

*“If the demography is the destiny,  
the movement of population is the history’s motor”*

**Samuel P. Huntington**

*There is no matter of prophecy,  
but of mathematics.*

**Patrick Buchanan**

## **Introduction**

Migration has played a main role in expansion, sophistication and accumulation of capital in societies. In ancient times, before the Industrial Revolution and the Commercial Revolution, migration was driven primarily by climatic factors. Both the formation of nation-states three centuries ago and modern society’s economic system established after WWII have contributed to the shift into political and economical reasons why people migrate. Lynn Doty’s main point is that “anti-immigrant attitudes have always been part of Western democratic practices of ‘statecraft.’”<sup>1</sup> This is interesting for the conceptualisation of capitalism as a “desiring machine”<sup>2</sup>, and that the statecraft works around this. Following Doty, the creation of anti-immigrant policies is connected directly with that of the “desiring machine.” The state tries, on one hand, to modulate this desire of their society and on the other hand to give them a voice in creating their policy.<sup>3</sup> However, under the economic liberal model the state needs to intervene less and it is precisely there where the first paradox emerges: the contradiction between the liberal model and the restricted measures. The contradiction is especially important to resolve when immigration is fundamental for the continuation of capitalism.

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<sup>1</sup> Lynn Doty, Roxanne, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies. Statecraft, Desire, and Politics of Exclusion*. (London: Routledge, 2003), 6.

<sup>2</sup> “desire [is] defined not as lack or phantasy or pleasure but, as a force that haunts modern societies producing constructions of order, identity, and determinacy [...] the concept of desire, so difficult to elucidate and theorize into international relations- a discipline so suffocated with reifications, essentializations, so obsessed with definitional precision? I will not even pretend to any aspiration to make desire a scientific concept.”  
From Ibid, 1-7

<sup>3</sup> Lynn Doty, Roxanne, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies. Statecraft, Desire, and Politics of Exclusion*. (London: Routledge, 2003), 10-14.

The correct function of the model the state gives to the market is the right to satisfy the “desiring machine”. But this is based on the assumption that it is the individual who will choose the form of the representation of his desire, and after it is the state that will moderate or will give the right to the market to satisfy the desire of society. This can be represented in the model as the option to buy different products and the opportunity for the consumer to find better prices. This is a result of liberation of free trade. Under the liberal economic model one objective is to find the best method of using the three factors of production. Two of the three factors of production have moving capability, capital and labour but not land. The labour force has been restrained to the nation-state mainly for the sovereign question and others that we will examine. The yield of sovereignty of the European states is what makes the European Union so special in comparison to other regional agreements that limits to trade and some service aspects.

Hence the correct evolution of economic liberalism will succeed in a world with or without minimal economic barriers. A world where the correct functioning of a model will allow an optimisation of the factors of production that will produce a homogenisation of the benefits. However, it is problematic that this economic liberalism model converts itself to narrow-mindedness when the barriers to free trade are instituted by the national<sup>4</sup>-state governments. The history of free trade has been one moving away from this intervention, as well as the capital flow represented by the foreign direct investments (FDI), and movement by the transnational corporations otherwise known as multinational companies (MNC) has been successful to overcome these barriers. To guarantee this economic liberalism different mechanisms have been established by the Bretton Woods as the GATT, FMI, WB. The GATT has evolved into the WTO, which attempted to have more authority to eliminate the neo-protectionism in which the states play a leading role. There has not been a similar parallel history for migration even when it constitutes another factor of production.

Within this structure, several contradictions emerge. The States or the regions want to continue to be the principal protagonists who interpret the “desire machine.” This is not a liberal model. Secondly, the creation of anti-immigration policies that are based on the state interpretation goes in opposition to the liberalisation of the factors of production for the best use of scarce resources. Neo-protectionism and neo-racism are strongly related and

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<sup>4</sup> In the European case those barriers can be regional.

their confection can be dangerous for the model. If this is the case, we need to accept that the liberal world does not work and start to analyse everything in a Realistic or Marxist perspective which are theories more closer to reality.

Doty introduces that the “desiring machine” is a force that worries modern societies producing constructions of order, identity, and determinacy. This is based on the human desire of prediction that wants the projection of order and taming of chaos. This anxiety is uses by xenophobic sentiments that can deform in paranoiac societies. In the society where this desire comes from one person, that has an interaction first with their family and second in the community where he/she lives, the personal desire can be converted into community desire.<sup>5</sup> But it needs to be careful because the “[j]ouissance is impossible, but impossible jouissance is inscribed in desire.”<sup>6</sup> The threat to order and security evokes a fear that consequently produces a center for managing control, which goes in opposition to the liberal model. This center can be the National-State or Regional-State.

The methodology that the study will use is a deductive analysis that goes from general understanding to particular understanding. This lets us set up a framework in the first three chapters for the fourth chapter which establishes the problem, then makes a historical review of the immigration policies of the last century and a half following from a study case.

The purpose of this study is not to arrive at the absolute truth, which is impossible. It is to show the different concepts that support a hypothesis, and to review constructive criticisms of some of the writers and organizations that the author considers indispensable in defence of the hypotheses of the thesis.

