

## Workshop

### **Governing through deportation: historical and anthropological perspectives on expulsion and migration policies**

**27-28 June 2016**

**Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris**

This workshop will concentrate on the role of return policies for undocumented foreigners in the development of migration policies at the national, European and international levels. Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands and other European countries have recently announced the organization of mass deportation campaigns of failed asylum seekers, thus illustrating the central role of returning irregular migrants in the process of building a European migration policy. In this workshop, we will discuss the historical construction of these policies within a global framework focused on the regularity of stay and on the promotion of return for undocumented foreigners (Koch, 2014). The contemporary uses of expulsion should be understood as part of a wide spectrum of policies and practices of return and/or forced displacement of individuals or groups (Keddar, 1996). These policies have contributed to the definition of citizenship and the demarcation of prerogatives associated with the exercise of political sovereignty (Kanstroom, 2007). A historical perspective on the issue of expulsion will be useful to shed light on the current norms, discourses and practices of deportation that are contributing to make it one of the most critical political issue today.

We welcome proposals within one of the three following themes:

#### **1. Deportation, asylum and migration policy : historical perspectives**

How can we analyze the emergence of a progressive connection between expulsion, asylum and migration policies? Expulsion was in fact part of the process of managing foreign populations, in relation to the nationalization of borders and the policing of foreigners that began in the 19th century (Noiriel, 1991). The progressive institutionalization of an asylum regime after the Geneva Convention (1951) following the waves of expulsion in the interwar period, the crimes of the Second World War and the moral outcry they provoked (Davies, McCauley, Martin, 2001) and the issue of displaced people in Europe after 1945 did not prevent the subsequent emergence of policies aimed at expelling any person considered to have no right to asylum. Thus the "international police of aliens" (Walters, 2002) and the "deportation turn" (Gibney, 2008) appear to go hand in hand with the decline in the admission of foreigners under asylum law and the growing importance of a distinction between refugees and so-called 'economic migrants' from the 1970s onwards. Return policies indiscriminately target potential asylum seekers, rejected asylum seekers, or undocumented migrants, which are all social categories emanating from asylum and migration laws. We will also examine how the expulsion of those with no right to asylum and/or without papers has become increasingly legalized and normalized since the 1980s.

#### **2. Contemporary expulsion regimes**

The 'Directive on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third country nationals', adopted in 2008 by the European Parliament, gave a central place to 'return'. In this context, 'return' has to be understood as a category produced by public policies, in the definition of a European migration policy based on reinforced controls of external borders and on the detention of 'illegal' aliens and/or their expulsion. Practices of expulsion need to be examined in more detail, including as regards: funding, the use of coercion and the organization of individual and collective expulsions. International cooperation also needs to be examined, including how 'third countries' have been enrolled in the policing of migration through development aid conditionality for bilateral or EU level agreements for the readmission of undocumented foreigners

or for police cooperation (Mezzadra, Neilson, 2003): how is this type of “cooperation” creating new forms of political hegemony? The constitution of a "deportation regime" (De Genova and Peutz, 2010) means that expulsion may appear as a technique of government at the European and international level, and as such has to be studied in its plurality. In this context, we may reflect upon the connection between the transfer of asylum seekers within the framework of the Dublin regulation, the relocation of refugees according to the possibility of their reception in European countries or the frequent eviction of migrants' camps such as the Calais 'Jungle', Vintimille, Idomeni. The purpose of expulsion and dispersion of migrants is not necessarily their direct return to their countries of origin, but to disorganize migration and prevent further arrivals. The creation of *hotspots* in Italy and Greece for the screening of asylum seekers directly upon their arrival in Europe, coupled with the Council of the European Union's announcement of wider expulsion campaigns for sending back rejected asylum seekers, illustrate the priority given to these selection and expulsion processes.

### 3. Looking at post-expulsion

We welcome proposals on the management of expulsion in the countries of origin of migrants, or those through which they 'transit'. With the implementation of the 'Global approach to migration and mobility' promoted by the EU and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), these countries have an increased importance in policies of migration control. Proposals might cover the positions taken by the various agencies (intergovernmental, European, national, NGOs, migrants' associations) involved in aid measures for migrants: 'migrant housing'; 'homes for returning migrants'; the financing of projects to generate funds; and transit centers run by the IOM. They might also examine other policies resulting from this: attempts to settle migrants through 'reinsertion programmes' or awareness-raising programmes to discourage people from setting out etc. Finally, we will also look at more recent issues related to deportation policies, such as claims for the rights of expelled migrants (Kanstroom, 2012), strategies for re-emigration and the emergence of post-expulsion mobilization. We particularly welcome proposals on the different forms of agency and of resistance developed by self-organized expelled migrants in an often-dramatic context of civic and social destitution (Fekete, 2006).

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#### Calendar:

Deadline for proposals (one page maximum): April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016

Response: May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2016

Final papers: June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016

Unfortunately, we will not be able to fund travel costs for participants.

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