 19th century (1999) the creation of the European Economic Community and its evolution into the EU was a reaction to economic insecurity, which migration was part of, were all the beginnings of the securitization of migration. As Leander (2011) explains Bourdieu can 'stage' international relations, because it deconstructs the paradigms of traditional structures of analysis. The securitization of migration can be broken down into smaller fields of analysis as well as be able to make more connections surrounding the relationships of these fields.

## **How can Bourdieu help us to study Europe and International Relations?**

Bourdieu has been well respected by the international academic community but however has been largely ignored by the International Relations community until around 2008 when literature began to emerge using his theories to examine and deconstruct international relations. This section will discuss how Bourdieu can be used to critically examine European member state relationships with the EU and North Africa concerning the securitization of migration in the Euro-Med region. "Bourdieu helps us rediscover the everyday practices, symbolic structures and arenas of conflict that bring many other actors into perspective,

rather than just focusing on nation states that produce (what we call) international politics” (Adler-Nissen, 2013, page 1). Bourdieu breaks down the agency structure issues and offers simple units of analysis. The rate in which state interaction is increasing on the one hand and the exclusions of particular agents is decreasing Bourdieu’s field theory offers the tools for a deeper reflection of what structures and maintains international politics. The EU for example is maintained by a shared culture and shared economic and political values. Bourdieu’s concept of capital (all which create the idea of sovereignty) as a definitive power allows a researcher to deconstruct the interplay between symbolic and material capital. A state is not a static structure it is a historical and cultural process which allows us to easily analyse the effect of transnational, non-state actors on the sovereignty of a state. International order is constructed much like domestic or sociological orders which is how the powerful notions of inside and outside, that are so prevalent in EU politics, is help up in everyday political practices. Bourdieu challenges the exact opposites of traditional IR positivist analysis, instead of a neorealist analysis focusing on the anarchy of world order. Bourdieusian thought examines the hierarchy of structures. “This construction is seen as an on-going, dynamic process: reality is reproduced through people action on their interpretations and their knowledge of it” (Adler-Nissen, 2013, page 4). The social is an international feature as well as a domestic because it is characterised by continuous struggles for power and legitimising power. “Since agents are part and positioned in different fields, their multiple habitas allows for a wider understanding of this identity or subjectivity” (Guzzini, 2006, page 9). One field can constitute multiple relationships and this is what we now discuss in context to the relationships within the EU and how those relationships then effect the relationships with neighbours of the EU.

The EU is one of the most unique examples of many states with differing levels of international power working together. Bourdieu's concepts of fields helps us to appreciate the historical and cultural make up that structures agents in the EU this is extremely important because of the historical connections that the EU has with one another and its colonial past with its North African neighbours. The internal international relations of the EU are complex because of the many structures any one state has to follow. The best way to examine this is to use an example. Before the Arab Spring in 2011 Italy and Libya revived a 'friendship treaty'. The treaty on the face of it was largely about securing and maintaining oil lines by the Italian oil giant ENI. However the treaty also dealt with the large number of illegal migrants entering Italy from Libya. It was agreed that Italy would help Libya through supplying boats and funding detention centres. However a small part of the agreement stated that Italy would send back migrants that had departed from Libya to stay in detention centres. However the return would occur *before* a migrant would be processed. It was a direct act of securitization of migration from North Africa. The United Nations (UN) immediately came down upon this treaty for two reasons, firstly it goes against the policy of non refoulement and secondly Libya does not adhere to the Human Rights Convention (1948). In terms of analysing this example using field's theory how Italy acted went against the doxa of the EU, it acted outside the cultural and historical norms of its field. The EU wishes to securitize against migration however through other means it wants the smaller fields within its remit to act as a whole.

The relationship between Italy and Libya is an example when a smaller field has gone against the structural norms however there are times when the entire field acts in harmony. FRONTEX is a key example of when all aspects of the field work together towards to

securitization of migration. The ENP is also an example where the shared cultural and historical structures of the EU have contributed to the international relations of the Euro-Med region. The colonial history between the two regions has meant that migration has always been important. Instead of the power that the EU has over North Africa is not colonial the power is now softer and is written into the subtext of policies such as the ENP. The shared history of the region allows the EU to use North Africa to control migration by placing migration controls within North African territory. The UKBA visa processing centres in Tunis and Rabat are an example of how the powerful doxa of the EU reflects in the migration control policies of its smaller sub fields, or member states.

### **Summary – So where is the EU’s southern border?**

Overall the EU’s borders are physically set but metaphorically they move to allow the EU to successfully control migration in whatever way it sees fit. What this paper has illustrated is that Bourdieu allows for a more fluid understanding of how the EU is structured and how this effects the securitization of migration. Field theory disposes of the rigid structures in which international relations is researched and helps explain the complex relations of the EU by helping us understand the anomalies of the relationships, such as the friendship treaty between Italy and Libya, but also the deeper historical and cultural relationship that bonds the EU member states together. Using Bourdieu expands the knowledge of how Europe is structured as a complex web of relationships rather than a linear production line of legislation. Bourdieu also helps us understand the ways in which the EU interacts with other states. One of Bourdieu’s most quoted lines in relation to field theory is “[a] circle

whose centre is everywhere and nowhere” (Bourdieu, 1991, page 163). In the case of the EU’s securitization of migration the centre is everywhere, including North Africa.

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