

## Summaries

Stephen Castles

### Why Migration Policies fail

Immigration and asylum are key political issues in Britain and the European Union. Yet the policies of states and supranational bodies seem to have had little success in preventing unwanted flows and effectively managing immigration and integration. This article examines three types of reasons for policy failure: factors arising from the social dynamics of the migratory process; factors linked to globalization and the North-South divide; and factors arising within political systems. Key issues include the role of migrant agency, the way the North-South divide encourages flows, and hidden agendas in national policies. EU efforts attempts to address the root causes of migration in countries of origin are discussed. The article concludes that migration policies might be more successful if they were explicitly linked to long-term political agendas concerned with trade, development and conflict prevention. Reducing North-South inequality is the real key to effective migration management.

Serhat Karakayali & Vassilis Tsianos

### Mapping the Order of New Migration.

#### Undocumented Labour and Autonomy of Migration

Migration studies tend to oscillate between pure descriptivism and strong theory. Until today theories of migration either explicitly or implicitly refer to neoclassical presumptions on labour markets or tend to proliferate functionalist ex-post concepts. So do theories of migration systems overemphasize the primacy of political and economical structures over collective and individual agency of migrants. The paper argues that a shift in theoretical perspectives is linked the settings in the political arena of migration. Epistemological barriers are relate to political ones, this relation is condensed in certain *figures* of migration. One of the leading figures of current migration is the „illegal migrant“. The paper tries to grasp how illegal migration is related to changing patterns of work and production and whether the concept of a migration *regime* would be more appropriate to understand the ongoing processes, since it focusses on agency rather than on systemic logic.

Finally the paper aims at exploring if migration can be conceived as a social movement. In this regard, the programmatic concept of the *autonomy of migration* is significant, because it looks for a political perspective over the questions of exodus and flight that are stake in global migration today. The paper claims that the

comprehension of the relation of flight and immobilization demands both historically and actual a shift of paradigms in migration politics and theory. The concept of *migration regime* can help here as it puts agency, namely the struggles of migration in the foreground of any understanding of migration.

Lutz, Helma

#### The Private Household as global Market for female Workers

This article deals with a recent phenomenon: over the last decades a new global labor market for female migrants has been established. Women from Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe come to work in the households of affluent countries, among them German ones. Domestic work is not only a site of the feminization of migration, but also a part of the reconstruction of social inequalities on a global scale. Starting by discussing the factors promoting the feminization of migration in connection with the demand for domestic workers in German households, the article then describes the character of the work area and the differences between domestic work and other work sectors. After discussing the state of double illegality which forces many domestic workers to live a life in the twilight zone, the concept of transnational migration is connected to the transnational biographies of these workers. The main argument of the article is that domestic work can be understood as a paradigm for the new structure of relations of dependency in global perspective and on a global scale.

Volker Hamann

#### Migration and economic Development: the Investment of Migrants from Zacatecas, Mexico

The question remains, whether migration and remittances may – through migrant investment – induce a sustainable economic development in the sending regions, or cause even higher degrees of dependence on the transfer payments. This problem is analyzed by the example of Zacatecas, Mexico, the state that shows the highest emigration ratio and the highest amount of remittances per capita. Remittances can be either used for consumption or for investment; the latter may be divided into microeconomic and social investment. Consumption benefits the region by multiplier effects, microeconomic investment creates local income and social investment may be used to improve the infrastructure. Political programs to channel more resources into investment have not given the expected results.

As labor migration is the result of a lack of economic opportunities it cannot be the migrants task to make up for structural deficits. Political programs are needed to overcome the reasons for underdevelopment and to support the emergence of production chains.

Jens Winter

### Transnationalization of Labour Conflicts – Experiences from NAFTA

After sketching out some aspects of the transformed ‘postfordist’ contradictions in the field of labour regulation, the article will examine two typical examples of transnationalized labour conflicts. Both are localized in the NAFTA-area, using – among other forms of activity – a new multilateral and, therefore, prototypical institutional form, the ‘North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation’. The first case refers to oppressive practices against independent trade unions in an export orientated plant in Mexico during an organisation campaign. It was taken up for a campaign by the broadest transnational coalition of trade unions and NGO. The second one concerns a similar occasion – this time in the USA. Yet, the specific dynamic of that conflict derives from discriminatory practices against migrant workers. Finally, it’s argued that it’s not ingenious to look for any ‘idealtypical’ characterisation of those conflicts. Rather the multitude of the spatial contexts as well as the heterogeneity of actors and its specific strategies indicate a qualitative transformation in another sense. It is the spatial dispersion and the heterogeneization of social conflicts in ‘postfordism’ which characterize the contemporary situation and which challenge political practice as well as critical theory.