The first task is to define the principal concepts of the *hypothesis*, which *are two paradoxes that confront migration under the liberal economic model. The first paradox is respecting the liberal economic model and the restriction of migration; and the second, the convergence between the rights based in liberal precepts and the market.* This concept encompasses many difficult and complex terms, but the study does not attempt to provide a scientific definition of each; rather it aims to give a better comprehension of them. The danger for any writer of Political Sciences is getting lost in the different definitions of the

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<sup>5</sup> Lynn Doty, Roxanne, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies. Statecraft, Desire, and Politics of Exclusion*. (London: Routledge, 2003), 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

concepts where the rhetoric and the dialectic play the principal role. Therefore, I will be careful not to do this.

First of all we need to understand that paradox is “[a] seemingly contradictory statement that may nonetheless be true. Exhibiting inexplicable or contradictory aspects. An assertion that is essential self-contradictory, although based on a valid deduction from acceptable premises.”<sup>7</sup>

In this manner the first chapter focuses on analysing migration as a *whole* to comprehend the extensive phenomena. This chapter set up the relation that migration has with ethnicity, as well as trying to establish the causes that drive people to emigrate. Migration process has been affected by globalisation, and in this process not only has migration been stimulated by the augmentation of globalisation but also in the creation of a new “transnational” immigrant community, as Linda Bach points out.<sup>8</sup> Also in this chapter we will envisage the assimilation and the integration policies, and the manner in which these policies evolve. Migration typology is the study of types, as in a systematic classification of migration of refugees, contracts of labour migration, transient professional workers, illegal and undocumented immigrants and return migration. These types serve to explain more immigration and its consequences as well as the relation with the paradoxes of which will be shown in detail.

In the second chapter we will see migration theories that need to be pointed out, to observe the widespread effects that different authors examine. Moreover, from different international relations theories, especially from the Marxist and the Realistic theories we can observe that the perspectives that they have over migration are more coherent with what happens in the real world.

Chapter three is consecrated to explain the relation between liberalism and migration; this chapter is central to realising the magnitude that the paradoxes have under the liberal model. First, we will address the fundamentals of egalitarian liberalism to confront the different justifications of restrictive measures, and to see how these restrictive measures are founded and how they can evolve. Secondly, we will analyse the relation that liberalism and economic liberalism have with migration, this will enlighten the basis for the

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<sup>7</sup> *The American Heritage Dictionary*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982), 900.

<sup>8</sup> Linda Bach, *Nations Unbound. Transnational Project Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation -States*. (Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach Science Publisher, 1990), 7.

paradoxes, because they explain how economic liberalism needs to work. Under this basis we will make an approach towards the implications that migration movement has with economic exchange and flows and the relation that the market has with migration. In this chapter we will mention factors such as development and how it is affected by remittances. Moreover, we will pose the question why there is no regime for international migration. Finally, we illustrate that there is no difference between migration and services.

Hence, at the moment that a framework of migration and liberalism is established in chapter four we will describe the paradoxes that support the hypothesis of this study to expose the problems through the comparison of different authors. Consequently, the chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of the chapter explains the first paradox which is the contradiction between the liberal economic model and the restriction of migration and how it can be resolved if migration is seen as a *complement* of trade rather than a *substitute*. This idea is closer to liberal principles. The second part of the chapter speaks of the paradox between the rights based in liberal precepts and the market. In general this means that the labour market creates the demand for migrants but does not protect those immigrants with the fundamental rights that the workers need to have in liberal societies. We will broadly analyse how the liberal states face it. Moreover, how racism and other exclusionary theories are involved to refuse the basic rights that correspond to immigrants. It is important to point out the relation that there has been in denying human and basic rights to immigrants and instead identifies them as a threat. This goes in opposition to the egalitarian principles of liberalism in which the western democracies are founded.

At the beginning of the sixth chapter shows a historical review of the international level of immigration policies that the national governments have adopted toward immigrants in the last century and a half. The immigration policies have not always been restrictive. Various authors have divided the history into four migration periods that began in 1850 with the unregulated migration period, an openness period that ended in 1914. The second period, the curtailed migration, was a restrictive period that lasted until the end of WWII. The third period, the migrant recruitment period, began in 1945 and went on until the oil crisis which led to an openness towards immigration. The final period is the short-term migration and human rights. This review shows us that the paradox between the

liberal model and the restrictive measures is unsustainable, especially when historically we have seen that immigration is an indispensable factor for the continued expansion of capitalism, in which the liberal model works. The second part of this chapter shows the awareness to resolve the paradoxes exposed in this study and the measures proposed by international organisations.

The last chapter, which is a study case, focuses on the evolution of the immigration policies that the European Union had during their own integration. This analysis involves demographic statistics and projections that will determine the route of future immigration policies. Through their integration the EU have faced the challenge of changing the perception of their senior population toward immigrants, to continue to be coherent to their own democratic and liberal principles, to fill the labour shortage and to maintain their production and their welfare state. For this reason it is important to follow closely the different steps that the EU has followed in face of immigration, when the demand for the labour market and the demographic statistics grow more each time.