



# JEAN MONNET SEMINAR

## «MIGRATIONS»

*Tunis, Tunisia, 22-23 February 2016*

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# THE EU MANAGEMENT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN MIGRATION CRISIS

## 2011-2016 (February)



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*These slides have been prepared to show the theme of the paper presented by Fulvio Attinà to a seminar of the Jean Monnet Community organised by the European Commission, DG Education and Culture.*

*The Author is the PI of the TransCrisis Project 4.2 'Managing the Immigration Crisis'.*

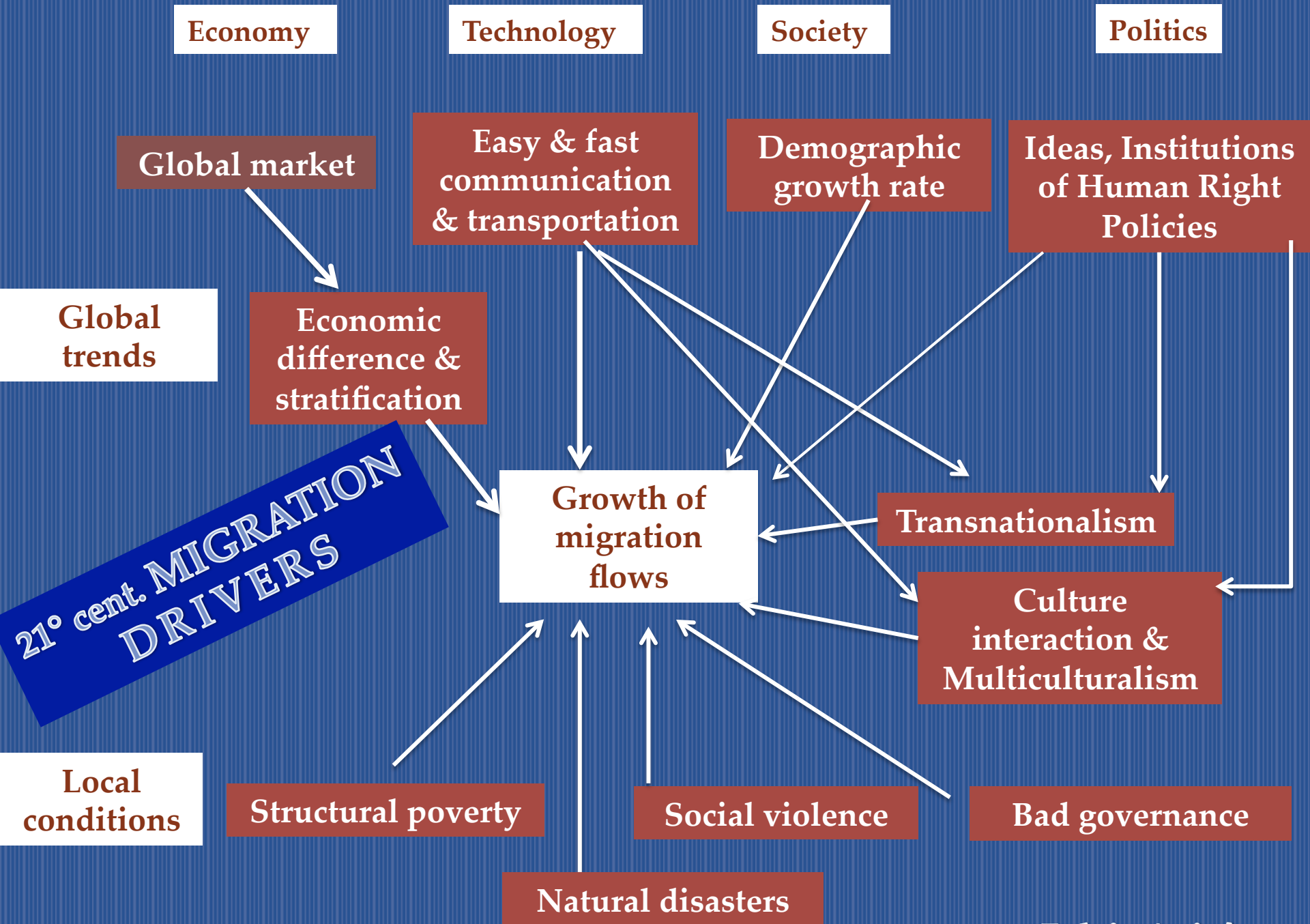
*TransCrisis is funded under the European Commission's Horizon2020 programme.*