Rolf Jordan

### The Business of Labour Migration in Malaysia

Malaysia has long been an importer as well as an exporter of labour. There are more than 2 Million labour migrants in Malaysia today with nearly half of them being undocumented migrants, mainly from neighbouring Indonesia. The influx of this large number illegal migrant labour into the country has long been seen as a major problem by government officials resulting in a couple of policy measure to uncover and repatriate illegal migrants throughout the country. Different government operations had been carried out since the early 1990s culminating in mass expulsion of illegal migrants in 2002. The article is aimed to set these government policies in the wider context of Malaysia’s economic development of export-oriented industrialization arguing that illegal migration is as much part of its labour market as is the legal influx of labour migrants. The often contradictory measures aimed at the problem of illegal migration can be traced back to the different economic interest that characterize this field of policies.

Sabine Hess

### Transnational Spaces: Spaces of Resistance or a new Mode of global Appropriation of Labour

Starting from a multi-sited research on migration strategies of Eastern European women to Germany, Sabine Hess shows that since the end of the cold war highly mobile, transnational fields have been emerged in Europe. On the other hand, critical scholars point out that the restrictive migration policies in and of the European Union can be described as a „fortress europe“, sealing off the EU against unwanted migration. Normally these two findings are taken as contradiction. An anthropological position takes the transnationalisation of migration as a proof that migrants are creative rebels of a globalisation from below. On the other hand, the „fortress europe“-position comes to the conclusion that the EU migration policies are apparently not working. But Hess argues that these two phenomena are not to be taken as a contradiction, rather transnationalisation can be understood as an intentional effect of the restrictive border regime. By following the ways of migrant women and their decision-making she can demonstrate the interconnections with the rigid migration policies which still exist even in the attempts of the migrants to circumvent them. But the classical conceptualisation of the functioning of the border cannot grasp these relations and thus have to be changed in favour of a Foucaultian reading of the border as a biopolitical space. In the end, transnational practices can be regarded as a creative strategy by migration to come to terms with the difficulties and uncertainties in the migrational context. But by the same token they are a strategy which is totally suitable to the political and economic needs of the new flexible mode of production of the western countries.

Olaf Köppe

### Migration, Competition State and Europeanisation: About the Aggravating of Migration Policy in the Era of Globalisation

The article deals with issues of migration and migrant rights in Germany and Europe. Even if many scholars have elucidated with convincing clarity that Western nation states can improve migrant's rights due to the autonomy of the legal system, this paper's focus is to point out a cotemporary opposite process. Because of the transformation of the former welfare states to 'competition states' migration policies are now likely subsumed under the principle of competitive advantage. In this article I reaffirm that steering migration process has to be understood still in terms of the nation state and the economic conditions of these states.

George Steinmetz

From „Native Policy“ to Exterminationism: German Southwest Africa, 1904

This paper examines the transition from colonial „native policy“ to a program of deliberate genocide, directed against the Ovaherero and Witbooi peoples, in German Southwest Africa. The German assault during and after the 1904 war was the first genocide of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and was unusual among colonial powers at that time. The legal definition of genocide does not present an interpretive barrier, since the decision to exterminate the Ovaherero was *intentional* and approved at the highest levels of the German government. This points back to the „Sonderweg“ thesis: was German colonialism not, after all, *exceptionally* exterminationist?

The paper then asks about the reasons for this escalation of violence. The first necessary (but not sufficient) condition was the extant body of ethnographic representations of Ovaherero. In contrast to precolonial images of other German colonized subject populations (including the Witbooi), this discursive formation was extremely homogenous and relentlessly demonizing. The second factor relates to the structure of the colonial state *field*. The symbolic class conflict between the main fractions of the German elite – nobility, economic bourgeoisie – and educated middle class – *Bildungsbürgertum* – was transposed to the German colonies. The struggle between the middle class colonial Governor Theodor Leutwein and the man sent to replace him in the 1904 war, General Lothar von Trotha, assumed the epic proportions of the metropolitan Wilhelmine battle between bourgeoisie and aristocracy. Both parties were driven to more extreme positions, representative of their respective social classes' symbolically dominant stances within the colonial field. Leutwein became more „humane“ and anti-genocidal, while von Trotha identified paradoxically with an *imago* of the barbaric and „indescribably cruel“ Ovaherero.