# EUROPE UNBOUND



### 6/10/2016

### Re-mapping Europe?

Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford & the ACCESS Europe Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, University of Amsterdam

First workshop organized within the Social Sciences Division Research Incubator Theme

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### **Re-mapping Europe?**

### GENERAL AIMS OF THE WORKSHOPS

The ongoing 'migration crisis' has painfully revealed many of the geographical contradictions of the European project, throwing into question the ideal of the EU as an integrated political community and a single space of social, political and economic rights. The aim of these two workshops is to critically assess this moment of remapping of European territory by attempting to understand what sort of new spatial formations and modes of governance are emerging in order to answer today's multiple social, political and economic challenges.

The European project from its inception has tried to reconcile the classical, 'hard' territoriality of its constituent nation-states with a more 'aspirational' ideal of 'an ever closer Union', anchored on the twin principles of territorial cohesion and unfettered mobility that would progressively erase the continent's divides. The ideal of territorial cohesion already floundered on the shores of the 2008 financial crisis, a crisis whose effects were profoundly geographically unequal. The migration crisis provided the final blow, eliminating any illusions that Europe could still be a seamless space of economic integration and unfettered mobility, and erasing any remaining scraps of the 'territorial solidarity' invoked by the EU's founding documents.

What does the emergence of new geographies of difference, from growing spatial economic divides to new patterns of mobility and immobility, mean for the Union and its Member States? And more importantly: what sort of new geographies of power and powerlessness are these transformations creating? What modes and models of territorial governance are possible (and desirable) in a Europe where cultural, social, legal, political and security spatial formations no longer overlap? One of the most visible effects of this growing disjuncture is the fact that access to rights, political as well as socio-economic, is also becoming fundamentally unequal and jealously policed (whether it is negotiating differential rights of EU migrants to welfare benefits, or proposals for the outright stripping of basic political rights from those considered a security threat). Indeed, significant portions of European territory and population are increasingly falling into the 'gaps' of governance and state intervention – gaps on which populist parties across the continent have been capitalizing in their political rhetoric.

Yet while these new geographies of power and powerlessness, and of inclusion and exclusion from Europe's benefits, are highly spatially variegated, the default response (whether on the Right or on the Left) has been simply to call for a return to the national, whether in matters of economic and social welfare policy, or the governance of migration and citizenship. As alluringly simple and re-assuring as they may be, national solutions cannot possibly arrest the on-going re-scaling and

#### **EUROPE UNBOUND**

re-bordering of the relationship between rights, territory and authority in Europe. Traditional forms of nation-state territoriality cannot govern a Europe of cascading and often uncontrolled mobility, communication and interdependence. The aim of the proposed workshops, then, is to begin to conceptualize these new geographies of power and governance, focusing on three co-existing 'mappings' of Europe's transformations around the notions of 'nodes', 'flows' and 'gaps'. The aim is not to find a new single 'best' mapping able to capture the remaking of European space but rather to understand how these three broad sets of territorial transformations are copresent today, and co-produce a variety of place-specific effects and political and institutional responses. In particular, we wish to focus on that which is left out by existing understandings that envision European space and its governance within the rubric of networked/nodal governance and flow: in other words, the 'gaps'.

The Workshop is organized together with the ACCESS Europe Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the University of Amsterdam, led by Luiza Bialasiewicz and Marieke de Goede. A follow-up workshop on a similar topic is scheduled 29 September 2016 in Amsterdam.

The workshop is part of a larger project sponsored by SSD at the University of Oxford, trying to identify and asses a new geography of power emerging in Europe as a result of the dramatic "unbounding" taking place in the fields of economics, politics and communication. A short description of the project can be found at: <u>http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/research-projects/europe-unbound-geopolitics-economics-and-communication.html</u>.

### **WORKSHOP I: JUNE 10-11<sup>TH</sup> 2016**

### LOCATION: EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTRE, 70 WOODSTOCK ROAD, OXFORD

The aim of this first workshop is to begin to conceptualize the effects of these territorial transformations on European polities through three interlinked discussion sessions. Each session will be opened by two 'interventions' of no more than 15 minutes each. We ask the 'interveners' to use their presentations to identify what they think are the key theoretical/conceptual challenges we need to be engaging with – and how best to approach them. The two interventions will open the floor to an hourlong open discussion. We ask the interveners to send us their brief papers/outlines by June 1st please so that we can circulate them among the participants. Below, we outline some possible topics that the 3 sessions may focus upon – although we encourage speakers (and participants) to engage also other approaches/questions as they see relevant.