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### OUTLINE

- 1. DRIVERS OF 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY MIGRATION: GLOBAL TRENDS & LOCAL CONDITIONS**
- 2. MIGRATION AND TRANS BOUNDARY CRISIS MANAGEMENT**
- 3. THE SCENARIOS OF THE EU MANAGEMENT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS**
  - **SCENARIO ONE: CONVENTIONAL RESPONSE (2011-2013)**
  - **SCENARIO TWO: *MARE NOSTRUM* (OCT. 2013-NOV. 2014)**
  - **SCENARIO THREE: EU-TURN (NOV. 2014–SEPT. 2015)**
  - **SCENARIO FOUR: FENCING EUROPE (OCT. 2015- )**
- 4. CONCLUSIONS**



In the **past three decades**, the migration drivers have been pushing up the number of the persons escaping deprivation, war, and persecution by fleeing to foreign countries.

In **2011**, local conditions (Arab Spring & the overthrow of Gaddafi) pushed up the number of migrants **heading towards Europe**.

In **October 2013**, Italy's government detached the country's response to irregular migration from the **EU's conventional response** to migration and launched *Mare Nostrum*.

The huge in-flow of irregular migrants brought in the *European trans boundary crisis*

## IRREGULAR MIGRATION AS TRANS BOUNDARY CRISIS

The Europeans perceive **irregular immigrants as threat to normal life conditions**, i.e. to their country's current welfare, security and integrity conditions.

Because of free circulation (**Schengen**) and no central government, irregular migrants in a EU country **trigger a trans boundary crisis** among all EU countries.

To respond to trans boundary crises, minimise threats, and re-establish normalcy, the leaders co-decide and jointly accomplish **crisis management tasks**.



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*Boin, A., Ekengren, M.,  
and Rhinard, M. (2013)*

## Trans Boundary Crisis Management Tasks

1. **detection**, timely recognition of the emerging threat;
2. **sense-making**, sharing information to generate a shared picture of the situation;
3. **decision-making**, selecting decisions and an effective strategy to implement the decisions;
4. **coordination**, identifying key partners and facilitating collaboration;
5. **meaning-making**, formulating a message that offers an explanation of the threat, and a sense that leaders are in control of the situation;
6. **communication**, effective delivery of the core message to selected audiences;
7. **accountability**, rendering explanation in a public forum of relevant decisions

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## The scenarios of the EU migration crisis management

1. Conventional response scenario, 2011-2013
2. Mare Nostrum scenario, Oct. 2013-Oct. 2014
3. EU-turn scenario, Nov. 2014-Sept. 2015
4. Fencing Europe scenario, Oct.2015 -



### 2011 – 2013: CONVENTIONAL RESPONSE

No recognition of threat and need to change the existing EU's policy towards migration. This policy is shown by the Commission's 2011 Communication *Global Approach to Migration and Mobility* (**GAMM**), approved by the Council.

**MIGRATION** is an economic phenomenon. Persons move from low economy growth and job opportunity areas to high growth and job opportunity areas.

**MOBILITY** (i.e. temporary stay) brings growth to job-rich economies, and development to capital-poor economies.

The nexus migration/development is enhanced by the migrants' remittances.

## 2011 – 2013: CONVENTIONAL RESPONSE

According to GAMM, migration is well-managed through

1. **border control and surveillance by the MSs, with the EU support (Frontex, EASO), and**
2. **external migration policy: cooperation with transit and origin states to curb irregular flows and accept readmission of irregular migrants.**

Accordingly, the EU did not react to the **public indignation & the censure** messages of IGOs (UNHCR and IOM) and NGOs for migrant deaths in the Mediterranean Seawaters.

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**Oct. 2013 - Oct. 2014: *MARE NOSTRUM***

2012: the European Court of Human Rights sentenced against Italy for pushing back to Libya in 2009 a number of Eritreans and Somalis without any examination of their eligibility to international protection.

To the Italian government, **border control cannot stand against** the norms of Search and Rescue of the persons in distress at sea and the humanitarian values indorsed by international treaties and national constitutions.

*Mare Nostrum* Operation launched to end the total shortage of humanitarian rescue of migrants in distress in the seawaters.

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**Oct. 2013 - Oct. 2014: MARE NOSTRUM**

*Mare Nostrum Operation in conflict with GAMM, the mind of the Europeans and of many Italians.*

**The Italian government called on the EU and the MSs to bear the costs of SAR and undertake the appropriate course of action.**

***Why** neither the EU nor individual MSs, but Italy, responded to the upsurge of mixed migratory flows in the Mediterranean by facilitating ways for migrants in distress to move safely?*

# An answer to the question about the EU's false perception of the Mediterranean migration flow

## THE FINANCIAL CRISIS IMPACT ON BORDER & MIGRATION IN EUROPE

**Economy**

**Technology**

**Society**

**Politics**

**EU policies before  
the 2008 crisis**

**Euronomics**

**De-bordering**

**Multiculturalism**

**Soft borders  
policies**

**EU policies &  
politics after the  
2008 crisis**

**Recession &  
budget cut**

**Smart border  
control**

**Anti-foreignness  
& xenophobia**

**Populism &  
ethnicism**

### Nov. 2014–Sept. 2015: EU-TURN scenario

The European Council shifted to *a comprehensive approach*.

Act to save human lives + Give protection to refugees + Play against the root causes

The *comprehensive approach* measures:

1. Frontex' Triton Mission for Search and Rescue tasks,
2. CDSP mission against smuggler organisations,
3. relocation of the refugees hosted in the frontline states,
4. border control and return of economic unauthorised migrants,
5. actions to intervene upstream in regions of origin and of transit,
6. update migration policy by effective integration policies.



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### Nov. 2014–Sept. 2015: EU-TURN

The EU-turn & the comprehensive approach consisted in

- recognizing *exceptional circumstances* (the root causes or *drivers*) and the mixed nature of the migration flows; and
- responding with coordination between the MSs and foreign countries.

Relocation and coordination were accepted elusively

- by the EU's governments (inclined to downplay humanitarian duties, and unload the burden of foreign nationals in need of aid to the neighbours);
- by the foreign governments (driven by contrasting interests).

### Oct. 2015 – on: FENCING EUROPE

Consequent to the elusive acceptance of the comprehensive approach by the MSs, the EU leaders' crisis management shifted to address primarily *the protection of the external borders* by

- 1. Furthering coordination with neighbours and partners.**
  - Conferences with the Balkan and African countries
  - EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan.
- 2. Sharing information to manage the in- and within-flows.**
  - European Council urged the MSs to ensure systematic security checks with relevant databases.
  - Commission's press release on *A European Border and Coast Guard to protect Europe's External Borders*.



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### Oct. 2015 – on: FENCING EUROPE

The restless inflow of migrants at the external borders pushed up the number of the governments that since September have fenced-in their states by temporarily reintroducing control at the internal borders.

Austria	13-Sep			15-Feb
Denmark			04-Jan	03-Feb
France			14-Dec	26-Feb
Germany	13-Sep			13-Feb
Hungary		17-26 oct		
Norway			15-Jan	14-Feb
Slovenia	17-Sep	16-Oct		
Sweden			12-Nov	08-Feb

### Oct. 2015 – on: FENCING EUROPE

To minimise the crisis, the EU leaders' crisis management aimed at discouraging migrants to reach Europe.

- So far, fencing the EU with no change in the visa, asylum, and immigration policies, apart from measures for skilled workers,
- has **not discouraged the migrants** to seek illegal paths into the EU;
  - has **closed the door also to persons in need** of international protection;
  - has encouraged the **anti-foreigner and xenophobic feelings** of the Europeans.

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# CONCLUSIONS

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## The analysis demonstrates that the EU leaders

1. have been **late in detecting** the characteristics of the phenomenon and **making sense** of it to prepare the shared response to the crisis;
2. have been **unable to make well-timed and straightforward decisions** about the management of the crisis;
3. have been **unable to stand firm** on the common measures of crisis management they agreed on with difficulty;
4. have been **unable to deliver to the citizens the message of being in control** of the circumstances and able to break through the crisis.

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**The analysis also suggests that the conditions of effective border control are blurring in today world.**

**Consequently,**

- 1. the governments have to switch to smart control of soft borders;**
- 2. political leaders have to make policies matching normalcy with the growing movement of people;**
- 3. the sovereign nation-states have to meet with the challenge of multiculturalism.**

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## MATCHING NORMALCY WITH MIGRATION GROWTH

Geographical proximity to the outflow areas puts **on Europe the burden and duty** of matching normalcy with migration growth.

The European leaders should **tell the citizens** they have to **share burden** with migrants, adopt an **inclusive welfare and labour** system, and meet the challenge of building **multiculturalism** in Europe.

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THANK YOU