### Session 1. New nodes of power and the role of cities and regions

As widely popular as notions of networked governance may be, they only capture some of Europe's transformations, for they are confined to only certain fractions of European territory. Moreover, in privileging nodes and networks, such understandings also frequently obscure wider territorial divides in access to economic as well as social and political rights and benefits. Our discussion will attempt to 'reterritorialize' these discussions within specific sites: most importantly, by looking at the role being taken by cities and regions, long envisioned as key drivers of growth and dynamism in the European economy. It is also Europe's large cities, however, that are the sites where the continent's current challenges are most visible: from the management of growing levels of socio-economic inequality, to the reception and integration of migrant populations. At the same time, European cities cannot be abstracted from their larger metropolitan regions – so the regional scale (whether that of city-regions, sub-state regions or also cross-border regions) will also form an important focus of our discussion. How do cities and regions attempt to creatively govern the emerging geographies of difference, when they frequently lack the institutional and legal capabilities to do so? How can we conceptualize the different spatial assemblages of overlapping modes of governance that these changes are bringing? What – and who – is left out from the nodes?

### Session 2. New flows of mobility and immobility in Europe

The geographies of mobility in Europe are much more complex than most institutional understandings (and current policy solutions) allow. This pertains to both the mobility of EU citizens between Member States, as well as in-migration to the EU. These geographies of mobility make evident all the contradictions of the European project, whether the disjuncture between the ideal of an open space of economic freedom and the (still) hard divides of national jurisdictions and spaces of opportunity, or the progressive bounding of mobility as a threat (whether to national standards of living and welfare regimes, or national and personal bodily security). How do Europe's mobile flows currently unite and divide the continent? What sort of new mobile spaces are they creating – within nation-states, at their borders and between them? How can we conceptualize the re-scaling of the governance of mobilities, no longer the sole province of the national state, and what this means for the protection of rights?

### Session 3. Europe's gaps: spaces of inequality and powerlessness

The re-making of European territory brings highly uneven implications for various societal and institutional actors. Some social groups have benefitted from increased mobility and changing scales of governance, while others have born their costs and effects, with the emergence of increasingly stark spatial divides and concentrations: whether of unemployed youth in wide swathes of Mediterranean Europe, or migrants in the peripheries of large urban areas and at the borders of states. This differentiation is creating new geographies of power and powerlessness, often in very close proximity. Indeed, it is increasingly difficult to differentiate between Europe's centers and peripheries since what Saskia Sassen terms today's "new geographies of centrality" generate a variety of peripheries and centers in different functional fields. How can we conceptualize and map the new spaces of power and influence, and those spaces and actors excluded from them, considering in many cases the lack of clear territorial boundaries between them? How are these 'gaps' in the new geographies of power reshaping political loyalties, institutional structures and economic networks? Can we still speak of a single European space of social, political and economic rights?

### DRAFT PROGRAMME

#### Friday, June 10th

12:30 Arrival of participants and buffet lunch

14:00 Opening and introduction (Jan Zielonka, University of Oxford)

14:30-16:00 Session 1: Nodes (chair: tbc)

JOHN ALLEN (OPEN UNIVERSITY) SVEN OPITZ AND UTE TELLMANN (PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG)

16:00-16:30 Coffee break

16:30-18:00 Session 2: Flows (chair: Marieke de Goede, University of Amsterdam)

### NICK VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS (UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK) FRANCK DÜVELL (COMPASS, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD)

19.00 Dinner

Saturday, June 11th

9:30-11:00 Session 3: Gaps (chair: Luiza Bialasiewicz, University of Amsterdam)

### MUSTAFA DIKEC (ECOLE D'URBANISME DE PARIS) ALESSANDRO MONSUTTI (GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, GENEVA)

11:00-11:30 Coffee break

11:30-13.00 Closing discussion:

IVAN KRASTEV (INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SCIENCES, VIENNA) SASKIA SASSEN (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK)